

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 25

TRADERS JOIN WHALERS
AND
THE DUTAILLIS EXPEDITION

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AND

THE DUTAILLIS EXPEDITION

1845-1852

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque.

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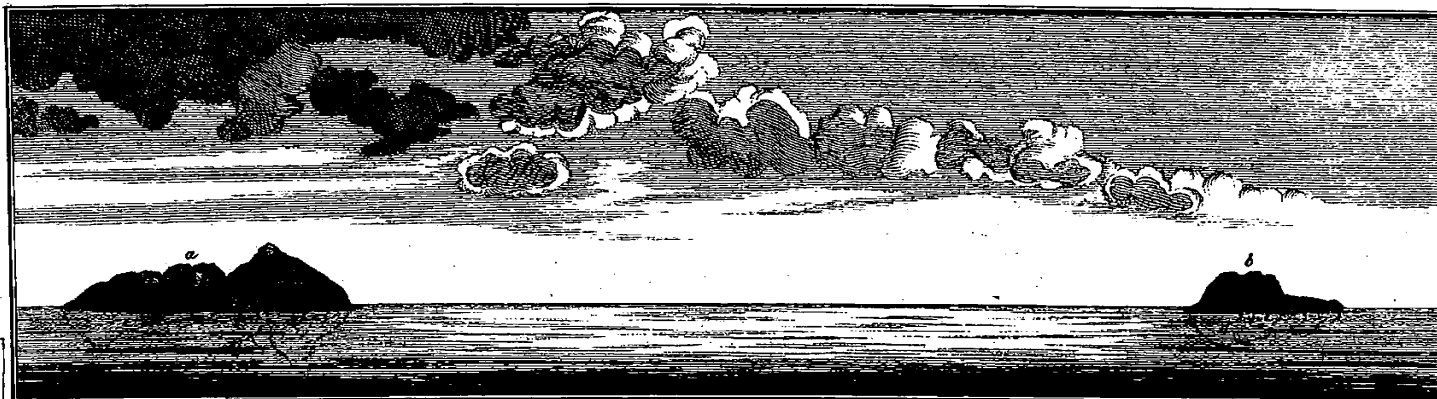
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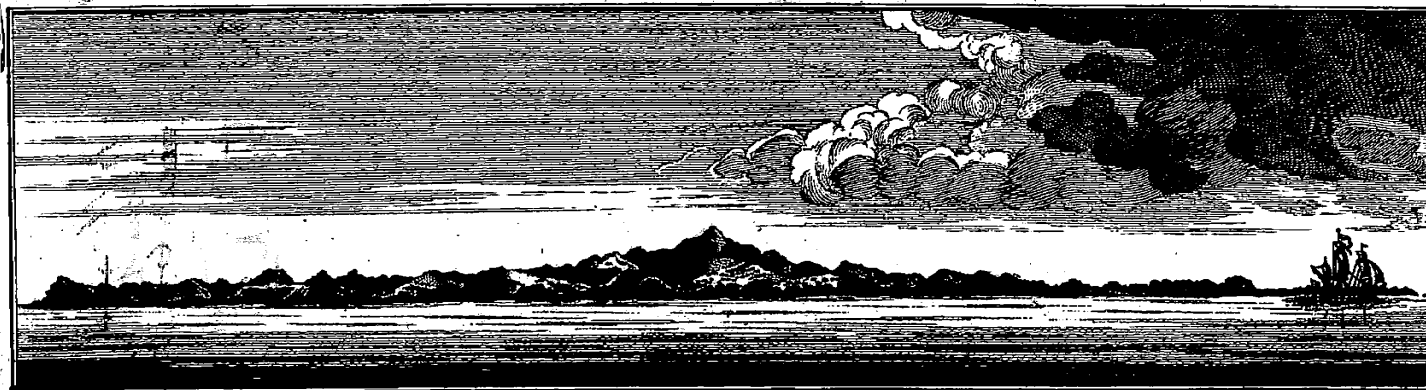
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VUE de deux des ISLES DES LARRONS. ¶ *GEZIGT van twee der EILANDEN LADRONES.*

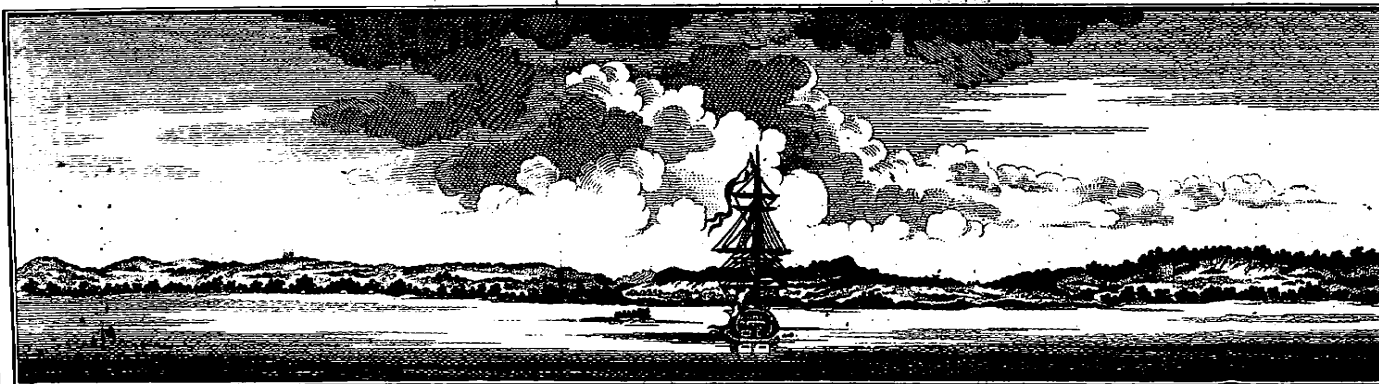


VUE de la Côte du Nord-Ouest de SAYPAN. ¶ *GEZIGT van de Noord-West Kust van SAYPAN.*



LE Côté du Sud-Ouest de l'Isle de TINIAN.

DE Zuid-West Zyde van het Eiland TINIAN.



VUE de la Rade de TINIAN.
1791. J. P. W.

GEZIGT van de Rhede van TINIAN.

Document 1845K

The ship Chariot, Captain Obed Luce, 1845-46

Sources: Ms. in the Dukes County Historical Society, Edgartown, Mass.; PMB 675; Log Inv. 897.

Extracts from the log kept by Captain Luce

...

[While in the Marquesas]
Friday March 21th [1844]
All this day good weather.

My Second Mate & one Boatsteerer John Austin made a good deal of disturbance on board and this is not the first time. Mr. Taber asked for a boat & rew to go round to another bay[.] I told him the men was busy and I could not spare them & he came on the quarter deck & damned me & said I was no man I told him to go forward. he told me he wanted his discharge & if I would not he would be damned if he would do any more duty on board.

Mr. Wilson my first officer came & told me he must leave the ship, or they must. & I told them they might go on shore, which they did with all their cloths. I informed the French governor of their conduct and he said they must go to prison until a Brig sailed for Tahiti & he would send them to the American Consul.

[The ship reached the Gilbert Islands in January 1845.]

Remarks Thursday Jan 15th 1845

Commences strong West gales by the wind to the SSW under close R. topsails & foresail at 6 PM Spoke Barque **Harriet** Freetown 18 months 1100 [bbbs.] the **Harriet** lost all three of her boats & crew towing a whale to the ship on the night of the 11th the last they saw of the boats they were not more than one mile of the weather beam towing the shale[.] Middle part squally Latter part strong gales on board the **Harriet** bending sails &c. So Ends this day. No Obs.

...

Remarks Monday Jan 19th 1845

Commences strong breezes from NNW by the wind to the Westward nothing in sight[.] Middle part strong breezes steering West[.] Latter part heading from W to SW at 9 AM made Hope [Arorae] Island bore South distant 10 miles.

Lat. by Obs 2°37 Long 177°00 [E] Corrected Chro 75 miles too far East.

BR Remarks Tuesday Jan 20th

Commences strong W gales saw canoes came off with coconuts[.] at 3 braced forward by the wind to the NNW[.] Middle part on both tacks[.] Latter part to the wind to the SW[.] Hope Island in sight & one sail So Ends.

Lat 2°51 Long 177°09 E Corrected.

Remarks Wednesday Jan 21th

... Hope Island & a Barque in sight supposed to be the **Harriet**...

Lat by Obs 2°33.

...

Remarks Monday Jan 26th

... 2 sails in sight at 1 PM saw Roches [Tamana] Island bearing NNW distant 20 miles...

Lat by Obs 2°47 Lonog by Chro 176°10

Remarks Tuesday Jan 27th

... Latter part moderate fine weather off Rotches Island getting coconuts fowls & wood Shpped one native. So Ends this day.

...

Remarks Wednesday Feb 4th

Commences light wind at 3 PM boat came on board with no sucess at 4 spoke ship **Chandler Price** New Bedford 1800 with the crew of the ship **Columbus** [rather Columbia,] New London on board[.] this Columbus was cast away on the Island of Sydenham [Nonouti] one of the Kingsmills on the night of 6 Jan /45[.] Supplied the Chandler Price with some water & took some of the Columbus men. Latter part light winds getting water to the Chandler Price. So Ends this day.

Lat 1°30 Long 172°12

...

Remarks Saturday Feb 7th 1845

Commences light N by E winds by the wind to the NW by W one sail in sight[.] Middle & Latter part light winds & squally at 6 AM made Ocean [Banaba] Island So Ends this day.

Lat 0°27 S Long 169°57 E

...

Remarks Monday Feb 9th

Commences light winds saw whales[.] Lowered got fast to 2 whales got one boat stove & lost one line & one of the whales at 4 PM took one whale to the ship & commenced cutting at 1/2 past 5 all in made sail to the WNW pleasant [Nauru] in sight distant 30 miles bearing W by S. Middle part employed in cutting up the whale[.] Latter part employed in boiling[.] ship on both tacks the land in sight and one sail So Ends this day.

Lat. 0°05 S Lonog 167°12 [E]

...

Remarks Wednesday Feb 18

Commences strong NNE gales by the wind to the NW at 1 PM made McAskills [Pingelap] Island distant 30 miles[.] Middle part strong NE winds by the wind to the NNW at 5 AM kept off WSW[.] Latter part strong gales So Ends this day.

Lat 7°05 N Long 159°43 E.

...

Remarks Friday Feb 20

Comencess strong breezes at 1/2 past 1 PM came to anchor in 7 fathoms water the ship **Margaret Scott** New Bedford sent a raft of cask on shore for water.

Monday March 2nd 1845

Commences rainy all ready for sea at 10 AM got under way with a light land breeze So Ends this day.

Remarks Tuesday March 3th

Commences squally running down the land at sundown all clear of the land by the wind to the NW[.] Middle & Latter part strong gales[,] the **Margaret Scott** in sight So Ends this day.

Lat 8°12 N Long 158°00 E.

...

Remarks Monday March 9th

Commences strong E winds steering W by N all sail out[.] Middle part moderate gales at daylight made the Island of Guam distant 25 miles the **Margaret Scott** in sight.

[Unfortunately, there are no entries between March 9th and 22nd.]

Remarks Sunday March 22nd 1845

Commences good weather all ready for sea at 8 AM got under way in company with the ship **Henry Tuke** left 7 ships in port got clear of the reef stowed the anchors & cleared the decks[.] by the wind to the North So Ends this day.

Remarks Monday March 23th

Commences strong gales by the wind on both tacks beating up along the land I want to go to the Island of Rota[.] Middle part strong gales tacked to the SE at 1/2 past 2 AM[.] Latter part strong gales one sail in sight & the land with a strong WSW current So Ends this day.

Remarks Tuesday March 24th

Commences strong NNE gales at 4 PM tacked off shore gained not more than 5 miles this 24 hours...Latter part strong gales & stronger current at Noon within 10 miles of the land lost about 15 miles this 24 hours.

Lat by Obs 13°33 Long by Chro 144°40 E.

Remarks Wednesday March 25th

Commences strong gales by the wind to the N by W with a very strong WSW current I shall give up the idea of going to Rota...

Lat by Obs 14°41 Long by Chro 144°33 E.

...

Remarks Sunday April 5th

... at 1 PM made the Island of St. Augustine [Iwo]...

Lat 24°30 Long 141°55

...

[There are other reports (e.g. Doc. 1844G) that place this ship in Micronesia in 1846. For instance, there was a gam with the Cassander on New Year's Day 1846.]

Document 1845L

**The ship Virginia, Captain Joseph Chase,
1845-46**

Source: Ms. in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 853; Log Inv. 4773.

Extracts from the log kept by John Francis Akin

...
[After cruising off the coast of Chili, the ship went to Peru, in 1844, where she visited Payta, Tumbes, then to the Hawaiian Islands in April 1845, to the Japan Ground in June 1845, then South to the Marianas in October.]

...

Tuesday Oct 14

At 10 AM saw the land at 1 PM up with the two windward Isles, some of them inhabited and some not.

Wednesday Oct 15

At 11 AM passed by Guam saw the English Bark **Sam. Enderby** at Anchor at 4 PM we came at anchor to the watering place and got a raft on shore and filled 500 barrels by sunset.

Thursday Oct 16

At daylight go on shore and get off raft. start it and get off 100 barrels more making 200 bbls in a day quite well so Ends this day bought considerable fruit.

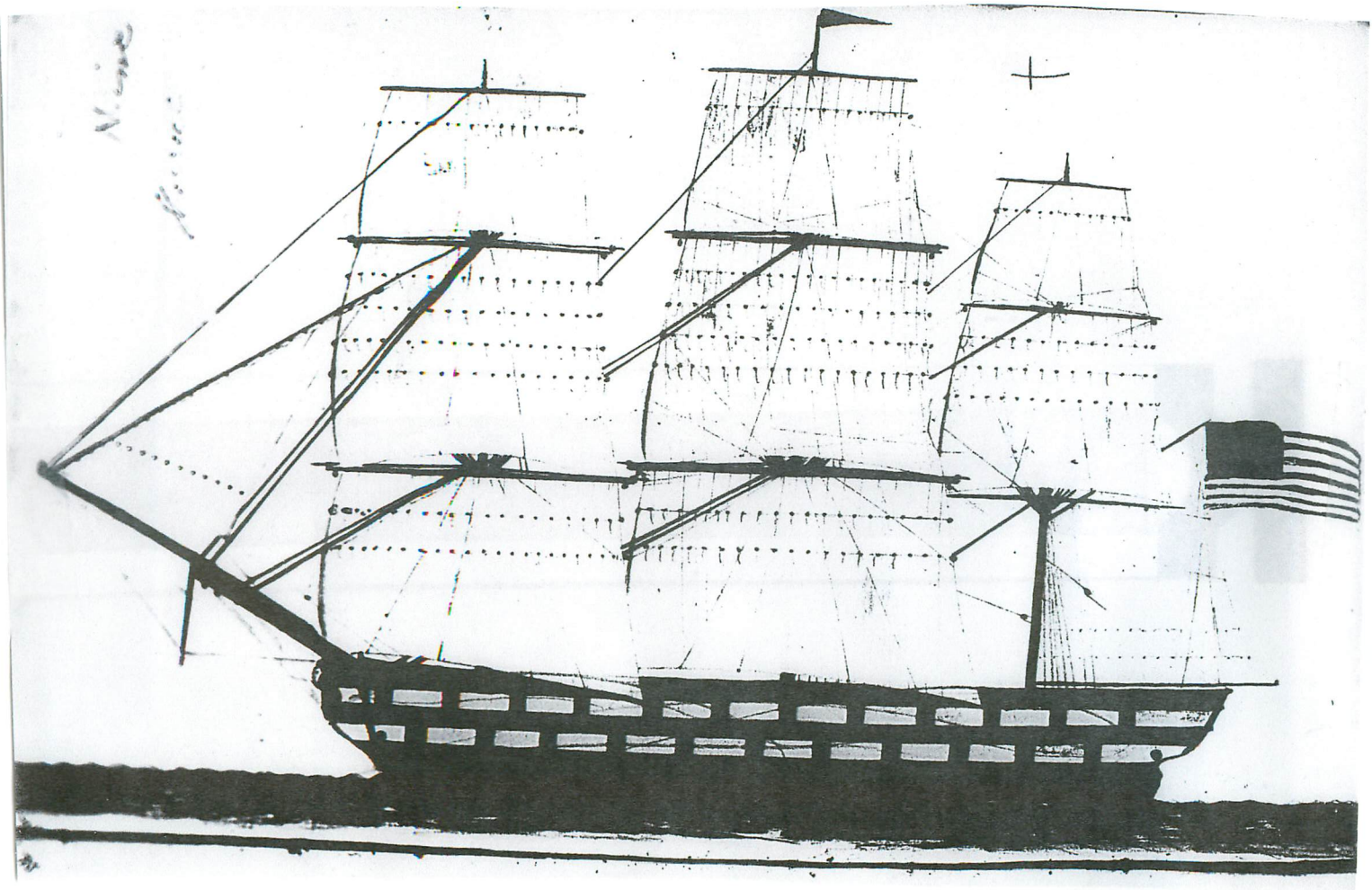
Friday Oct 17. 1845 Isl. of Guam

Got under weigh for the [port of]¹ Apra. at 12 AM the pilot came [on board] and at 1 PM came at anchor squally with ... furled sails.

Saturday Oct 18

Rain[,] wash[ed] the ship and head her.

1 Ed. note: This page of the log has been damaged by glue.



Ship Virginia, Captain Joseph Chase, in 1844.

Sunday Oct 19

Blackening bends on ---board side.

Monday Oct 20

St-- ... -tte and got off 3 cords of wood.

Tuesday Oct 21

Paint the Larboard side cut up the Wood and split it and stowed it.

Wednesday Oct 22

The Starboard watch go on 4 days Liberty[.] We send down Main Yard and fish it.
Wash decks and paint ship.

Thursday Oct 23

Send up Main yard paint the stern of ship and finish painting ship.

Friday Oct 24. 1845

Repair the mainsail wash decks buy yams.

Saturday Oct 25. 1845

Paint bow sprit yams and potatoes come on board In boats from Guam town at sunset sent the boat for the Liberty men only 3 came of[f] 8 behind.

Sunday Oct 26. 1845

The Larboard Watch take their Liberty of 4 days. Send the boat and get the rest that did not come of at night. saw a brig coming into the bay an American.

Thursday Oct 30

All hands on board heave up Starboard Anchor which was let go while we were up town. blew a heavy gale sent down top Gall Masts and yards at 11 AM take our Anchor and stand to sea so good bye to Guam for 5 months (The Brig is the **Charles W** of Salem for Manilla).

Friday Oct 31

We came out I am out of seeking(?) unbent the chains stowed the Anchors and get all snug double reef topsails for night.

...

[The ship was bound to the Line.]

...

Wednesday Nov 12th

Crossed the Equator line Weather and no Whale and no flour for 2 months.
Lat 20 miles S. Long 153°23 East.

[Thursday] Nov 13.

At 5 PM saw a reef was on it before It was seen. saw rocks just under the water but not near enough the surfed for Breakers Wore short round and shortened sail for night.

Friday Nov 15.

Saw the Land one of Solomons Isles or Cannibal Islands where they hunt men and cut them or eat them without roasting.

...

Sunday March 8 [1846]

Saw the Land at 3 PM then came 14 canoes from Pleasant [Nauru] Island We got from [them] hogs fish lines and hats (new and old) so Ends all gone on shore.

...

March 15, 1846 Pleasant Island

Yesterday Sunday we were visited by a vast number of natives from pleasant Isl. say 100 canoes put off from the shore the wind died away and they all came alongside 6 or 7 hundred of them about 1/3 women with Hogs Hats and shehls to sell[.] Tobacco seems to be all the go we bought a good many hats straw for 1 head Tobacco a piece 3 hogs for an old musket. I must say that these natives are quite civilized and some of them very handsome especially the Ladies.

Saw a sail. Bound Into Port of Guam.

Friday March 19

Trade winds Course N. West for Guam at 4 PM saw a Brig steering to the Westward pig for Dinner So Ends. strong trades Expected to see the land today the Caroline Islands but did not shorten sail for the night.

Monday March 23 Lat 10° 30 North Long. 156° East.

Strong N East trade wind ship going like a scolded hog.

Thursday March 26

Saw the Island of Rotta at 10 AM went on shore and bought 21 hogs and pigs. At sunset saw 2 sail bound to rotta.

Friday March 27

Guam all in sight at 8 am came at Anchor 3 ships and 2 Barks laying there 2 American 1 English 1 Dutch Bark so Ends Break out to cooper the oil hout(?) out 280 Barrels sperm oil.

Saturday stowing down.

Sunday 29

Wet the hole and let the men go on shore at Suma[y] stop until sunset.

Friday April 3.

Finish[ed] cooping coopered 900 Barrels and took 10 Bbls to fill 8t. Not much leakage then or shrinkage.

Guam April 5th 1846. 1600 Bbls.

Sunday 5

Nothing doing some men go on shore some go visiting or gambling.

Monday April 6

Starboard Watch go on shore for 4 days liberty the other watch paint ship get of the wood cut and split it. do all the work as usual.

Friday 10 April.

The Larboard Watch go on liberty come on board Tuesday morning.

Wednesday 15. April.

Got under weigh at 1 PM and at 4 PM came at Anchor at Umata Bay to get our water.

Saturday 18.

Got off the water stowed it down and got all clear for sea had two men run away a portugues so we go to sea short handed at 11 PM got under weigh so good bye Ladrone

April 1846 Guam Ladrone Isl.

We once more make our appearance at the Ladrone or Guam We have 1000 barrels oil to cooper and then we shall take a cow a piece or them that likes to ride for the Town it is 4 miles distant from the point where we land. There are two other towns but not so large, 1st is Suma[y] 1 mile from the ship, 2d Is Arcot [rather Agat] 3 miles. I visited them all and was much pleased with the appearance[,] manner and customs of the people. It is such a sight to see the people from the ship going on liberty with a roll of calico and a yard stick under their arm. their yard sticks are apt to get quite short at the end of trade.

April 25

Saw the Land Sulphur Island very high land in this shape¹ quite small...

[After whaling on the Japan Ground, the ship went to Maui, then Chile, and home.]

1 Ed. note: A small hump is shown.

Document 1845M

Logbook of the Zephyr, Captain Smith

Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 900; Log Inv. 5014.

Extract from the log kept by Captain Thomas J. Smith

...

Friday 31st [August 1845]

Begins with pleasant weather a wind from NE ship steering NW by compass[.] latter part squally at 6 AM made Clarks [Onotoa] Island bearing East and at 10 AM had Drummons [Tabiteuea] Island 1 point on the larboard bow Dist 20 miles. No obs today.

Sat Aug 1th

First part of these 24 hours light airs and pleasant weather ship laying between the 2 islands becalmed and a strong current setting the ship to the SE all hands employed repairing main topsail at 6 PM got up the larboard chain and bent it ship SE at 7-1/2 PM saw a light on Clarks Island[.] latter part moderate breezes from NE ship heading NW the 2 Islands in sight.

Lat. 2°04 S. Long by Chron 174°37 E. by Lunar 174°34 E.

...

Wednesday 5th

... at 5 PM made Halls [Maiana] Island bearing North at 7 PM spoke ship **Galen** of Warren Bowers Master 26 [sic]¹ months out with 400 of sperm and 1200 of whale oil bound to NW Coast... No obs today

...

Friday 7

... at 1 PM made Woodle [Kuria] Island... at 7 AM saw Henderville [Aranuka]... at 8 kept off NE by E for Simpsons [Abemama] Island and at 11 AM saw ship **Emerald** of New Bedford among whales...

1 Ed. note: According to Starbuck (p. 384), this ship left Waren in December 1842, and was completely wrecked at the Falklands in February 1846.

Saturday the [8]

... saw ship **Galen** of Warren among whales...

Lat 8 m N Long 174°28 East.

...

Tuesday Aug 11th

... at 5 PM spoke ship **Bermondsey** of London 31 [months out] 700 [bbls] sperm.

Wednesday 12th

Begins with moderate breezes and pleasant all the boats off after black fish and got 1 at 1 PM returned on board and found no take up and said something about it and Newby the Steward [re]plied he had not had time in and with many others unbecoming words for which I hide him to stoke but he stik me with 15 scaped him in the push and he returned it by striking me in pask fag it I did not flog him but made him get down on his knees and ask my pardon he pase all the crew[.] Ship laying to and on Simpsons Island and unbeknown to me the a woman got down into the forecastle contrary to my wishes She was hauled out and drove into her canoe[.] I have not panne out yet who take nothing down in forecastle. at 5 am saw sperm whales ...

Lat 43 miles South Long 175°03 East.

...

Thursday 24th

First part squally with strong breezes from NE ship heading N by W 1/2 W At 8 AM made Strongs [Kosrae] Island 2 points off the larboard bow 25 miles distant So Ends the day[.] no obs today.

Friday 25th

Begins with fresh breezes from NE At 3-1/2 PM passed Strong Island to the South side Spoke ship **Galen**[.] Latter squally ship heading under easy sail.

Lat 6°49 N Long 168°11 [E]

...

[MCF becomes too faint to read properly...]

Monday 3rd

... at 7 AM made Guam one point of the starboard bow...

Tuesday 4

... at 4 PM came to an anchor in 22 fathoms...

...

Friday 27th March 1844

At 2 AM commences heaving short and at 3-1/2 AM got under way with a crew of 21 men 4 men short 3 deserted 1 discharged at 4 the pilot left. all hands employed stowing the anchors...

Lat 14°00 N Long 145°00 E

...

Monday 30th

... at 8 AM went on shore to ship 4 men and found the 2 men that deserted 22 days ago in prison...

...

Thursday 5th

... Flogged Robert Hickey, Man. Blake, George Hancock...

...

Document 1845N

The William and Eliza, Captain Whitfield, 1845

Source: Logbook N° 324 in Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 837; Log Inv. 4899.

The logbook kept by Captain William H. Whitfield

...

Friday March 26

This day brisk wind from E from 3 to 5 a.m. Hove to at daylight steering W by S. At 4 a.m., saw Saypan bearing W distant 15 miles. Ran round same at night, sent a boat on shore at Tinean.

Saturday March 27

This day brisk wind from the E. At 4 a.m., came off, went on shore with another boat. At 7, came off with 10 hogs, 400 pounds potatoes, 34 fowls, 10 bushels corn, 100 coconuts, &c. Steered off SSW. At dusk, main [body of] Rotta bearing SSW.

Sunday March 28

This day brisk wind from the ENE. Run round the North side of Guam. At 10 pilot came on board. At 11 anchored among some ships laying at anchor.

Monday March 29

This day brisk gales from ENE, laying at anchor where we considered to lay until Wednesday April the 7th.

Wednesday April 7

This day wind modrate. At 2 p.m., set the colour for pilot. At 4 put to sea. At 5 p.m., pilot left and we stood to the North, a wind with all on board over no trouble hoping to the same thing.

Thursday April 8

This day brisk wind from the Eastward to the NNE. Passed Rota at 4 p.m., Tinean and Sipan in sight. Hoisted the chains and put them below. Signed the Chronometer.

Friday April 9

That day pleasant breezes from E, steering with the wind NNE. At 8 a.m., passed Anatagan [sic], at 10 Sariguan, at 2 p.m. a reef. At sunset turned round ... Gugan Isle in sight to the North.

Saturday April 10

This day pleasant breezes from E. ... At 4 p.m., sent a boat on shore at Grigan. At dusk, came on board with 2 English women(?) they ... they had a great plenty of hogs to sell. Stood to the North ...

...

Wednesday April 14

... At 9 a.m., left the ship for the shore. At 4 p.m. ... all night, got a number of hogs, rady to bring off.

Thursday April 15

This day brisk wind and squally. At 7 a.m. got in with the land and brought off 34 noble hogs and pigs. At 11 a.m. came on board finding we had left a boat anchor and sail of rigging. At 4 p.m. sent a boat in after them and at 4 she came off bringing 4 pigs and the anchor &c. and the officer stated that John Moran(?) had run away. He consulted the boats crew and also the woman and they were all of the opinion that he had run off and that it was in vain to look for him. After waiting for him as long as circumstances I ... off without him as the ship found it hard work to hold on markup(?) up with the land we although man about stood on and ...

Friday April 16

... Lat. obs. 20.04 North Long 145°35' East.

””

Documents 1846C

Costs of repairing Fort Santa Cruz and other works

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item 50.

Original text in Spanish.

N. 14. Gastos sobre los reparos al Castillo de Santa Cruz, Fragua y Almacen de Polvora para preservarlos de un total deterioro.—Nº 24. Cuatroppdo.

Comandancia de Artilleria en Yslas Marianas.

El Sargento Comandante y Guarda Parque del Ramo de dicha arma en estas Yslas dá parte al Señor Gobernador de las mismas de haber examinado detenidamente el estado de conservacion de los edificios al cargo de esta arma, y hallados con necesidad, de algunos reparos en particular el Castillo de Santa Cruz en el puerto de Apra, Fragua y Almacen de polvora; cuyas necesidades manifestaré a continuacion; pues sin embargo que en Mayo de 43 se hicieron algunos reparos en estos edificios, fueron tan insignificantes que cuasi no existen recuerdos de ellos, y por las observaciones hechas por el que firma asegura ser necesarios los siguientes

Castillo de Santo Cruz

Componer las Esplanadas y terraplen del baluarte desigual por los hoyos que tiene, debiendose en esta operacion nivelar aquellas para el buen uso de las piezas: rebocar la pared ó lienzo del cuerpo de guardias que mira á Sumay: reparar los poyos ó banquetas del trancito bajo: los merlones cuarteados y repellar desconchados en las gradas y recinto del baluarte: tambien recorrer los tejados por las goteras.

Fragua

Algunos reparos en revoque de pared lo de mas necesidad: recorrer el tejado por las muchas goteras, y reparar las chimeneas y alguna otra cosa de mayor necesidad.

Almacen de Polvora

El Ala del tejado revocarle marcos de puertas[,] repellarlos, y cuerpo de guardia lo de mas necesidad.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 16 Mayo 1846.

El Sargento 2ª José Murillo.

[A1] *Sr. Gob. Militar y Politico de estas Yslas.*

Gobierno de Marianas.

El Gobernadorcillo de esta ciudad dispondrá que en el día de mañana pasen de peritos del gremio de Albañiles á practicar un esacto reconocimiento de la obra de mas necesidad en los Edificios del cargo del ramo de Artilleria, segun manifiesta en su parte el Sargento Comandante de dicha arma; espresando a continuacion el resultado del reconocimiento, calculando ademas la suma a que podrá ascender dicha operacion.

Agaña y Mayo 30 de 1846.

Gregorio Santa María

Señor Gobernador de estas Yslas.

En cumplimiento de su superior orden que con fecha de ayer se sirvió U. para el reconocimiento de los reparos necesarios de nuestra facultad en el Castillo de Santa Cruz, Fragua y Almacen de polvora, y habiendolo practicado con toda detencion: Declaramos los abajo firmantes ser los mismos a que se con[stan en] el parte del Sargento Comandante de Artilleria, y aun otros menores que nuestra proligidad ha observado; todos indispensables para la conservacion de dichos edificios: deviendo manifestar al propio tiempo que calculamos su coste podrá ascender á unos cuarenta pesos aproximadamente. Y para que conste lo firmamos en esta Ciudad de Agaña a treinta y uno de Mayo del año de mil ochocientos cuarenta y seis.

Como encargado del gremio de Albañiles: José Tonoña

Perito: José Perez

Gobierno de Marianas.

En virtud del parte anterior del Sargento Comandante y guarda parque del ramo de Artilleria en estas Yslas, y reconocimiento de los dos peritos firmantes, se procederá desde luego a la recomposicion de lo [so]-licitado, acompañando relacion de los Jornales y materiales invertidos, y cargese al fondo correspondiente en los terminos ordinarios, satisfaciendose por el Señor Administrador de la Hacienda publica la cantidad que con presencia de dicha relacion de gastos resultare en dichas recomposiciones.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, 1º de Junio 1846.

Gregorio Santa María

Yslas Marianas obras nacionales y fortificacion

Relacion nominal de los jornales y materiales invertidos en los reparos hechos en el castillo de Santa Cruz, Fragua y Almacen de polvora, para preservarlos de un total deterioro y son los siguientes:

Clases	Nombres	Dias	Salarios	Ps. Rs. Ms.
<i>Sobrestante</i>	<i>Sargento 2º José Murillo</i>	<i>10 á</i>	<i>3 reales</i>	<i>3 6</i>
<i>Maestro Albañil</i>	<i>José Tanoña</i>	<i>10 á</i>	<i>3 reales</i>	<i>3 6</i>

Albañiles:

<i>José del Rosario</i>	6 á	2-1/2 rs.	1 7
<i>José Pascual</i>	6 á	2-1/2 rs.	1 7
<i>José de los Santos</i>	5 á	Yd. Yd.	1 4 17
<i>Ygnacio Borja</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1 2
<i>Lorenzo Pereda</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1 2
<i>Marcelino del Rosario</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1 2
<i>Andres del Rosario</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 5
<i>Rafael de Castro</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 5
<i>Francisco Agon [sic]</i>	1 á	Yd. Yd.	- 2 17

Peones:

<i>Juan Acosta</i>	4 á	2 rs.	1 1
<i>José Manalicey</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>Francisco Ulloa</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>José Tenorio</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>José de la Concepxion</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>Salvador Muña</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>Valentín Guerrero</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>Mariano Astoigui</i>	4 á	Yd. Yd.	1
<i>José Materne</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>Cipriano Tanoña</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>José Tejeran</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>José de los Santos 1º</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>Eugenio Perez</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>José de los Santos 2º</i>	3 á	Yd. Yd.	- 6
<i>Ciriaco de San Nicolas</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 4
<i>Raimundo Letu</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 4
<i>Juan de los Santos</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 4
<i>Pedro Camacho</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 4
<i>Rufino de la Cruz</i>	2 á	Yd. Yd.	- 2
<i>Vidal Crisostomo</i>	1 á	Yd. Yd.	- 2

Por 43 y 1/2 cabanes de cal á real y medio uno 2 1 8
Por 150 Tejas á 2 pesos y 4 reales [el] 100 3 6
Por 50 clavos de á 4 pulgadas para las puertas y ventanas á peso el 100 - 4

Suma total 45 4 8

Por manera que suma la presente relacion la cantidad de cuarenta y cinco pesos cuatro reales y ocho maravedises segun demuestro.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 8 de Junio 1846

Comicionado á la Vista: José Murillo

Encargado de la Compocision: José Tanoña

Constame: Santa María

Translation.

Nº 14. Expenditures for the repairs to Fort Santa Cruz, the Forge, and the Powder Magazine, to preserve them against deterioration.—Nº 25. In quadriplicate.

Mariana Islands.—Artillery Branch.

The Commander and Park Warden of the Artillery Branch in these Islands reports to His Lordship their Governor that he has inspected at length the state of preservation of the buildings for which this branch is responsible, and found out that they need some repairs, specially Fort Santa Cruz in Apra Harbor, the Forge, and the Powder Magazine. Said requirements are mentioned below; indeed, in spite of the fact that some repairs were carried out in those buildings in May 1843, they were so insignificant that hardly anyone remembers them, and on account of the observations made by the undersigned, he declares that the following repairs are necessary:

Fort Santa Cruz

Make repairs to the esplanade and to the platform of the bulwark that are uneven on account of the holes they have, as they must be levelled for the better use of the guns; re-do the front wall of the guardhouse on the side facing Sumay; repair the walkways of the lower level; repair the crests of the parapets where they are cracked, and do trowel work on the scaly parts of the walls on the stairways, and on the inside of the bulwark; also go over the roofs to stop the leaks.

Forge

A few repairs such as patching the wall, the parts that need it the most; go over the roof to stop the many leaks, and repair the chimneys and some other things that may need it most.

Powder Magazine

Re-do the wing of the roof, do trowel work on the door and window frames, including those of the guardhouse, where it is most needed.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 16 May 1846.

Sergeant 2nd class José Murillo.

[To] His Lordship the Military and Political Governor of these Islands.

Government of the Marianas.

The Mayor of this City shall arrange for experts from the Masonry trade to be available tomorrow to go and make a detailed inspection of the most necessary work to be done to the buildings for which the Artillery Branch is responsible, in accordance with the report of the Sergeant Commander of that branch. Their inspection report is to be recorded below; they are to calculate the sum that will be necessary to carry out said operation.

Agaña, 30 May 1846.

Gregorio Santa María

To His Lordship the Governor of these Islands.

Dear Sir:

In compliance with the superior order that you have issued yesterday for the inspection concerning our specialty for the necessary repairs to be done to Fort Santa Cruz,

the Forge, and the Powder Magazine, we have carried out said inspection carefully: We, the undersigned, declare that those we have found are the same ones that were stated in the report of the Sergeant Commander of Artillery, and a few other, minor ones, that our detailed inspection has revealed. They are all necessary for the preservation of said buildings. At the same time we must state that we have calculated the potential costs, which will be in the order of 40 pesos. And for the record we have affixed our signatures to the present, in this City of Agaña on the 31st of May 1846.

On behalf of the masonry tradesmen: José Tonoña.

Expert: José Perez.

Government of the Marianas.

In view of the previous report of the Sergeant Commander and Park Warden of the Artillery Branch in these Islands, and the inspection by the two above-mentioned experts, the repairs in question shall be carried out as soon as possible. A list of the wages and materials used in said project, and the expenses incurred are to be charged to the appropriate fund according to the ordinary procedures, to the satisfaction of the Administrator of Public Finance.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 June 1846.

Gregorio Santa María

Mariana Islands—Public works and Fortifications

List of the workers and their wages, plus the materials used in the repairs that were made to Fort Santa Cruz, the Forge, and the Powder Magazine, in order to preserve them from complete deterioration, as follows:

Categories	Names	Days	Wages	Ps.	Rs.	Ms.
Overseer	Sgt. 2nd cl. José Murillo	10 @	3 reals	3	6	
Master Mason	José Tanoña	10 @	3 reals	3	6	
Masons:						
	José del Rosario	6 @	2-1/2 rs.	1	7	
	José Pascual	6 @	2-1/2 rs.	1	7	
	José de los Santos	5 @	id.	1	4	17
	Ignacio Borja	4 @	id.	1	2	
	Lorenzo Pereda	4 @	id.	1	2	
	Marcelino del Rosario	4 @	id.	1	2	
	Andres del Rosario	2 @	id.	-	5	
	Rafael de Castro	2 @	id.	-	5	
	Francisco Agon [sic]	1 @	id.	-	2	17
Laborers:						
	Juan Acosta	4 @	2 rs.	1	1	
	José Manalicey	4 @	id.	1		
	Francisco Ulloa	4 @	id.	1		
	José Tenorio	4 @	id.	1		
	José de la Concepcion	4 @	id.	1		
	Salvador Muña	4 @	id.	1		

Valentin Guerrero	4 @	id.	1
Mariano Astoigui	4 @	id.	1
José Materne	3 @	id.	- 6
Cipriano Tanoña	3 @	id.	- 6
José Tejeran	3 @	id.	- 6
José de los Santos 1°	3 @	id.	- 6
Eugenio Perez	3 @	id.	- 6
José de los Santos 2°	3 @	id.	- 6
Ciriaco de San Nicolas	2 @	id.	- 4
Raimundo Letu	2 @	id.	- 4
Juan de los Santos	2 @	id.	- 4
Pedro Camacho	2 @	id.	- 4
Rufino de la Cruz	2 @	id.	- 2
Vidal Crisostomo	1 @	id.	- 2
For 43-1/2 cabans of lime @ 1-1/2 reals each			2 1 8
For 150 tiles @ 2 pesos 4 reals per hundred			3 6
For 50 nails, 4-inch, for the doors and windows @ 1 peso per hundred			- 4

		Total:	45 4 8
			=====

It turns out that the total expenditures amounted to forty five pesos, four reals and eight maravedis, as shown.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 8 June 1846.

Reviewing officer: José Murillo

Overseer of the repair project: José Tanoña

Approved: Gregorio Santa María

Document 1846D

Population statistics—Census of the Marianas for 1846

Source: PNA. Important note: The statistics appearing in the table concern the residing native population. The number of Spaniards is not given. Some Filipino exiled prisoners, and some Carolinians are listed separately.

Mariana Islands.—

Statement giving the population in this island on this date and that of Rota at the beginning of 1846, with increases and decreases, number of existing married couples, births, deaths and marriages that took place during 1846, as shown below, as interim information for the Superior Government and to update the "Guide for Foreigners".

Settlements	Inhabitants							
	Male	Female	Babies	Total	Couples	Births	Deaths	Marriages
Agaña	2154	2091	1369	5611	878	219	138	34
Anigua	92	92	35	219	26	8	7	2
Asan	68	64	59	191	27	13	5	4
Tepungan	26	30	14	71	12	3	-	-
Sinajaña	84	86	58	228	36	12	4	1
Mungmung	40	46	22	108	22	2	2	4
Pago	118	111	53	383	38	15	8	1
Inarajan	109	144	90	343	48	15	11	2
Merizo	141	131	35	357	59	9	13	4
Umata	91	102	56	259	33	7	4	-
Agat	105	121	65	291	50	12	2	3
Rota (end 1845)	157	183	76	416	65	11	10	1
Totals, end 1846:	3185	3201	1983	8366	1294	326	204	56
Totals, end 1845:	3108	3117	2018	8241	1249	329	191	57
Differences: Increase:	77	84	-	125	45	--	13	-
Decrease:	--	--	35	--	--	3	--	1

Note: The difference noted between the end of 1845 and the end of 1846 is an increase of 125 inhabitants, not counting with the variable categories such as the Gov-

ernor, Sergeant-Major, Detachment of the Artillery, the Reverend Father Curates, the Administrator of Finance, and the Tagalog prisoners remitted by the Superior Courts, and for which reason they do not appear in the above table, the prisoners being only 25 in number at present.

There are also 260 Carolinian pagans who are settled on the island of Saipan.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Monday, 4 January 1847.

Gregorio Santa María¹

1 Ed. note: The periodical "Guà de Forasteros" was first published by the Manila Government in 1834. It was a useful compendium of information on tourism, commerce, etc. in the Philippines and dependencies, such as the Marianas. Local authorities were asked to submit updated information regularly.

Document 1846E

Caroline Islands visited by ship **Chandler Price**

Sources: Articles in Edgartown Gazette, Boston Daily Advertiser, New Bedford Mercury and Boston Courier, in June 1847; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ngatik 2.

Important to Navigators

Capt. John H. Pease, late of the ship **Chandler Price** of New Bedford, informs us that on the 21st of February 1846, he discovered in the North Pacific, an extensive chain of very dangerous reefs, shoals and small islands, not laid down in any chart [sic], extending N.W. by N. and S.E. by S. the distance of 70 miles, the north end of which was in lat. 9°11' N. Could not ascertain the longitude, but it was where there is a small Island on the chart, called "Anonymous Island."¹

The day before (20th) Capt. Pease saw two groups of islands, not named on Norie's Chart, but correctly laid down both in form and situation—passed between them, and had an opportunity of seeing about as much of them as is marked on the chart. The passage is in lat. 8°25' [N.], found the long. to agree to a mile, 152°10' E., but saw nothing of Hall's Islands, which are laid down near these described.²

On the 17th of the same month, Capt. P. saw and landed on Raven's [Ngatik] Islands. Found there four white men and a few women, the native male inhabitants having all been massacred by the Captain of a Sydney trading vessel nine years ago, the females and children being left alive. None of the children were over 12 years of age when Captain Pease was there.

This information was derived from the four men, who now appear to be the sole proprietors of the Islands, as well as of the women and children.

Capt. P. states that he obtained at these Islands 20 hogs, there being an abundance there. They can be obtained for tobacco, cloth, &c. &c.

1 Ed. note: Ulul I., part of the Namonuito Atoll. The previous day, the ship was at the Hall, or Nomwin-Murilo Group.

2 Ed. note: They are the same group of two atolls.

Documents 1846F

Loss of the whale ship **Columbia** at Nonouti

F1. Article in *The Friend*, Honolulu, 15 August 1846

Loss of Am. whale ship **Columbia**.

The **Columbia** of New London, Kelley, Master, sailed from U.S., June 18, 1844, and recruited at Honolulu, Autumn of 1845, when she had on board 2,400 [barrels] of whale oil. We have heard no report respecting said vessel, until the arrival of the **Bengal**, Aug. 4th. From Captain Butler, late of the **Baltic**, we learn the following particulars in regard to the loss of the **Columbia**, on an island near the King's Mill group. Capt. Butler saw one of the boat steerers on board the Hamburg ship, **Hanseat** [rather Hansa], May 3rd, from whom he learned that the **Columbia** was wrecked. No part of the ship or cargo were [sic] saved, but fortunately no lives were lost. The natives took nearly all their clothing, showing the utmost avidity to obtain tobacco, even taking it from Jack's mouth! They would break open casks of oil, hoping to find more of the Virginia weed! As nearly as Capt. B. recollects, a New Bedford ship,¹ shortly after cruising near the place of the disaster, on seeing parts of the wreck, conjectured that the crew might be on shore.—They soon found them among the natives and obtained their ransom for tobacco. The ship proceeded thence to Guam, where the wrecked seamen were landed, and joined different ships which touched there. Capt. Kelley went on board the **Isaac Hicks**, Rice, Master.

For additional information we wait until the Capt. or some of the crew shall arrive.

F2. Article in *The Friend*, Honolulu, 1 September 1846

Ship **Columbia**, Kelly, of New London, was wrecked on the night of the 6th of January on Sydenham's Island, one of the King's Mill Group—vessel and cargo a total loss—crew all saved. They immediately on coming ashore were robbed and stripped of everything by the natives—otherwise were treated as well as they could expect. After remaining 20 days upon the island, they were redeemed by Captain Pease, of ship **Chandler Price**, and carried to Guam, where the crew joined the several ships lying at

1 Ed. note: The Chandler Price, Capt. Pease.

Port Apra. Capt. Kelly and first officer went on board the **Isaac Hicks**. The **Columbia** had 2700 barrels on board at the time of the disaster.

F3. Article in The Friend, 1 December 1846

Loss of the American whale ship Columbia.

By Thos. R. Crocker, Cooper of the Ship.

The ship **Columbia** sailed from New London, Conn., June 18th, 1844, Reuben Kelly, master, and after a successful voyage arrived at Honolulu on the 1st November, 1845, with 2700 barrels of whale oil. She lay here for some time. Having recruited she started on a cruise on the Line for sperm oil. On Jan. 4th we made Byron's [Nukunau] Island and remained there during the day; we left there the same night and proceeded on the voyage until January 6th, on which day land was raised to the leeward as far as could be discerned from the mast-head. The ship was immediately kept off for the land intending to pass it to the southward. At 7 o'clock the wind increased, and at 8 it blew a strong breeze, accompanied with much rain and darkness. The ship's course was altered to S.W., and at 10 o'clock again changed to west, so as to give the land a wide berth. At this time the ship was going about eight knots, with top-gallant sails set, and the wind a little on the starboard quarter. About 10:30 o'clock a flash of lightning disclosed to the man on the lookout the tops of cocoanut trees right ahead, and before the helm could be put down the ship was amidst the surf. All hands immediately rushed upon deck just as the first breaker washed over her. Every effort was made to save the three larboard boats, but before they could be cleared away the ship was on her beam-ends and the boats knocked to pieces.

The captain then ordered the men into the rigging to save their lives. The ship still having a heavy press of sail on her, and laying broadside to the wind, it was found necessary to cut away the masts. After much difficulty an axe was obtained, and the main and mizzen top-mast rigging having been cut away, these masts went over the side, easing the ship considerably. Still the surf broke over her as high as the mizzen top, and the starboard quarter boat was dashed into the rigging upon the men who had betaken themselves there to save their lives.

The situation of these poor fellows was now so perilous, that to preserve themselves they were obliged to cut the boat adrift. We had thus lost four boats, and in the course of a few moments two more were washed off the house. We now watched for a favorable opportunity to descend the rigging and lash more securely the only remaining boat. After much difficulty and danger this was effected, but the labor was vain and useless, for in a few minutes the force of the waves stove the boat and rendered our situation more discouraging, if possible, than before. Thus were we deprived of all our boats, and as they appeared the only means of escape from our perilous position, their loss left us but little hope. The crew raised a shout several times to ascertain if there

were any inhabitants on the island, and once a light was seen on the shore at some distance from us.

About one o'clock in the morning the clouds broke away, and the moon's light enabled us to see the land, and at the same time disclosed to us the imminent peril of our situation. Some of the men were contriving means to effect their escape from the ship, which was now going to pieces; others, having but few clothes on and exposed during the whole time to the action of the surf, were almost dead from cold and exhaustion. About two o'clock two men made an effort to reach the shore with a line made fast around their bodies; but they failed, and it was with much difficulty that they were again drawn on board; in fact, the attempt well nigh proved fatal to both. It was now determined to remain in the ship until morning, or as long as she would hold together.

Before going further in my statement, I must bear evidence to the intrepidity and presence of mind of the captain. Throughout the whole of this trying scene he acted with firmness and judgment, and encouraged us at all times both by word and example. When the danger was the most imminent, his calmness was the more conspicuous, and his efforts for our safety the more daring.

At sunrise another effort was made to reach the shore, and two men starting with a line, after much difficulty and danger succeeded in reaching the beach. Here the line was made fast to a rock, and one by one we proceeded to haul ourselves along it to the shore. Before all had left the ship, the natives began to assemble and some of them even succeeded in getting on board, but they offered no assistance to the crew.

Their first step was to cut the rigging and sails to pieces, and while some were engaged in this work of demolition others commenced an active search for tobacco, appropriating all they could lay their hands on, even forcing the crew to give up the little they had in their mouths. We were not allowed to touch any of the things that had washed on shore, and one man nearly lost his life in making an effort to secure a bible that had been given to him by his mother. They wrested the book from his hands, tore it to pieces, and divided the leaves among themselves. This course they pursued with every thing that came on shore, and in numerous instances the end and use of an object had to yield to this strange system of justice: for instance, a boot was divided among the different claimants—one took a part of the leg, another the sole, another the heel, and so on until nothing remained.

The natives of this island subsist almost entirely on cocoa-nuts; occasionally they obtain a few fish. They are extremely indolent, compelling the women to perform all manual labor. After two days spent in much anxiety and suspense, they concluded not to kill us, we having made them understand that a ship would come and furnish them with tobacco for our liberation. The ship's company was then divided among the chiefs, including some who lived at a distance of twenty-five miles. I fell to the lot of one who lived about twenty miles from the beach.

Although provisions sufficient to have fed us a year came on shore from the ship, we were not allowed to touch it, and as we went to our different places of destination, it was with the thought that starvation would close our career. It is useless to attempt

a description of our sufferings. One man travelled six miles over the burning sands and exposed almost naked to the rays of the sun, to obtain a small piece of hard-bread not as large as the palm of his hand. On another occasion a dog was killed and eaten raw, and so famished were we that the flesh appeared the most delicious morsel that had ever passed our lips. Thus we lived and suffered for the space of twenty-three days, when to our joy a sail was descried in the horizon. It proved to be the ship **Chandler Price**, John H. Pease, master. After five days negotiating, Capt. Pease succeeded in ransoming us for one hundred pounds of tobacco. He treated us in the most kind and friendly manner, and he will always be remembered by the unfortunate beings he rescued with feelings of the deepest regard and gratitude.

Editor's notes:

The account of Captain Pease is reproduced in Joseph Grinnel's report to Congress entitled: "Ship Chandler Price, Owners and Crew of.—March 28, 1850. Mr. Grinnel, from the Committee on Commerce, reports, etc." Wash., U.S. 31st Congress, 1st Session, Report 177, 1850.

Documents 1846G

Some ships that were in the Pacific Ocean in 1845, 1846, and 1847

G1. The ship *Virginia*, Captain Chase

Source: Boston Post, 31 March 1846; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 1.

Note: The whale ship Virginia, 340 tons, of New Bedford, Captain Joseph T. Chase, left her home-port in November 1843 and returned in June 1847.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Chase, of ship *Virginia*, of N. B. reports her at Guam, Oct. 28th [1845]., 23-1/2 mos. out, with 1250 barrels sperm oil. Had experienced a severe gale, lost spars, boat and 290-barrel sperm whale from alongside.

G2. Ships at Guam in March 1846

Source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, 1 September 1846.

Through the politeness of Captain G. L. Cox¹ we are enabled to give the following list of ships at the Island of Guam March 1st.

—**Empire**, Veeder, Nantucket, 1700 sperm, bound to the Loo Choo's [Okinawa] to cruise.

—**Alexander Coffin**, Hathaway, New Bedford, 150 sperm this season.

—**Isaac Hicks**, Rice, New London, 80 sperm this season.

—**Stephania**, Coggeshall, New Bedford, 120 sperm this season.

—**Chandler Price**, Pease, of New Bedford, 150 sperm this season.

—**Margaret Swift**, Pearce, New Bedford, 120 sperm this season.

—**Washington**, Welden, New Bedford, 1250 barrels.

—**Mayflower**, Gifford, New Bedford, 800.

—**Bark Ceres**, Harris, New London, 250.

1 Ed. note: Master of the whaler Brighton of New Bedford, voyage 1844-47.

- Zephyr**, Smith, New Bedford, 1500 sperm.
- Henry Tuke**, Champlin, Warren, 100 this season.
- Chariot**, of Warren, 200 bbls.
- Bark **North America**, Richards, no report.¹

G3. Some ships reported at the Hawaiian Islands in 1846

Source: Various issues of The Friend, Sept. to Dec. 1846.

American ships, mostly whalers:

- Albion**, Hathaway, from NW Coast, leaking badly.
- Midas**, needing repairs.
- Meteor**, with the crew in a state of mutiny.
- Bark **Fame**, New London, 25 months out; Captain Anthony Marks replaced Captain J. B. Mitchell, sick.
- Merchant brig **Glide**, Waterman, from San Blas, to China.
- Ship **Erie**, Holley, Fairhaven, 26 months out.
- Charleston**, Chester, [New London], 25 months out.
- Hibernia**, Smith, New London.
- Tuscarora**, Doane, Cold Spring, [N.Y.]
- Peruvian**, Brown.
- Bark **Warsaw**, Barnum, Stonington, 25 months out.
- Brighton**, [cox], New Bedford, 21 months out.
- Mores**, Cushman, New Bedford, 25 months out.
- Kutusoff**, Shockley, New Bedford, 13 months out.
- Caroline**, Prentiss, New London, 14 months out.
- Laurens**,² Eldredge, Sag Harbor, 12 months out.
- Fenelon**, of New Bedford; Captain Baker, aged 28 years, died of consumption at Honolulu.
- Huntsville**, Howe, Cold Spring.
- Olive Branch**, Place, New Bedford.
- Dartmouth**, Upham, New Bedford.
- Sheffield**, White, Cold Spring.
- Cassander**, King, Providence.
- Rodman**, Newcomb, New Bedford.
- Gratitude**, Wilcox, New Bedford.
- Junior**, Tinkham, New Bedford.
- Coriolanus**, Appleman.

1 Ed. note: In addition, Cox spoke the following ships off the Bonins: a Japanese junk (that had lost her course), Hope, Mayflower, Mary & Susan, Isaac Hicks, Italy, Lagrange, Louvre, Balance, William Lee, and Marengo.

2 Ed. note: So written (ref. Starbuck, p. 432).

- Merchant ship **Brooklyn**, Richardson, to Hong Kong.
- Margaret Scott**, Price, New Bedford.
- William Lee**, Wimpenny, Newport.
- Addison**, West, New Bedford.
- Huron**, Woodruff, Sag Harbor.
- Mary & Susan**, Swan, Stonington.
- Plymouth** Edwards, Sag Harbor.
- William Rotch**, Tobey, New Bedford.
- Lewis**, Tallman, New Bedford.
- Science**, Wood, New Bedford.
- Francis**, Purrington, New Bedford.
- Leonidas**, Swift, 3d, New Bedford.
- Daniel Webster**, Curry, Sag Harbor.
- John Howland**, Leary, New Bedford.

French whalers:

- Ville de Rennes**, Beller [rather Bellot]
- France**, Walch, Havre, left Honolulu 18 Nov. to cruise, and home in 1847.
- Gustave**, Desbats, Havre, left Honolulu 18 Nov. to cruise.
- John Cockerill**, Renouf, left Honolulu 20 Nov. to cruise.
- Duc d'Orléans**, Bachellieure [rather Bachelier].
- Meuse**, Lebrec, Havre, 16 months out, 120 sperm, 900 whale this season.
- Courrier des Indes**, Rivallan, left Honolulu 4 Nov. to cruise.

German whalers;

- :—**Elbe**, Neil, Hamburg.
- Sophie**, Austin, Bremen, left Honolulu 23 Nov. for home.
- Mozart**, Schiller, Bremen, left Honolulu 23 Nov. to cruise.
- Prussian bark **Rija**, Darmer, Wolgast, left Honolulu 24 Nov. to cruise.

Canadian whalers:

- Peruvian**, Taylor, St. John, New Brunswick, left Honolulu 30 Sept. 1846 to cruise.
- Java**, Allan, St. John, N.B., arrived Honolulu on 1 November 1846, 27 months out, 1200 whale, 400 sperm; left Honolulu 26 Nov. for home.

G4. English versus American Vessels of War in the Pacific Ocean in 1846

Source: *The Friend*, 15 October 1846, p. 157.

English vessels.

Rate	Name	Guns	Commander
Ship-of-the-line	Collingwood	80	Sir G. F. Seymour. ¹
Frigate	Grampus	50	C. B. Martin.
Frigate	Fisgard	42	J. A. Duntz.
Frigate	Juno	26	P. J. Blake.
Frigate	Talbot	26	Sir T. Thompson.
Frigate	Carysfort	26	Seymour.
Frigate	Herald	26	Henry Kellet.
Sloop	Modeste	18	Thomas Baillie.
Sloop	Daphne	18	Onslow.
Steamer	Sampson	6	Henderson.
Steamer	Cormorant	6	George T. Gordon.
Steamer	Salamander	6	A. S. Hammond.
Brig	Frolic	16	C. B. Hamilton.
Brig	Pandora	6	S. Wood.
Schooner	Spy	3	Lt. O. Wooldridge.

Total number of guns:		355	

American vessels.

Rate	Name	Guns	Commander
Ship-of-the-line	Columbus	86	Com. Biddle. ²
Frigate	Congress	60	Com. Stockton.
Frigate	Savannah	60	Capt. -----.
Sloop	Portsmouth	24	Capt. Montgomery.
Sloop	Levant	24	Capt. Page.
Sloop	Warren	24	Capt. Hull.
Sloop	Cyane	24	Capt. Mervine.
Schooner	Shark	12	Capt. Howison.
Store ship	Erie	8	Capt. Turner.

Total number of guns:		322	

1 Ed. note: Built at Pembroke, 1841, 2585 tons, complement 750 men, length of gun deck 190 feet. This ship was about to leave Hawaii for Tahiti (see G5 below).

2 Ed. note: Built at Washington, 1817, 2600 tons, complement 780 men, length gun deck 198 feet.

G5. HMS Collingwood visited the "other" Caroline Islands

Source: Lieut. Walpole. Four Years in the Pacific (1849). Vol. II, pp. 300-301.

On our way [from Honolulu to Tahiti], we touched at a small group of islands directly in the passage between the two groups of Taheite and the Sandwich. The Caroline Islands are a low small group, set like emeralds, in the centre of the reef, which, breaking the force of the ocean, causes a perfect cloud of spray, within which they lie calm and beautifully green. They consist of eighteen persons who had emigrated from Taheite, at the representation of the missionaries, who procured them a passage. They refused all offers of assistance, saying, they were in want of nothing, and gave us fruit and cocoa-nuts.

The passage to Taheite was long and wearisome. I was no longer in the **Collingwood**—no longer enjoyed the almost steamer-like certainty with which she went from place to place; but at last the anchor dropped, and again Paputi bloomed by our side—but sad was the change!¹

G6. Ships at Guam in 1847

Source: Boston Post, 31 March 1848; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 2 & 4.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Allen of ship **E. L. B. Jenney**, of Fairhaven reports her at Guam Nov. 6, with 300 bbls. sperm oil. Also arr. at Guam Oct. 14, **Franklin**, Davis, New Bedford, 450 bbls. sperm oil, and would sail Nov. 7 for Manila for medical assistance, Capt. D. being sick. Also at Guam Aug. 20, **Gipsey**, Gibson, London, 36 months out, 1500 bbls of sperm oil.

¹ Ed. note: The islands seen by the crew of the Collingwood belong to the Caroline, or Thornton, Group located at lat. 10° S. and long. 150° W.

Document 1846H

The Ranald MacDonald story—Treasure trove found by beachcombers on Pagan Island

Sources: Original ms. said to be in the Provincial Library in Victoria, British Columbia; duplicate ms. in the Eastern Washington State Historical Society office in Spokane, Washington State, U.S.A.; published as a book entitled: "Ranald MacDonald—The Narrative of his early life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's regime; of his experiences in the Pacific Whale Fishery; and of his great Adventure to Japan; with a sketch of his later life on the Western Frontier, 1824-1894" (Spokane, 1923).

Notes: Written 40 years after the main events (in about 1888), from contemporary notes. MacDonald took it upon himself to "open up Japan," all by himself. He shipped aboard the whaler Plymouth, Captain Edwards, left the ship in a boat, landed at Hokkaido, Japan, was jailed, later transported to Nagasaki, and rescued in 1849 by USS Preble, Cmdr. Glynn.

Extracts from his published narrative

...

Chapter IV

... *Voyage to Sandwich Islands—Incidents there.*

Here [at New York], late in 1845, I shipped before the mast on board the ship **Plymouth**, Lawrence B. Edwards, Captain, for the Sandwich Islands, where I expected to find a favorable opportunity of shipping on board a whaler for the Japan seas—a general resort for such service.¹

In due course (five or six months) I arrived and landed there. The place was of special interest to me, as during my life in the Columbia our (Hudson's Bay Company) trade relations with the Islands were very intimate, and many of the men in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, as boatmen (and excellent they were) were from there.

In the service, they went by the general appellation of "Owhyees," from *Oawhu*, one of the principal islands of the group. The place had also been always an objective point with me for immediate preparation for my contact with Japan...

Ready and eager to go on, I looked out for a whaler bound for the northern seas of Japan. I found one before long; and therewith my story, proper begins.

¹ Ed. note: Plymouth, of Sag Harbor, voyage of 1845-49.

CHAPTER V NARRATIVE

Ship on Board Whaler for Japan Sea—Sandwich Islands—Ladrones Islands—Gregan, Pegan—Castaway Settlers—Treasure Trove—China and Japan Seas—Whale Fishery—Quelpert Island—Adrift Alone for Japan.

At the port of Lahaina in Mowhu [Maui] (one of the Sandwich Islands) after a sojourn of a few days throughout the group, I looked out for a vessel wherein to ship for my purpose.

Accidentally meeting, in port, my old Captain of the **Plymouth**, which had lain over in Kalakakua Bay to repair, I applied to him for reshipment, again before the mast, on the ordinary partnership terms of whalers—of payment on share profit—but with the special stipulation on my part, that I was to be free to leave the ship off the coast of Japan wherever and whenever I should desire, when the ship would be full, or be on the eve of returning or going elsewhere, and that in the meantime he was to teach me to make observations for latitude and longitude in navigation.¹ I had provided myself with Hadley's quadrant and nautical almanac for the purposes. The captain objected at first to such a condition, but finally agreed to it, on terms which will hereafter appear in the narrative. I believe he thought the condition would never be exacted; and certainly he never manifested any desire that it should be.

We left the Sandwich Islands, for Hong Kong, in company with the whaler **David Paddack** of Nantucket.²

On our voyage we sighted some small islands, and touched at Gregan [Agrigan] and Pegan [Pagan], two of the Ladrones, where we got wood and a large number of hogs. Gregan is the most northern of the group.³

We here met with an adventure which I thought very little of at the time, but since in hearing, or rather reading of the report of vast buried treasure in the old Spanish times, it has recurred to me, with a passing thought of what might have been done, with such like trove, by myself as well as others with me at the time and who were personally cognizant of the facts. The story, briefly, is this:

Gregan and Pegan With Their “Robinson Crusoes” and Treasure.

On our way to the Ladrones, we approached, unconsciously, a rock in mid-ocean known as the French Frigate Shoals. Here we experienced the severest gale during the entire voyage, blowing our main sail and some of our fore and aft sails clean out of the bolt ropes, but by bending new ones, and good management, we weathered all danger.

1 Ed. note: He left the ship two years later, in 1848.

2 Ed. note: Captain B. Swain 2d, voyage of 1845, until 1848 when wrecked on a sunken rock 15 miles off the coast of Hokkaido, Japan.

3 Ed. note: Not correct, of course.

It was touch and go with us, for we have found ourselves in the bight of the shoals. We calculated the shoal to be from ten to fifteen miles in length.

When the weather moderated we shaped our course for the Island of Gregan, for wood and water. On arriving at the Island with our consort the **David Paddack**, we came to, under the lee of the Island, by backing our main yard. Each Captain went ashore in his own boat. I was one of the party.

The Island was fringed with cocoa-nut trees near the beach. On landing we discovered—Robinson Crusoe like—human foot prints on the sand. We were surprised; having been assured that the Island was not, and never had been inhabited. On ascending the beach we saw a naked man dodging from tree to tree. By following him we came to a clearing, with a yard, and three or four thatched cottages, and eight other men, with several women, and a few children. Before arriving at the place, we were met by the mysterious dodger; but now in full dress, wearing a shirt—just a shirt—nothing more! He introduced himself as “Liverpool Jack.” He told us that there was another white man, living about a mile north of him, named by him “Spider Jack,” living with a sickly wife. He gave me to understand that they had a falling out about a child they both claimed.

Their wealth consisted of pigs and chickens: the more wives they had, the more pigs and chickens they could attend to.

From Liverpool Jack’s account of himself, he had been fourteen or fifteen years on the Island; and that Spider Jack had been about four years longer. The Spider, after hoisting the Spanish flag—for he supposed we were Spanish men of war—soon joined us. From an account I afterwards learnt of them, it seems:—

That twenty one years previous to our visit [about 1826] a whale ship, the **Peruvian** of New London, Connecticut, cruising in those seas for sperm whale, had picked up a large canoe with twenty one living souls on board, in a destitute condition. Out of pure humanity the Captain took them on board and supplied them with necessaries.¹

In giving an explanation of their condition it seems that they were blown out of sight of land in going from one island to another in the Kingsmill Group, so that they were left to the mercy of the winds and waves.

Not wishing to encumber his decks the Captain landed them on Gregan, after seeing that it was fit for habitation, giving them a sow with pig, a cock and a couple of hens. They had then a vast number of each kind. We were not long in getting a supply on leaving the Island.

I conversed with both Jacks. Neither of their stories could I trust. In making the observation that I thought it strange that the pigs and chickens had increased, while the men and women had not—for they were little more than the original number—they both agreed about having plenty of arms, and of having had a larger community of white men and negroes among them at one time. That they manufactured a kind of

1 Ed. note: The Peruvian, Captain Brown, had visited Agrigan only the year before. For a more truthful story of this rescue, see Doc. 1845E.

whiskey from the cocoa-nut with a tea kettle and a gun barrel. That they had several fights; and murders had taken place among them. Then peace would be declared each party would make a show that he had destroyed the only weapon he owned, but on the next occasion of a carouse, out would come the weapons. Both told me no-one would trust another. No doubt the poor Kingsmill Islanders were the greatest sufferers.

Both spoke confidently of a large amount of treasure buried in the Island of Pegan, near Gregan: that they knew the exact spot; and to corroborate this, one of our men who had time to accept Spider Jack's invitation to visit his hut or house reported seeing there half a chestful of silver dollars: and that Jack tried to persuade him to desert the ship. He declined, from fear of being murdered. At that time, I had no cause to doubt the man. What puzzled me was, that there being no trade, how he (Jack) came to have so much money. We were the only visitors they had had since they were on the Island: so they said.¹

The Story of the Buried Treasure [on Pagan].²

At the time of one of the great revolutions in South America, the wealthy, to escape, had chartered a vessel, and put on board, their money and valuables, church plate and pictures &c; in fact, she was loaded with wealth. In an unguarded moment she was taken possession of by a desperate gang; who escaped, and made for the Ladrones; where they buried the treasure, after appropriating enough for their present need.

That, in time, they separated: some died; or all may have died except *three*. That, in time, these three visited the treasure. That the Captain or Chief called one of the party aside as if for consultation, but instead of consulting, murdered him: then turning to his surviving companion murdered him also. That, alone, he returned to Manilla, where, after a while, he, in remorse gave himself up to the authorities, telling the story. That on his representations, the Manilla Government sent to the place a man-of-war with the man on board to show the spot.

That on arrival at Pegan, the boat was alongside of the ship ready for the passenger. That on going over the side to embark in the boat, to land, he fell between the ship and the boat, never to rise again! The two Jacks pointed to the side of the mount where the man-of-war sailors had turned up the ground in a fruitless search for the buried treasure.³ Our informants told us that we were nearer to the spot than they (the man-of-war's men) had been, for—said they—“we are within a quarter of a mile of the place.”

They may as well have told us that we were less than a hundred miles, for we never had a thought of losing a moment for it. It may be there yet!

This conversation occurred on the Island of Pegan (uninhabited) where we were for wood. We made the best of our way back to Gregan to get our pigs and fowls.

1 Ed. note: The year before, they had told Captain Brown of the Peruvian, that his too had been the only ship since Captain Worth had brought the Gilbert Islanders there.

2 Ed. note: For the more historical account of the **English** ship Peruvian, and the Robertson Treasure, see Doc. 1822J and K.

3 Ed. note: This conversation took place at Pagan (see below).

From there we steered generally West, keeping a little North some-times, so as to sight the Bonin Islands, thinking we might find sperm whale.

From there we went to the Bashee Islands, Spanish Possessions, South of the Island of Formosa.

In the Straits of Formosa we landed on the two principal Islands of the Bashee Group. One of these, viz. Batan, was apparently under fair cultivation, and possessed a good, though small, harbor. Its capital consisted of very miserable huts, but the “Governor’s Palace” and a place of worship—both in a state of ruin—were built of stone. Here we got some yams, a few onions, and some beef.

Late in the afternoon of the day on which we left the Bashees, we fell in with the first school of whales—sperm whales—and killed a great many.

...
[The ships reached Hong Kong, and there got ready for a cruise in the Japan Sea. They cruised around Quelpert Island, an island off the southern tip of Korea, for a week. Then, in March [1847], they entered the Japan Sea proper. “Whaling was so easy in the Japan Sea; the fish was so numerous...” When the ship was full, the following year, they were cruising off Hokkaido, and that is when MacDonalld asked permission to leave the ship in a boat, and made for the coast of Japan. He made a landfall at Soya at the northern tip of Hokkaido, then called Yezo. He had many adventures in Japan, ending at Nagasaki where he taught English to a small group of men who later acted as official interpreters for the Japanese Government, after Commodore Perry’s bold act of 1854.]¹

1 Ed. note: The editors of MacDonalld’s narrative quote from a then-extant logbook by a Mr. Andrews, the first officer of the David Paddack, but the reference book *Log Inv.*, i.e. Sherman *et al.*’s *Whaling Logbooks* (1986) has no listing for this ship. It would be interesting to read what, if anything, Andrews had to say about the Robertson Treasure.

Document 1846I

The Splendid, Captain Baylies, 1846-48**The logbook attributed to Captain Gustavus A. Baylies**

Source: Ms log in the Providence Public Library; PMB 894; Log Inv. 4419.

**Log of the Ship Splendid, of Edgartown, Capt. G. A. Baylies.
Voyage 1846-49.**

...

Thursday March 25 [1846]

... Steering NW. At 3 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing NW 25 miles distance. At 5 do., several canoes came alongside with a few coconuts... At 10 a.m., Heng, a native [of] Rarotonga died after a sickness of 3 months. Lat. 2°18' S. Long. 174°40' E.

...

Tuesday April 6

... At 5 a.m., saw Guam bearing NW 15 miles distance. Latter part, fresh trades. Running down for Umata.

Wednesday April 7

... At 4 p.m., came to anchor in 17 fathoms water. Latter part, employed getting off water, heavy swell on.

Thursday April 8

... At 7 a.m., took anchor for Port Apra.

Friday April 9

... At 3 p.m., came to anchor at Port Apra in 19 fathoms water.

[No entries until 20th.]

Tuesday April 20

... At 3 p.m., took anchor and went to sea, steering N by W...

...

[To the China Sea, Kamchatka, Hawaii, back to the Line.]

...

Tuesday Dec 28 [1847]

... At 10 a.m., saw Phebe's [Tamana] Island bearing bearing NW 15 miles. At noon, the Island bore NE 1 mile distance. Lat. 00°13' N. Long. 176°25' W [rather E].

Wednesday Dec 29

... At 3 p.m., spoke the Ship **Mechanic** [of Newport, R. I.], Capt. [Oliver] Potter, 14 months out, 170 bbls sperm oil. Lat. 01°49' S. Long. 176°00 W [sic].

...

Saturday January 1 [1848]

... At 10 a.m., passed a Ship headed to the North showing **Isaac Howland's** H signal.¹ Lat. 1°38' S. Long. 179°05 E.

...

Sunday January 16

... At 4 p.m., saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing NW by N 15 miles distance. 2 Ships to the North. At 9 a.m., spoke Ship **Sarah Parker**, [Capt. Russell], Nantucket... Lat. 2£40' S. Long. 175°30' E.

...

Thursday January 27

... At 4 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing NW by W 25 miles distance. At 9 a.m., saw Bark and Ship. At noon, Ocean Island bore NNW 20 miles distance.

...

Monday January 31

... At 4 p.m., spoke the Bark **Garland** [of] New Bedford, [Capt.] Crowell, 27 months out, 650 bbls sperm oil and Ship **Japan**, Nantucket, Riddell. Lat. 00°11 S. Long. 167°50 E.

Tuesday February 1

... At 5 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SW 20 miles. Latter part, lying off NW side Pleasant Island trading for hogs, fowls, etc. Saw the Bark **Newton** [of N.B., Capt.] Hale and Ship **Mount Vernon** [Capt. Covell of New Bedford].

...

Thursday February 3

... At 1 p.m., spoke the Ship **Potomac**, Nantucket, Swain, 28 months out, 1600 bbls sperm oil. Lat. 00°13' S. Long. 167°30 E.

...

Sunday February 20

... At 10 a.m., saw Ascension [Pohnpei] Island bearing NE by N 30 miles distance. Lat. 6°30' N. Long. 148°00 E.

1 Ed. note: Captain West, of New Bedford.

Monday February 21

... Steering N by W to the westward of Ascension. Middle part, lying by. Latter part... At 10 a.m., several canoes came from New Group [Pakin] Islands. At noon, they bore E 5 miles distance. Lat. D.R. 7°00' N. Long. 158°00' E.

...

Saturday February 26

... Steering NNW, all sail on. At 5 a.m., saw Guam bearing W 25 miles distance. At 6 do., saw Rota Island bearing NNW. AT 11 do., went on shore.

Sunday February 27

... Lying off and on at Rota. Got off 22 hogs and some yams. Latter part... at 11 a.m., left Rota with 40 hogs and pigs, a few yams, steering SSW for Guam.

Monday February 28

... Middle part, lying off and on. At 8 a.m., came to anchor at Port Apra, Guam.

[No entries until March 15th.]

Wednesday March 15

... At 7 a.m., weighed anchor for Umata. At 12, came to anchor at Umata in 16 fathoms water.

Thursday March 16

... Employed watering.

Friday March 17

... At 5 p.m., weighed anchor, steering to the NNW. Latter part, steering NW. Ship **Mechanic** in company. Lat. 14°09' N. Long. 144°05' E.

...

Friday March 24

... At 10 a.m., saw Douglas Reef 2-1/2 miles from E to W, 1/2 mile broad. The reef is under water. On the west end, a small rock above water and in one or two other places very small rocks to be seen. There appears to be a lagoon in the middle of the reef... Lat. 20°25' N. Long. 136°25' E.

...

1 Ed. note: There is another log kept by Alpheus R. Baker (MCF in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; Long Inv. 4420).

Note 1846J

The Gambia, Captain Joseph Hartwell

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Peabody Museum, Salem; PMB 218.

Extract from the logbook**Brig Gambia. Voyage from Salem to New Zealand, Fiji, and Manila in 1844-46.**

...

Remarks on Thursday 15 [January 1846]

Begins with strong breezes with Baffling winds and instances(?) with passing showers of rain with a long swell on from NW.

At 6 PM the wind Baff from NNE to East took in the oiuer(?) sails royals.

At 9 PM comes in strong gales took in the top gallant sails. At 10 PM double reefed the top sails. During the night squalls of rain at intervals with a long swell on from the ENE. At 6 AM let one reef out of the main top sail and set main top gallant sail. At 11:15 AM made the Isle of Guam bearing by Compass N by E dist. 10 Miles. Ends with strong gales and passing showers of rain at intervals.

At Noon the Isle of Guam bore NNE by Compass.

Lat. by Obs. 13°65.

[No other remarks about Guam. Did not stop. Arrived at Manila on the 26th.]

Document 1846K

The Henry Tuke, Captain Champlin

Source: Log 517 in Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB ...; Log Inv. 2228.

Logbook kept by ... Grinnell

...

Remarks on board. January 1846.

Wednesday 28

Commences brisk wind from N. At 4 p.m., kept off SW. Middle part moderate, latter part the same. Employed in ship duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.03 S. Long. 176.55 E.

Thursday 29

Commences moderate wind from NNE, steering SW. At 4 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing WSW distant 30 miles. Middle part saw the lights on shore. Latter part squally from W. Took in all sails & stays, reefed main topsail and fore topmast stay sail. A Barque in sight to Eastward. No obs. So ends these 24 hours.

Friday 30

Commences a moderate gale from W. At 2 got more moderate from SW bearing WNW. Middle part moderate from WSW sea thick heading NW latter part calm and rainy. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.45 S. Long. 175.58 E.

Saturday 31

Commences light wind from NEbyN standing on opposite tack. At 2 p.m. spoke the **William and Eliza** of New Bedford. Heard of the barque **Harriet** of Freetown losing their boats crews in a squall towing a whale. Middle and latter parts calm. Employed in ships duty, so ends these 24 hours.

Lt. 2.43 S. Long. 176 E.

Remarks February 1st 1846

Sunday 1st

Commences calm. Middle and latter parts the same. Three sails in sight. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.11 [S], Long. 176.00 E.

Monday 2

Commences light variable wind and calm. Middle and latter parts the same. Employed in ships duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.24. Long. 175.53 E.

Tuesday 3

Commences light air from W by S. At 2 p.m., canoes came off from Roaches [Tamana] Island with a few cocoanuts. Two sails in sight. Middle and latter parts calm. Employed in repairing main sail. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.26 S. Long. 175.41 E.

Wednesday 4

Commences calm. Roaches Island in sight. Middle and latter parts light variable wind and rainy. Employed in ships duty. So ends these 24 hours. No observation.

Thursday 5

Commences squally from W then at NW. Middle and latter parts brisk wind heading at NW. At 11 o'clock saw sperm whales. Lowered and fastened and killed four. L.B. irons drawn and lost one. So ends these 24 hours.

2.45 S. 174.50 E

Friday 6

Commences brisk wind from N by W. At 5 p.m., took the whales alongside and got ready for cutting. Latter part light wind from NSW, heading NW. Employed in cutting in and trying out. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.28. Long 174.33 E.

Saturday 7

Commences light wind from NSW. Run E for whales two hours and they proved Finback. Middle part heading NW. Middle and latter parts calm. Employed in trying out oil. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.02. Long. 174.55 E.

Sunday 8

Commences moderate wind from NNW. At 5 p.m., rainy. Middle and latter parts squally. At 10 a.m., saw whales breach to windward. At 12 tacked to NE but saw no more of them. So ends these 24 hours.

No obs.

Monday 9

Commences moderate wind from WNW heading SW. Middle and latter parts moderate wind from NW to WNW. Employed in ships duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.12 S. Long. 172.50 E.

Tuesday 10

Commences light squalling rain from NNW heading W. Middle and latter parts light wind from NW and calm. Employed in stowing down oil. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.25 S. Long. 172.00 E.

Wednesday 11

Commences calm. At 6 a.m. light air from NNW heading W. Middle and latter parts light air and calm. Employed in ships duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 2.50. Long. 172.00 E.

...

Ship Henry Tuck's Logbook Towards Guam 1846

...

Sunday 22. Land.

Commences brisk trades from NNE heading NW. At 6 p.m. saw Qualan [Kosrae] Island bearing NW by N dist. 30 miles. Middle and latter parts brisk wind. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 5.46. Long. 162.00

Monday 23

Commences brisk wind from N by E heading NW by W. Middle and latter parts brisk trades. Employed in ship duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 07.00 N. Long. 161.00 E.

Tuesday 24

Commences brisk trades and cloudy heading NW. Middle and latter parts strong wind from N. Course WNW. Employed in ship duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 8.11 Long. 159.10

Wednesday 25

Commences strong NE trades from N and squally. Middle part split main topsail close reefed. Latter part a moderate gale from NE, course WNW. Employed in mending main topsail. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 9.11 N. Long. 167.20 E.

...

Monday, March 2. Guam.

Commences strong trades steering W by N with fore topmast and main topgallant studding sail. At 9 a.m., saw the Island of Guam. At 5 p.m., hove to off the reef on the NW side. At 5-1/4, came to anchor in 24 fathoms and gave out 60 fathoms cable, furled the sails. So ends these 24 hours.

Tuesday 3

Commences strong wind. Employed in breaking out and cutting wood. So ends these 24 hours.

Wednesday 4

Strong trades and thick weather. Employed in getting wood and water. So ends these 24 hours.

Thursday 5

Weather blowy and rainy. Employed in wooding and watering. So ends these 24 hours.

Friday 6

Strong trades and frequent showers. Employed in getting wood and water. So ends these 24 hours.

Saturday 7

Strong trades. S. [=Starboard] Watch on liberty. Employed in watering and blacking bends. So ends these 24 hours.

Sunday 8

Commences brisk trades. Starboard watch on shore, on liberty. So ends these 24 hours.

Monday 9

Starboard watch went on board. Larboard watch went on shore on liberty. Employed in blacking bends. So ends these 24 hours.

Tuesday 10

Employed in painting ship and stowing water. So ends these 24 hours.

Wednesday 11

L. Watch came on board. Employed in painting and coopering oil, putting on a new head rail and various other jobs.

Thursday 12

Employed in watering, stowing wood, painting, mending head rail &c. Brisk trades. **One Dutch barque came in.**¹ So ends these 24 hours.

Friday 13

Brisk trades. Employed in getting off recruits, mending fore topsail and various odd jobs. So ends these 24 hours.

Saturday 14

Strong trades. Employed in repairing boats and getting recruits. One watch on liberty ashore. So ends these 24 hours.

Sunday 15

Starboard watch on liberty. Weather rainy. So ends these 24 hours.

Monday 16

All hands employed in mending fore topsail, mending and painting boats, stowing recruits and boating(?). So ends these 24 hours.

Tuesday 17

Strong wind and frequent squalls of rain. Employed in repairing boats and getting recruits. So ends these 24 hours.

Wednesday 18

Fine weather. Employed in various jobs. One man by name of Nines deserted last night. So ends these 24 hours.

Thursday 19

Strong wind, from N. Shipped one man. Employed in various jobs. So ends these 24 hours.

Friday 20

Strong winds. Employed in various jobs. So ends these 24 hours.

Saturday 21

Strong trades. Caught the deserter Nines, flogged the Englishman for fighting and put him on shore. Put Brown(?) in irons for [blank].

1 Ed. note: Possibly a German whaler. Captain Cox' list of ships at Guam on 1 March (Doc. 1846G2) does not give this ship, as she came in later. Perhaps this German ship was one of those listed as being in Hawaii later on, in November 1846.

Sunday 22

At 5 p.m. took our anchor and put to sea. Employed in stowing anchors. So ends these 24 hours.

Monday 23

First part strong trades, standing on opposite tacks. Middle and latter parts the same. Employed in ship duty. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 13.46 N. Long. 144.30 E.

Tuesday 24

Commences strong trades from ENE, standing on opposite tacks. Split the jib. Employed in repairing another. Middle and latter parts strong wind under single reefed topsails. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 15.05 N. Long. 143.54 E.

...

[The ship went north along the Mariana Island chain, but there is no mention of individual islands.]

Documents 1846L

The ship Lucy Ann of Greenport, Captain Edwin P. Brown

Sources: A typed abstract of the log, in Oysterpond Historical Society, Orient, Long Island, NY; the log itself in the Rogers Memorial Library, Southampton, NY; PMB 688; Log Inv. 2942.

L1. Part of the abstract of the log kept by Captain Brown

...

March 1 [1846]

Lowered the boats and carried two white men we took here to land. Paid say five or six pounds of Tobacco and one hatchet for cocoanuts and fowls. Rugged, did not land, put them in a canoe. Probably thirty canoes alongside ship
[outline of Clarke, Onotoa, Island]

...

Remarks on board Thursday 12 [March]

... At half past eight A.M. raised the land off our lee bow. Pulled in two boats but got nothing but a few coconuts. They said they would get yams for us tomorrow so concluded to stop tonight. One canoe came off. Women offered to sell themselves for two plugs of tobacco.

Lat 5°25. Long Chro 162°49 Isle 162°59.

Remarks on Board Friday 13

Fine fresh trade winds. Blew on a storm last night. Had to reef down ... & give up Strongs [Kosrae] Isle. ...

[Outline of Rota Island]

March 20 1846. Friday

Soon as it was light made the land Ran in & went on shore with 2 boats. Middle of the day blew on heavy & squally. Ship had to come under short sail. Sent one boat on board for trade. Returned loaded up both boats & got on board at dusk with about 1600 lbs of yams, 400 coconuts, 15 or 20 fowls. ...

[Outline of Guam Island]

Saturday 21

This morning at seven bells hove a back off the town of Guam 3 miles dist got breakfast & went on shore. Two boats made two trips in the course of the day & got everything on board snug before sunset. Got 1600 lbs yams at 1.25 per Hundred, 1300 lbs sweet potatoes at 75 cts per hundred, rice, beans, corn, pumpkins &c. Strong trades. At 6 P.M. braced forward to the northward under single reefs and courses. Now for Kamchatka. Heading N by W on wind.

...

L2. Extracts from the log itself

...

February 25th 1846

Larboard watch on deck all hands was called to take in sail a squall hovering struck us a back we have not seen it blow so hard since we left Greenport we went to work to get some of our sail in but before we could get it in we had our Mainsail and Mizen topsail split the Main topsail blowed out of the bolt ropes and the Fore topsail nearly all to pieces during the squall the rain fell in torrents this has been a busy day sending down rags and bending new sails.

Thursday 26th

Wind light from the N West Passed Hope [Arorae] Island which lies in the Lat of 2°42 South Long 178 East it is very low land we passed within 8 or 10 miles of it.

Friday 27th

Light wind from the NN West at 2 AM saw Rotches [Tamana] Island 2 points over our larboard By 4 PM we had 6 canoes alongside each canoe conveying 2 natives these are the first natives that I have seen that go entirely naked they have very handsome canoes.

Saturday 28th

We have been standing off and on all night at daylight this morning stood in shore and the Capt and 3 mate went on shore they found the surf so high that they could not land but they had no need to land for the natives swam the cocoanuts off to the boats all day weather very cold, coconuts being about all they had to trade. they soon had the boats loaded for which the Capt gave them tobacco a great number of the natives came of to the ship and among the rest several squaws. We found on the Island 2 white men 1 a native of England the other an American they requested our Capt to take them and land them at Clarks [Onotoa] Island which we saw about 5 o'clock PM.

Sunday March 1st

After breakfast the Capt took the Chief mates boat and crew in company with the second mates boat and crew and the 2 men that he was to leave fuelled(?) in shore but

could not land the natives swam of to the boats with cocoanuts and shells and such things as they had to trade so that we soon had our boats loaded. Our deck was nearly covered with natives of both sexes all the time we was there we here saw a specimen of the Ladies I will not attempt to give a description of their dress for fear it might make some of the modestous blush if one of them should read it but I assure you it is not the latest fashion from Paris the 2 men we sent on shore in canoes. At 2 PM squared the yards and stood to the Westward...

...

Thursday 12th

N East trades blowing strong. At 8 AM saw Strongs [Kosrae] Island. at 3 PM got close in to the land the Capt and 2 mate went in shore stopped but a short time came on board without getting any thing squared the yards and kept the ship N West.

...

Thursday 19th

Trade windss stil continue to blow[.] we are steering for the Island of Rotta and expect to see it in the morning. Lat 12°30 North.

Friday 20th

Trades still blowing fresh at sunrise this morning saw the land as we expected about 10 AM the Capt and 8 mate went on shore there is quite a large town here we got 2 boat loads of yams cocoanuts and sweet potatoes got on board of the ship about dark squared the yards and steered for the Island of Guam which we expect to see in the morning.

Saturday 21st

Saw the Island of Guam only in the morning after breakfast the Capt and 2 mate went on shore and got 2 boat loads of yams and potatoes[.] come on board went on shore again came of with more yams and potatoes. There is a large town here the Inhabitants of these Islands are descendants from the Spaniards who first took possession of these Islands[.] as soon as the Capt came on board he started her for the N. West I will mention here that the Ship **Columbia** of New London went on shore on one of the King Mills Group of Islands. A short time since we saw her on the N West and spoke her several times she had 2700 bbls of oil as soon as she struck the beach the natives took possession of her taking all the crew and stooping their naked at the same time making motions to them that if they resisted they would cut their throats after stripping them they went to work to plunder the ship staving the cask and drinking the oil the crew were on the Island 9 weeks and were then taken off by the ship **Chandler Price** and brought to Guam where we saw some of the men.

Sunday 22nd

Trade winds still continue to blow fresh ship heading N weather clear.

Monday 23rd

Trades blowing fresh ship heading N by East.

...

[The ship went to the Bonins without sighting any more of the Marianas.]

Note 1846M

The ship Navigator, Captain George Palmer

Source: Ms. in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., or the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 211; Log Inv. 3475.

Extracts from the log kept by Elijah Pitts Chase

...
[The ship went from Auckland to Hong Kong via Manila in June 1846. In so doing, it crossed the Equator in 157° E. and soon spotted Greenwich Island at Lat. 1°05 N & Long. 155°00 E. No island in Micronesia is reported. The ship sighted the Babuyanes Island north of Luzon on 25 July. Since this ship returned home via the Indian Ocean, this logbook is of no interest to the history of Micronesia.]

Document 1846N

The merchant bark Zotoff, Captain Benjamin Wallis

Source: Mrs. Mary Davis (Cook) Wallis. Life in Feejee, or, Five Years among the Cannibals (Boston, 1851).

Note: Between 1840 and 1850, the 220-ton bark Zotoff made 4 voyages from Salem to Fiji and the Philippines. The master of the vessel was Captain Benjamin Wallis (1801-1876) of Beverly, Mass., near Salem. On his last two voyages, he was accompanied by his wife, who left a diary.

[Figure: Captain Benjamin Wallis, of Beverly, Mass., who carried on a bêche-de-mer trade in the 1840s.]

The third voyage of the Zotoff—The narrative of Mrs. Mary Wallis

Notes: This third voyage began on 22 July 1844 and took Capt. and Mrs. Wallis from Salem to New Zealand (November) and Fiji, where they arrived in December, for a 3-year stay, except for a 7-month side trip to Manila in 1846, which included a visit to the Mortlocks and Nauru. Finally, they left Fiji in November 1847, on the way home, via Manila; they were back at Salem in June 1848.

The fourth, and final, voyage began at Salem in October 1848, arrived at Fiji in April 1849; departed Fiji for Manila in December 1849; back at Salem in July 1850.

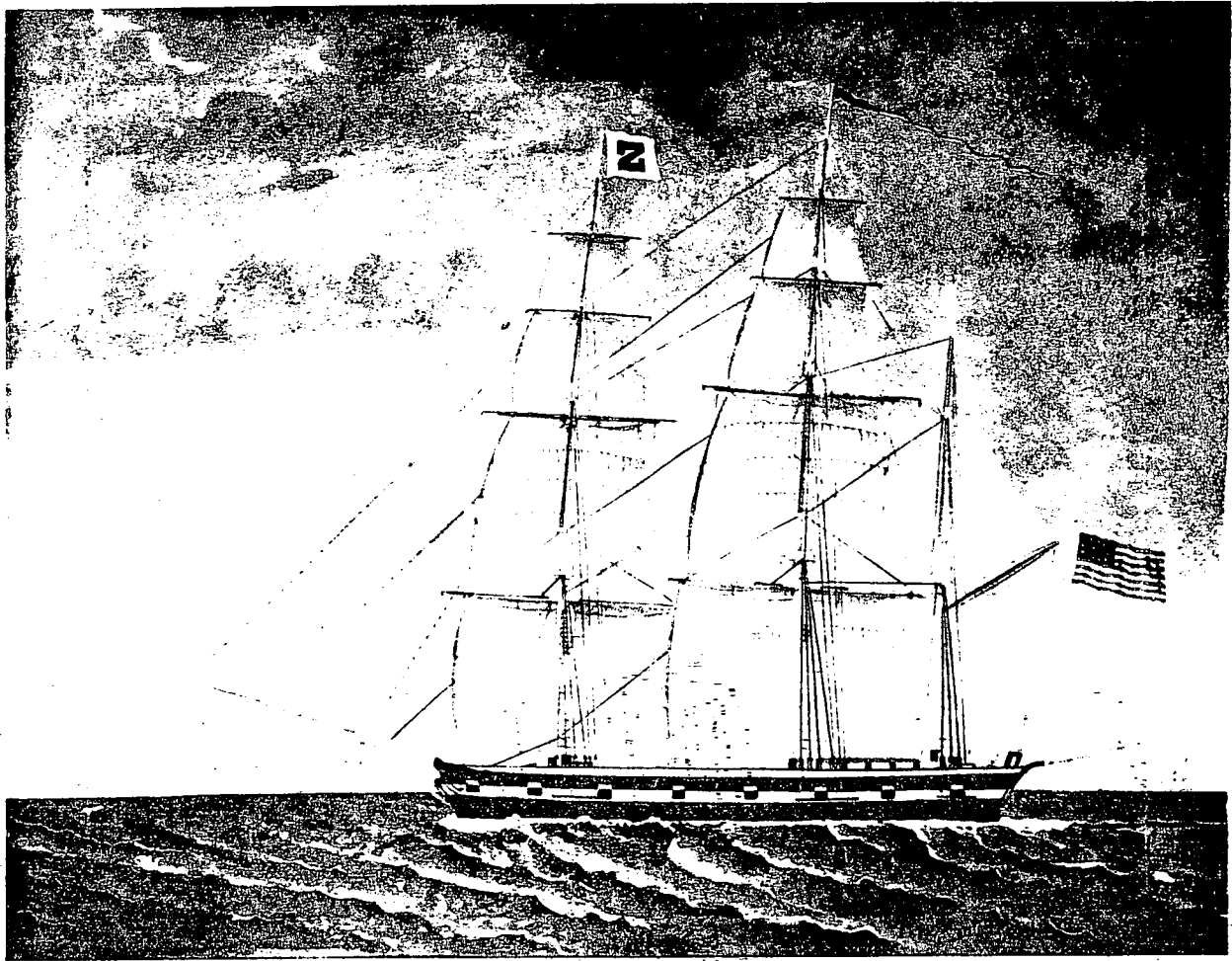
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CHAPTER X.

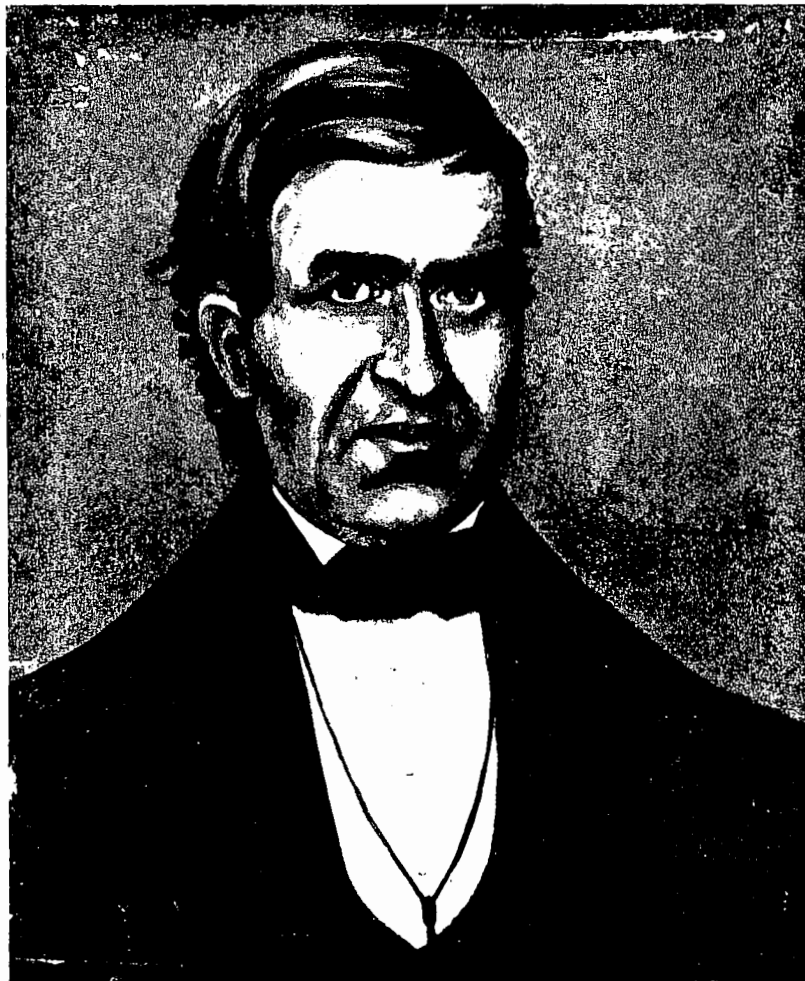
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[Visit to the Mortlocks]

27 [February 1846]. We arrived at a group of islands called the Young Williams' group [Satawan]. We counted eighteen in number, all of coral formation, and appearing scarcely above the level of the sea. Those that were near us were covered with coconut trees. We sailed by one of the largest isles, and soon observed some of its tawnies, men, women and children, all racing along the sand beach, shouting to us at the top of their voices, while some were showing a white flag to induce us, as we supposed, to anchor and honor them with a visit. We soon saw several canoes approaching, filled with natives. The bark was hove to, and two of the natives came on board. They were shown



Bark Zotoff, commanded by Benjamin Wallis. (Original drawing in the Peabody Museum of Salem).



Captain Benjamin Wallis.

some “*beechnut*” and they signified by signs that there was a plenty of the article on the reefs. Weapons were shown to them, both savage and civilized (if there are such things as civilized weapons, I believe there is but one—a broomstick), but they did not seem to understand their uses. They exhibited much astonishment at sight of the pigs, and appeared to have had but little, if any, intercourse with vessels. They brought coconuts, and received in return fish-hooks.

These islanders are a very handsome race, light colored, no beards, and fine black hair, which they wore long; a few wore it hanging loosely down behind, but the most of them had it twisted and brought to the top of the head, where it was confined, and a small wreath of flowers was worn over it. The young men resembled, at a little distance, very pretty girls, and such we at first thought them. Several wore flowers in their ears, and all had pieces of native cloth, but were not particular in its arrangement till I appeared on deck, when all who were in the canoes proceeded to cover their persons in a proper manner. Those who had come on board had previously done so. Their cloth resembled coarse canvass, and was about half a yard in width. Two breadths were fastened together, and an opening left in the centre; the head was passed through the opening, and the cloth falling loosely before and behind, gave the wearers a very decent appearance. Their features were regular,—their teeth beautiful,—their eyes very bright, but mild in their expression. The arms of some were tattooed in delicate parallel lines, from the shoulders to the elbows. They were decidedly the handsomest race of men that I have seen in the South Seas. No women came off,—a sure evidence that they have not yet been cursed by intercourse with whaling vessels.

March 8. We are in sight of the Philippine Islands. Farewell to sea-sickness for one month. This disagreeable sensation has accompanied me in some degree ever since I left Feejee...

9. Last evening, at seven o'clock, we entered the straits of St. Bernardino...

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival at Manila.—Its Inhabitants.—Its Buildings.—Bazars.—Visit to the Piña Factory.—The Escolta.—Departure from Manila.—Return to the Young Williams' Group.—Its Inhabitants.—Our Departure.—The Greenwich Islands.—The Dangerous Reef.—Pleasant Island.

March 10. Arrived at Manila.

...

8 [April]. We are now clear of shoals, rocks and islands, and are once more upon the open sea, with the pleasing variety of ocean and sky one day, and sky and ocean the next.

We left Manila by the Bashee passage. As we entered the bay of Manila by the Straits of St. Bernardino, we have now made the entire circuit of Luzon. The island is about one thousand and fifty miles in circumference. The second day out, the two deser-

ters from the United States ship **Columbus** appeared on the deck of our vessel.¹ I presume that they had become hungry. They stated that they succeeded in secreting themselves on board the day before the vessel sailed from M. One of the men is an Italian, and had been on board the **Columbus** nearly three years, which was the time he enlisted for. In a few months he would have been entitled to his discharge, and received his pay. Now he has forfeited the whole, and owns only the clothes that he is wearing. He does not complain of ill-treatment, but gives as a reason for his desertion his desire of change. Truly, a sailor is like the sea, "ever restless, ever changing." The other deserter is a stupid looking fellow, of no particular nation, I believe.

June 7. We passed a group of islands of coral formation, called Hashmy's Group [Namoluk]. We have been chased by two enormous sharks. They were hungry, and we gave them no food. During our passage thus far, we have had continual head winds with very light breezes. We have lost by death several turkeys, and a number of the long-faced gentry [i.e. pigs]. Their change of life, probably, did not agree with their constitutions. A monkey lies very ill with ill usage from his master, (one of the sailors,) who beats him every day to make him love him. I think the man must have taken lessons of some Irish husbands of the lower order; but the poor little monkey's affections are not to be gained by "*the bating*."

[The Mortlocks again]

10. We anchored in a fine little lagoon at the Young William' group, after a passage of sixty-seven days from Manilla. We run the distance from here to Manilla in fourteen days. We have on board numerous visitors, who signified by signs that they had recognized our vessel. A boat has gone to "*sara sara*,"—the reefs.

11. The boat returned last evening, and reported that but little "*beeck de mer*" was to be seen on the reefs. The men visited a small uninhabited island, but report nothing worthy of note. Several natives slept on board last night, and there are now from twenty-five to thirty canoes alongside. Some have a quantity of cooked fish and bread-fruit on board. I can discover no weapons, and the persons of the natives are so free from scars, I am inclined to think they have never learned the act of war. Mr. W.'s talk to them is like Mosaic work. His sentences are a mingling of English, Feejeean and Spanish; but they understand gesticulation the best. We learn that a chief is called Samola [i.e. Samol, or Tamol]. As a party came on board this morning, we observed that one of the number appeared of superior rank to the rest. They approached Mr. W. with an offering of cocoa-nuts, and two boxes resembling in form infants' coffins. An officer of royalty, no doubt, then pointed to Mr. W. and to the vessel, seeming to say, "You are the chief of this vessel." He then pointed to his superior and to the land, signifying that he was the chief of the land. He then called Mr. W. "*Samola*," and his own chief by the same

1 Ed. note: This ship had arrived at Manila with cholera on board.

name, which made the whole plain to us. His presents were accepted, and others returned. They appeared highly delighted with knives, scissors and razors.

Fish-hooks were prized next. They call a fish "*æek*," very like *eka*, which word is used for fish in nearly every known isle of the South Seas. They have brought some fowls for sale, which they call "*malek*."

In the morning I showed them a hen's egg, and signified to them that I would like to have some brought. In the afternoon two little trembling chicks were brought, looking as though they had burst their shell on their passage to the bark, and half a dozen eggs; on breaking which, I found them inhabited.

Several canoes that were here in the morning, sailed to a distant part of the group;—another evidence that the inhabitants are at peace. One native presented me with a dozen of delicious fruit, unlike any that I have seen. It was about the size of an orange, but of an irregular form. The rind is like that of the bread-fruit, and there is a core inside like it; the cone is surrounded by kernels of the size of form of the hazel nut; the pulp is of bright yellow, emitting a delightful odor, and of a delicious taste; the kernels are strung upon a stick, roasted and then eaten.¹

12. Some of the natives yesterday brought a small quantity of "*beech de mer*," and the mate, with four men accompanying him, explored the reefs again, but reported the fish as not being sufficiently plentiful to induce our stay at the place. Our exploring expedition also visited an island that they supposed inhabited. Several natives accompanied them. They only saw a few natives, however, and one house (the Astor [Hotel] of the island, probably). The building was of rather extensive dimensions, and kept by a blind man. This did not appear to be the season for company, as the house was not full. Two females were seen peeping at the strangers, but on being observed by their lords, boys were sent to stone the ladies from the premises.

As the order was given this morning to man the windlass, an application was made to the captain by one of the crew to be discharged. This man had been shipped in Manilla from a whaling vessel, and now the sight of land induced him to wish for another change. Mr. W. inquired why he wished for a discharge so soon. He replied, that he did not like the "*beech de mer*" trade. The reason of being deemed sufficient, his request was not granted.

[Kapingamarangi]

21. We sighted a group of islands called the Greenwich Islands [Kapingamarangi]. We counted about twenty in number, and from one of them an extensive reef stretched out several miles directly in our track. This was not looked for, as the group was merely designated on the chart by one little dot. The reef runs west north-west from the isle, and is some eight miles in extent. Daylight appeared in the morning just in time to show

1 Ed. note: This fruit was probably a variety of sweet-sop.

us our dangerous proximity to this dangerous place. In one half hour more our destruction would have been sure.

The bark was hove to, and a boat manned and sent to examine the reefs around the isles that lay the nearest to the vessel. The article that is so highly prized by the Chinese epicure was not found to inhabit this portion of the seas, and our exploring expedition seemed likely to turn out a deploring one. A canoe was seen at one time, which seemed in a hurry to escape from our observation, and was soon hidden from view. With a glass we observed several houses on one island, but no inhabitant appeared in sight. Being curious to see the natives, I regretted their timidity. The group, like the Young Williams', was of coral formation, appearing scarcely above the level of the ocean, and apparently covered with the cocoa-nut trees.

29. While engaged at my morning toilet, I heard a sudden rush to the quarter deck, followed by the rattling of ropes and other confused sounds. I felt alarmed, thinking that some one had fallen into the briny element; but I was soon undeceived, and from the tremendous flapping was led to suppose that we had received a visitor of distinction from the same element. I hastened to "*sara sara*," and perceived Mr. Shark, from "blue ocean." He was a dancing master, I presume, as he continued for a long time exhibiting his knowledge of that beautiful accomplishment for our amusement. When the people had become satiated with the exhibition, they dragged the visitor very unceremoniously to the main deck, and, horrible to relate, cut him in two parts. This cruel act, however, did not prevent him from continuing his favorite pastime for the space of an hour.

...

30. The two past nights the centipedes have been exercising their vocal powers to please us; but strange beings that we are, we are not amused by Mr. Shark's dancing, nor by the music of the vocalists from Feejee. The latter were discovered to-day, and immediately executed. We have now been trying to sail towards Feejee for three months; but calms, light airs and head winds appear to have formed a combination against us. "An surely," in Irish phrase, "we are advancing in retrograde motion." About once in six or seven days we are favored with copious showers, which we deem a great blessing, as they supply us with an abundance of pure water, which the sailor and the traveller of the sandy desert alone know how to appreciate. The time would be somewhat tedious to me, were it not beguiled by the perusal of books.

[Nukuoro]

July 12. At eight o'clock, a.m., we discovered a group of low islands, not mentioned on our charts. Twenty-two were counted. Owing to a contrary current we could not conveniently visit them.

[Nauru]

Aug. 9. We arrived at Pleasant Island, or the whaler's depot, I think it should be called. No anchorage being found, the bark lay to, and we were visited by the inhabitants in great numbers. An African negro, as black as Africans ever are, came off in one of the first canoes. He was asked if there were any white men on the island. "Oh, yes, sir, there be *three* besides myself," was his reply. The white men soon came off, bringing a sick pig and a well one for sale. ONE of the men, called Bob, was the captain, I presume, as he appeared a very confident, bold, business sort of a fellow. They are all deserters from whalers. He informed me that there were about fifteen hundred inhabitants on the island,—that they were divided into tribes, each tribe having a petty chief, and the whole being governed by a queen. They perform no religious ceremonies, but believe in the immortality of the soul. When a chief dies, they believe he becomes a star, (a poor material, I should judge, to make such brilliants of,) and when a poor man dies, his spirit has to wander about on the island in dark and unfrequented places. There are often wars among them, but they seldom kill their enemies,—they only kind o' play fight. With regard to the white men, Capt. Bob coolly stated that not more than three or four could agree to remain on the island at a time, as they usually got to fighting and killed each other; but three years had now elapsed since the last white man was killed.

None of the vegetation or fruits usually found in tropical climates are found here, except the cocoa-nut. These, with fish, are the food of the natives. They raise pigs and fowls for the supply of their whaling visitors. Capt. Bob, however, does not allow the natives to sell the pigs themselves. He kindly takes possession of any long face that happens to be brought for sale by other than his own clan, sells it at sixpence a pound, and indemnifies the owner with such a quantity of tobacco as he thinks best. He allowed the natives to sell their fowls, which they did for one negro head of tobacco apiece. The black man did not belong to Bob's clan, and lived at another part of the island. He appeared much better than the trio composing Bob's company. He asked me if I could give him a Bible or a Testament, or even a few leaves of a Bible. I felt happy that it was in my power to comply with his request. Capt. Bob regretted our short stay at the isle, as I was the first white lady that he had ever seen at the place, although he had been here seven years. He would have been happy to have had Mr. W. and myself visit the queen, and to have shown us the island. The sick pig he brought was of very large dimensions. It appeared feeble, but Mr. W. was assured that it was only exhaustion occasioned by his journey from the land to the vessel, not being accustomed to travel by water. As we had long been without fresh provisions, Mr. W. paid eleven dollars in cash for long face.

Our decks were completely filled with native men and young girls, who stole every thing they could lay their hands upon. I saw them handing shirts, trowsers, sailors' knives and various other articles over the sides of the vessel; but supposing that palm-leaf hats, of which great numbers ere brought for sale, had been bought by the seamen with them, I said nothing about it. They brought a quantity of lines to sell. Mr. W. stood on the quarter deck, buying them, and had them passed into the house, which

was filled with natives; and as the lines and cocoa-nuts were passed in on one side, the *honest* natives dexterously passed them out on the other, selling them again. This was continued for some time before they were discovered. All that they brought was sold for tobacco, and I was almost stunned by the vociferous cry of the girls, of "Captain's woman, give me chaw tobacco." They placed no value upon cloth, which was offered them, although they wore nothing but a "*leku*," made of grass. The whole conduct of this people was boisterous, rude, and immodest in the extreme. The girls came on board for the vilest of purposes, but stated that their purposes were not accomplished, as the sailors were afraid of "Captain's woman."

This little island, which is only six miles in circumference, was discovered by Capt. Fearn in 1798. Its inhabitants then resembled in character those that I have before described as belonging to the Young Williams' group. Whaling vessels have been in the habit of visiting this place for many years, and here are shown the effects of a heathen intercourse with white (I can scarcely say civilized) men from civilized lands. It is true that at home this class appear like civilized beings, but it is too often the case that when men visit foreign climes, their conduct shows that they have left their souls at home.

Here is a practical illustration that civilization does not follow intercourse with civilized people, unless accompanied with the gospel. I believe that the state of society at Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands would have been no better than this, had not the gospel been close upon the white man's track. Such in a few years would Feejee become, were not the gospel there to counteract in some measure the baneful consequences of intercourse with trading vessels. The reason why it has not already become so, is, that the dangerous character of the natives has hitherto prevented a free intercourse with them. I presume that there is no class of beings to be found upon this mundane world (Chinese excepted), whose minds would be found more impervious to gospel influences than the inhabitants of Pleasant Island.

Document 18460

The *Stephania*, Captain Coggeshall

Sources: Log 406 in NBWhM; PMB 269; Log Inv. 4475.

Note: This ship visited Cape Horn, Hawaii, the NW Coast, aui, the Line (Malden) Islands, westward to Guam, then the Bonin Islands, Kamchatka, Oahu and Rio de Janeiro on the way home.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Remarks on Board Friday January 2nd [1846]

First part light trade sterring NW. At 5 p.m. spoke the ship **Henry Tuck** of Warren, R. I., 3 sperm whales this season. At 7 p.m. shortened sail heading to the North. At daylight made all sail steered NW. At noon saw a shoal of sperm whales.

No obs.

...

Remarks on Board Wednesday 14th

First part moderate gales from W to NW. Got the topsails double reefed, bad sea on. At 5 p.m. spoke the ship **Henry Tuck** [of] W[arren], R.I. Middle and latter parts the same set, and took in the topsails several times.

No obs.

...

Remarks on Board Wednesday 27th

First part strong winds from W by S and fine weather, steering by the wind NNW, Middle part, latter part picked up a log of wood measuring 80 feet in length, the watch employed in cutting it up. At Noon tacked ship ly [sic] up NNW. So ends.

Lat. by obs. 2.28 S. Long. by Chron [blank, but about 179° W.]

...

[... Island]

Sunday January 25th 1846

First part strong winds from N and squalls of rain, steering SW and SSW. At sun-down shortened sail, luffed by the wind Westward. At 10 tacked ship, tacked by the wind SE. At daylight made all sail, tacked, steered SW. Saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing SW distance 10 miles. Picked up an oil cask with a few gallons of oil in it. It had the appearance of a ship's ground cask. First part passed a piece of plank with a piece of

iron bolt in it. Still standing in to the island. Saw a ship to leeward. Saw two canoes coming off. So ends, winds from NNW.

Lat. by Obs. 2.69 S. Long. by Chron. 176.20 E

Remarks on Board Monday January 26th

First part light winds from NNW and squally, still beating up to the above island. At 1 p.m. two canoes came off. Two ships in sight to the windward and one to leeward. At sundown took in the light sails and single-reefed the topsails. At daylight made all sail, stood in for the Island. Employed trading. At 10 spoke the ship **Ploughboy** of New Bedford 26 months out 1400 bbls. Ends with fine weather.

Still lying off and on to Rotches [Tamana] Island.

Remarks on Board Tuesday January 27th

First part light winds from WNW and fine weather. At noon finished trading and stood off shore by the wind SSW. In company with the **Ploughboy**. Middle part fine weather, latter part made all sail. Ends with the same.

Lat. by Obs. 2.56 S. Long. by Chron. 178.36 E.

...

Remarks on Board Monday February 2nd

First part light [wind] from WNW and fine weather steering by the wind N to NNW. Middle part calm, latter part took a light breeze from NNE. At daylight saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island bearing NE distant 18 miles. At 10 a.m. saw two sperm whales. Lowered and chased but to no effect, the whales going quick to the NE. At noon took up the boats.

Lat. by Obs. 1.03 S. Long. by Lunar 174.36, by Chron. 174.20 E.

...

Remarks on Board Friday February 6th

First part light winds from North, steering S by E and S. At 6 p.m. wore ship, steered E by S. Middle part fine weather. At daylight saw Ocean's [Banaba] high Island bearing E distance 18 miles. Latter part fine weather steering by the wind E by N with a strong West Current.

Lat. by Obs. 1.03 S. Long. by Chron. 169.50 E.

Remarks on Board Saturday February 7th

First part light winds from North and fine weather, steering by the wind E by N. At 6 p.m. the Island bore E by S distance 8 miles. Middle part fine weather, latter part saw a ship in shore, winds from all points of the Compass and very strong SW current. Ends with rain.

Remarks on Board Sunday February 8th

First part rainy. At 2 p.m. took a light breeze from the N by W, steered E by N and E. At sundown the Island bore S distance 6 miles. Luffed by the wind ENE took n the

light sails and handed the main course. At daylight, stood in shore with the hopes of getting a few boatloads of wood. The natives came off to trade but it came on thick and rainy, stood off shore to wait for better weather. Ends with a strong SW current.

Ship *Stephania* Bound to Guam

Monday February 9th 1846

... Still beating up to Ocean Island... Middle part gave up going to Ocean Island.

...

Sunday February 15th 1846

First part strong winds from ENE and light squalls of rain, steering by the wind N by W. Middle part the same. At daylight saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing WNW distance 15 miles. Ends with strong wind from NE and fine weather, steering by the wind NW by N.

Latitude by Obs. 5.12 N. Long. by Chron. 163.25 E.

Remarks on Board Monday February 16th

First part strong winds from NE. At 3 p.m. last sight of Strongs Island, steering by the wind NW by N. Ends with fine weather.

Lat. by Obs. 6.56 N. Long by Chron. [blank]

...

Remarks on Board Monday February 23rd

First part moderate gales from NE and thick overcast weather steering W by N 1/2 N. At 3 p.m. saw the Island of Rota bearing N distance 40 miles, saw the Island of Guam bearing W by S distance 50 miles. At 6 p.m. took in the jib and close reefed the mizzen topsail. Luffed by the wind NW by N. At midnight tacked to the SE. At daylight steered off for the Island of Guam, bent the cables and got the anchors in the shoes. At 11 a.m. took a pilot. At 1:30 p.m. anchored in 20 fathoms water, clay and muddy bottom.

Guam Harbor.

Remarks on Board Tuesday February 24th

First part strong trades. Employed getting off wood and cleaning ship. Middle and latter parts strong trades.

Remarks on Board Wednesday February 25th

First part strong trades. Employed getting off water. Middle part light winds, latter part strong trades.

Remarks on Board Thursday February 26th

First part strong trades. Employed getting off water. Middle and latter parts the [blank].

Remarks on Board lying in Guam Harbor February 27th 1846
First part strong trades. Employed in getting of wood and water.

Remarks on Board Saturday February 28th
First part strong trades, Employed getting off wood and water.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 1st 1846
First part strong trades and watch ashore on liberty.

Remarks on Board Monday March 2nd
First part strong trades. Employed getting off wood and stowing away. Unbent the fore and mizzen topgallant sails.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 3rd
First part strong trades. Employed getting off wood. Latter part the same.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 4th
First part strong trades. Employed getting off yams. So ends.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 5th
First part strong trades and squalls of rain. Latter part fine weather. Took on board from the **Chandler Price** 25 casks of oil shocks.

Remarks on Board Friday March 6th
First part light trade, all hands on board. Middle and latter parts the same.

Remarks on Board Saturday March 7th
First part light trade. Middle and latter parts the same.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 8th
First part light trades. Middle and latter parts the one watch ashore on liberty.

Remarks on Board Monday March 9th
First part fine weather, one watch ashore on liberty.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 10th
First part light trade, all hands on board. Latter part employed coopering.

Lying in Guam Harbor Wednesday March 11th 1846
First part light trades, all hands employed coopering. A very heavy breaker on the reefs.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 12th

First part light trades, all hands employed coopering. Middle and latter parts the same.

Remarks on Board Friday [sic] March 13th

First part light trades. Employed coopering. Middle part finished.

Remarks on Board Saturday March 14th

First part light trades, all hands on board. At daylight took up the starboard anchor. Ends with fine weather.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 15th

First part light trades, all hands on board. Middle part squally, latter part the same.

Remarks on Board Monday March 16th

First part strong trades and squally. Middle and latter parts fine weather. Employed painting ship and setting up the main rigging.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 17th

First part strong trades, employed setting up the boar [sic] rigging. Middle part rainy, latter part the same.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 18th

First part strong trades and rainy. Middle part fine weather. Latter part the same. Employed setting up the fore rigging.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 19th

First part light trades and fine weather. Middle and latter part fine weather. So ends.

Remarks on Board Friday March 20th

First part light trades and fine weather. Middle part the same. All hands on board.

Lying in Guam Harbor Saturday March 21st

First part strong trades. Middle part the same. All hands on board.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 22nd

First part strong trades, all hands on board. Middle and latter part the [same].

Remarks on Board Monday March 23rd

First part strong trades, all hands on board. At 10 a.m. the Pilot came on board, took the anchor and stood out to sea. Shipped four men. Stowed the anchors and unbent the cables.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 24th

First part strong trades, still beating up to Rota. Middle part double reefed the topsails. Latter more moderate, let the reefs out of the topsails, set the main topgallant sail. So ends.

Lat. by Obs. 14°52' N.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 25th

First part strong trades, still beating up to Rota. Middle part fine weather, latter part saw the Island of Rota, bearing East distance 30 miles. Ends with fine weather.

Long. [blank] Lat. by Obs. 14°15' N.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 26th

First part strong trades, still beating up to Rota. Sent down the fore and mizzen topgallant yards. Middle and latter parts strong trades. Saw the Ship **Chandler Price**. Ends with fine weather.

Latitude by Obs. 14°09' N.

Remarks on Board Friday March 27th

First part strong trades, still beating up to Rota. Middle and latter parts fine weather. Lying off at the Island of Rota.

Latitude by Obs. 14°01' N.

Ship Stephania Log Book Saturday March 28th 1846

First part strong trades, lying off and on at the Island of Rota. At 1 p.m. the boat went on shore to trade. At sundown the boat came off, ly [sic] off and through the night. Middle part fine weather. At 7 a.m. sent the boat on shosre. At 10 the boat returned, steered off by the wind N and N by W. Ends with fine weather.

Latitude by Obs. 16°16' N.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 29th

First part strong trades, steering by the wind N. At 9 a.m. passed a ship standing to the N.E. Middle and latter parts fine weather. So ends.

Latitude by Obs. 15°49' N.

Remarks on Board Monday March 30th

First part moderate trade and fine weather, steering by the wind N by W. Middle and latter parts, fine weather, employed repairing the spare boats. So ends.

Latitude by Obs. 17°44' N.

Longitude by Chron. 144°27' E.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 31st

First part strong trades and fine weather, steering by the wind N to N by W. Middle part double reefed the topsails. Latter part more moderate, set both topsails.

Latitude by Obs. 19°22' N.

Long. by Chron. 144°15' E.

Remarks on Board Wednesday April 1st 1846

First part light trades and clear, steering by the wind N. Middle part winds from SE and fine weather, steering NNE. Latter part the same. Saw breaches.

Latitude by Obs. [blank].

...

[The ship went up to the Bonin Islands, where they hunted turtle on the beach. Three men deserted, were recaptured and flogged. A small boy was shipped. The next season was spent in southern latitudes before returning home.]

Document 1847D

The adventures of Andrew Jackson Pettyjohn, a beachcomber at Pohnpei

Source: Dr. Robert B. Hopkins (ed.). Seventeen Years From Home, or The Adventures of Andrew Jackson Pettyjohn (Milford, Delaware, Excelsior, 1897).

Introductory notes.

This man's story about his stay of almost one year on Pounpei in about 1847 was told to his editor 40 years after the events. It is no wonder that some descriptions are at best confused and customs ascribed to the wrong islands... Pettyjohn makes no mention of other beachcombers.

His story is hard to piece together, chronologically speaking. He went from the U.S. to the Gilbert Islands aboard the whaler **Scotland**, Captain Veranus Smith (voyage of 1845-51), which ship he left at Nauru, as he says. He shipped aboard the English whaler **Matilda**, and deserted this ship at Pohnpei. However, according to Jones' Ships, this whaler returned to London in July 1845 and there is no record of another voyage; she was last reported in Micronesia in 1844... There is a problem here. Pettyjohn was "rescued" from Pohnpei and brought to Hong Kong by an unidentified ship, then returned to the U.S., where he arrived in 1849, he says.

Pettyjohn was born in 1818, was 17 years old when he left home, in 1835. Therefore, he would have been about 28 years old when he reached Pohnpei, in 1846.

The narrative of Andrew Jackson Pettyjohn

...

CHAPTER VIII.

...

[In Hawaii,] I signed articles for a three months cruise. We then sailed for the coast of Japan and, after cruising three months with very "poor luck," we sailed to Pleasant [Nauru] Island in the North [sic] Pacific, where I was discharged. Remaining there only three days, I shipped in the **Matilda** of London, another whaling ship, and sailed for the Ladrone or Marianne Islands. We had been in the South [sic] Pacific two weeks without meeting with any success, when one day a man from the mast-head sang out,

“There she blows.” “What do you make them out to be?” asked the Captain. “Sperm whales, I think, sir, and are not very far from shore.” Running down closer we made preparations to lower. The natives on the island were savages. And as the whales had then gone into a bay, we armed ourselves with rifles before venturing too close to land. As we approached, the natives came off in canoes armed with bows and arrows. But seeing we were armed, did not molest us. We captured two whales, and towed them off to the ship. At night an armed watch was stationed to guard for fear the natives would attack us. In three days we had the oil tried out of them, and meeting with no further success, sailed for New Ireland. On our way we fell in with several whales, lowered and captured one. Failing to make up a fare of oil at the last place, we sailed in the direction of the Caroline Islands, hoping there to meet with success. After three days sail with good wind and clear sky we sighted one of the islands. Being in need of a change of diet, principally vegetable, which is very essential as a preventative to scurvy, the captain thought this a favorable opportunity to procure it, ran the vessel close to the island [Pohnpei], hove her to, and brought her within about a mile of the land.

Whaling ships in the Pacific Ocean always carry a supply of knives, pins, tobacco, beads, and rings, which they exchange with the natives for cocoa-nuts, oranges and other tropical fruits. Three years previous to our arrival, a ship's company, while trading there, were killed by the natives, and the ship burned.¹ The English government, in order to suppress such depredations, sent an armed vessel, and killed a number of the people, and since that time they had not dared to interfere with white men who wished to go on shore.

In a little while about fifty of the natives came off to the ship in canoes. The men were called down from the masts armed with pistols, and stationed along the rails, as guards (my place was on the top gallant fore-castle deck) with orders not to allow a native to come on the rail. They came alongside of the ship and the trading began.

I, as well as the rest of the crew, had become discouraged at our poor luck, and being dissatisfied, had fully made up my mind to leave the ship at the first opportunity. While most of the sailors were trading, there were several canoes lying off our port bow, and wishing to get a better look, I beckoned for one of them to paddle towards the vessel. After understanding my motions they did as I requested. Thinking this would be a favorable opportunity to leave the ship, I beckoned for them to come nearer still. When they were fully under the bow, I climbed over the rail and let myself down by the chains into the canoe, in which were two men. For fear of being seen by the crew, I lay down, and covered myself with two mats, which the natives had for sale. They immediately began to paddle towards the shore, and when a short distance from the ship, gave an Indian yell, and the rest of the canoes followed to the shore. I wished myself on board, but it was now too late, and with all the nerve I could summon, I remained calm, and waited for developments. We were not long in reaching the Island. A great many of the natives soon congregated and eyed me critically from head to foot. I watched their pe-

1 Ed. note: Actually, perhaps 10 years had passed since the loss of the Falcon, in 1836.

cular antics with a marked degree of attention. Some kept at a respectable distance, while others, more curious, ventured near enough to touch me, and examine my clothes. Some were elated with joy, while others by their countenance seemed to think me an apparition of bad omen, but none (whether from fear or curiosity) were malicious enough to attempt to do me any harm. From this fact, I began to take courage. After they had satisfied their curiosity, I was conducted (with the crowd following) to a large grove not far from shore. Here was a large bamboo shed and under it were assembled the king with his warriors and retinue of servants. I was led before the king by a native, (whom I afterwards learned was high chief,) and motioned to sit down at his left. The king patted me on the head, smiled and seemed to be very funny. By this, I knew they did not entertain any ill feeling towards me, which greatly strengthened my courage. I had brought with me my sheath knife, which was a pretty one, the hilt being inlaid with turtle shell of various hues. Taking it from the sheath, and showing it to him I replaced it, and taking it with the belt, presented it to the king. He took it—examined it carefully, seemed exceedingly pleased, and patted me again on the head. By this act, I was confident I had gained his good will. Sitting directly in front of us, and only a few feet distant, were several women who had musical instruments made from reeds resembling a xylophone. With these they made a peculiar music, which was accompanied by a dance, consisting of graceful movements of the body. This was participated in by both men and women.

The natives were dark brown in complexion, resembling in physiognomy, the Chinese. The men were very muscular and broad-shouldered: they had high cheekbones, and long black hair. The women were slender, and of a rather handsome physique. In complexion they were not so dark as the men. Their eyes were black and they also wore their hair long, the men and women were dressed alike. The only clothing they wore was a grass apron suspended from the waist, reaching to the knees. They were clean, and there was a pleasant fragrance. After the dance, the king muttered some words (which, of course, I did not understand) and instantly one of the servants set off, and soon returned with a small basket, which he handed to the High Chief, who gave it to me. The basket contained a yam, a bread-fruit, two bananas, and a piece of half-cooked dog. My appetite was not the best, yet, out of courtesy, I ate the yam and bananas, but did not partake of the dog.

After finishing my repast, I returned the basket to the Chief. The meeting was then adjourned, and I was taken by the 2nd Chief to his home. His hut, which was similar to the rest, was made of bamboo and the roof covered with thatching. The floor was covered with a matting made from a long grass which grows in boggy places on the Island.

By this treatment, I felt persuaded they appreciated my wish and were endeavoring to make it pleasant for me. I remained with the Chief several days, and when I liked occupied my time in exploring that part of the island, and in fishing. The name of the Island is Ascension; and it is the largest of the ten [sic] islands which form the group. I

knew nothing of their language, which placed me at a great disadvantage; yet by signs and motions, I succeeded in making myself understood.

The Island was about thirty miles in diameter. The medium elevation is about forty feet, and at the extreme north, was a large hill nearly a hundred feet high.¹ The land was rolling, and covered with luxuriant foliage and in many places there was a heavy growth of timber. The soil was fertile but more especially in the valleys, which were covered with a grass sod. Coconut trees grew in profusion along the shore, but strange to say, not one was seen in the interior.

The natives subsisted on coconuts, oranges, bread-fruits, yams, bananas, sugarcane, and a vegetable they called "tocar," resembling our white potato;² which they cultivated with success in the rich valleys. Dog meat was considered by them a delicacy, which they ate principally rare.

They caught fish and turtles, which at certain seasons, were very plentiful. The Island was surrounded by a coral reef, about a mile from shore, and the intervening space, or lagoon, forms an elegant harbor.

I soon learned that the king's name was Abaiah. There were four tribes on the Island living amiably under the rule of this one king, who was also king of the whole group.³ The principal occupation of the men were building canoes, fishing and cultivating their "tocar." They also did the cooking (something seldom seen in a civilized country.) The women made mats from a grass, waist bands from the bark of a tree called "curlow,"⁴ beads of coral; and busied themselves about a few household duties. Tropical fruits grew so abundantly that they seldom resorted to food that necessitated being cooked. When they did, it was done by the means of flat stones laid like a pavement and over these were kindled a fire. After nothing remained of the combustible material but coals, and the stones were sufficiently heated, they were cleanly swept, and what was to be cooked was placed thereon. Should it be a large fish, after being properly cleaned, it was placed on this crude hearth, and completely enveloped with several layers of banana leaves. Over this was thrown sand or dirt, which effectually kept in the heat. In an hour or two it was uncovered, and the edible served smoking hot. They do not use condiments.

After being there a week I began to know something of their manners and customs. I assisted the men in building their canoes, and occasionally went with them on fishing expeditions. We would often go to the small sand island about a mile from shore on which were to be found sea-turtles, and almost any number of eggs, which at certain

1 Ed. note: If he is talking about Pohnpei, a very high island, his statement is not understandable. Sokehs Rock alone is 876 feet high.

2 Ed. note: He refers to *tacca*, the Polynesian word for arrow-root; it is 'mwekimwek' in Pohnpeian. However, he may have been referring to taro, but it is 'mwahng' in Pohnpeian. He had forgotten the right word, after 40 years...

3 Ed. note: The chief of the Metalanim tribe was then paramount, but there is no other reference to his name having been Abaiah, which seems like a bogus name. His title would have been Nahmwarki.

4 Ed. note: Hibiscus, which is indeed *kolou*, or *kelev* in Pohnpeian.

season formed a staple article of diet. From the turtle shell they made beads, rings, knife handles, fish-hooks, etc.

Their small canoes or dug-outs, which would comfortably carry two, were made from the butts of large trees. Their war canoes which were about sixty feet long, were made on the same principle. The foundation, or keel was a long dug-out, and the sides were raised by planking; which was not nailed, but fastened by the means of a strong fiber from the "curlow." The planking was drilled, and through the holes was passed this fiber which held it securely in position. In fact, it was sewed similar to the way a shoemaker would put a patch on a shoe. To prevent the boat from leaking, the planking was grooved on its edge, the upper plank fitting in the groove of the lower, making a water-tight seam. There was no framing in the canoe. They cut and sawed the trees by the means of tools which they obtained by trading with the whaling ships. They were provided with sail made from "curlow" which was woven or plaited by the women. One of these canoes would carry fifty or sixty men. They were very narrow, and when loaded, were very easily capsized. But to provide against this, they have an outrigger fore and aft attached to another canoe; which made them very stable. When there was not sufficient wind, they propelled the canoe with long paddles. While I was there they were on friendly terms with the other Islanders and, of course, did not engage in any warfare. This was not at all objectionable on my part.

I had been with them two weeks, when one day a council was called. A great many had assembled, and I was motioned to attend. The king was seated as before with his chief, his warriors, and his servants. I was somewhat confounded as I did not know its import. Possibly, I thought, I had committed some offence contrary to their customs, for which they demanded a retribution. However, I assumed a countenance as if nothing of significance was to be transacted, and entered the assembly. Sitting in front of the king were three girls, whose ages I judge would not exceed sixteen. After we had been congregated a few minutes a short conversation took place between the king and the chief. The second chief then pointed to the girls, and motioned me to select one. At first, I did not understand the import of this, but after brief reflection, I concluded they wanted me to select one as my wife, nor was I mistaken. Looking at them critically I pointed to one I thought prettiest. Whereupon the other two immediately left. I was then motioned to stand up, and she was beckoned to come forward. My right hand was placed in hers and the chief then took a small vessel of oil, and anointed our head. He then muttered some words, and pronounced us I suppose with all solemnity of the occasion "Husband and Wife." The musicians then played, a dance followed, and the bridal party gave a yell of congratulation.

They had no wine for the occasion, but used as a substitute a maceration of a root which was prepared and partaken of at every tribal ceremony, and called "Carver."¹

1 Ed. note: Kava is a Polynesian word; it is Sakau in Pohnpeian.

The root was thoroughly washed, and then chewed [sic] by eight girls, (who had previously washed their mouths) in the immediate presence of the company.¹ Then it was paced in a large wooden bowl. When a sufficient quantity had been masticated, water was added, and in a few minutes it was ready for use. It was served in small cups, beginning with the king. To drink this was very disgusting; yet I did not refuse to partake, for fear I should give offence. Its immediate effect is semi-stupefaction. The king partook freely and before the bridal party adjourned was nearly narcotized. After the drink had been served to all, the party adjourned.

I then accompanied my bride to her father's home. The following day the natives began to build me a hut of bamboo, and having it finished in four days, we went to [set up] house-keeping in a rude way. The only furniture our house contained was a bed made of matting. There was no floor, only what nature provided, the ground. In the center of the room was a fireplace or hearth, but no chimney, the smoke gaining exit through an aperture in the roof. This we used only when we wanted to prepare a suitable meal, which was not more than once a day. Our victuals were prepared and brought to us. We soon became loving to each other, and lived very happily. She tried to teach me the language, and in a short time I had mastered enough to make my wants better known. I have no reason to doubt that this woman loved me supremely—she was always ready to minister to my wants,—very attentive, and seemed always glad and elated to meet me on my return home. Whatever delicacies she possessed, she was always willing to share them with me. I learned to love her. She was the daughter of Manfie Malappalap. Her name was Jobuveanut Malappalap.²

I was not compelled to do any work but occasionally would assist the men, if I felt inclined. One day, while walking with several natives, I discovered in the southern portion of the Island near the entrance of the harbor an ancient fortification.³ It was sixty feet square about fifteen feet high: built of hexagonal stones from five to ten ft. long, eight inches in diameter, and of very fine workmanship. The natives were very superstitious; and as no-one would venture to accompany me, I went in alone. The interior was partitioned off into fifteen cells; about five feet long and three feet wide. Truly it was a curious, as well as an ingenious, piece of masonry. None who accompanied me to it knew anything of its history, and upon further inquiry, I found that even the oldest inhabitant did not know when or by whom it was built.

After being on the Island several months, I laid aside my clothing and donned their costume. The climate being tropical the loss of my clothes was no great inconvenience. Every native was tattooed with the mark of the tribe. Both men and women were tattooed from the hips to the ankles, and on the arms, from the elbows to the wrists. The king in addition to the tribal mark was tattooed around his body with a design of a large crown.

1 Ed. note: Again, the chewing of kava is a Polynesian custom. In Micronesia, sakau has always been pounded and strained with water.

2 Ed. note: Would her father have been the Nahnpei Lapalap, or Great Nahnpei?

3 Ed. note: This was the famous Nanmadol ruins.

After I had been with them about two months they began to impress me with their tribal mark. The pigment they used was obtained by burning a small bean, about the size of a hazel nut which grew in the ground. Over the flame was placed a shell, the soot or carbon which sublimed, was scraped off, and mixed with water. With a small stick they then drew the design. Thorns, inserted closely together in a stick (from 3 to 5) were dipped into this preparation, and then struck a sharp tap with a small piece of wood which drove them sufficiently deep into the flesh, making an indelible impression on both mind and body. The tattooing was done by the women. Only a small place was picked at one sitting, allowing it to heal before renewing the operation. By this slow process, months were required for its completion. They began first to tattoo the wrist.

Their means of obtaining fire was by rubbing two pieces of seasoned wood together until by friction they became sufficiently heated to ignite. For this purpose they used a piece of wood which contained a groove. In this was rubbed with rapid movement and with considerable pressure, another very hard piece of wood, until by this continued friction, a very fine dust or lint was produced, which was first to ignite. A piece of punk is touched to this spark, and immediately preserves the fire, from which it is blown upon some light combustible material ready at hand. This is soon blown into a flame. It was a very tedious process, and required possibly half an hour.

The natives as already stated were very superstitious. None would venture out alone at night. Their idea of the white man was that he came from the clouds. They had no knowledge of other lands; and thought his huge ships were constructed in a world foreign to this. The limits of their mundane sphere was their group of islands for none ventured on the big waters more than a few miles from home.

They entertained great fear and respect for their dead and always buried them at the ends of their huts.

Should a man's wife die, he was allowed to remarry once; but if the husband died, the woman was denied that privilege. The upper classes are allowed two wives, the lower but one at a time. The death of a chief, or king, or one of the natives who was considered wealthy, was celebrated by a great feast. A day is set apart and all are demanded to contribute whatever they can give. Some bring *tocar*, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruits; others yams, oranges, fish, turtle, dog, etc. On the day appointed they congregate to enjoy the festivities.

Their favorite drink, *carver*, is partaken of freely and it is made an event long to be remembered. When a native is seriously ill and expected to die, his relatives congregate around his bed, and when he has breathed his last, they make a grab for whatever furniture or ornaments the deceased may have possessed. This was the customary way of dividing the property among the heirs. Oftentimes, there was quite a wrangle, especially when one had succeeded in capturing a prize much coveted. Oftentimes this would be

a large brass or ivory ring. On the day of the funeral, however, all jealousies and ill feelings are laid aside.

The remains of the dead are wrapped in a preparation from a bark called "tappa" and interred in the ground.¹

During my stay on the island it did not rain, neither did it lighten or thunder.² The sky was always clear, excepting occasionally a few drifting clouds. At about five o'clock every morning, a bank of fog arose from the eastward, entirely obscuring the sun. As soon as it closed over the west, it became so wet that in fifteen minutes, it would wet through a coat which might be out of doors.

The atmosphere was salubrious. The air is so clear that one can see as far with the naked eye as can be seen in our atmosphere with strong glasses. Like as in the rest of the islands, during the morning there was a gentle land breeze followed in the afternoon by one from the sea. It was neither too warm nor too cool, the temperature remaining nearly the same throughout the year.

Their mode of catching fish, beyond the coral reef, was with hooks made from turtle shell; but in the space or lagoon between the reef and the island they resorted to a curious means or discovery. There was a tree which grew on the island whose leaves possessed a peculiar power. With a sufficient quantity of them pulverized, they would go a short distance from shore in their canoe, then dive, carrying a handful of this powder, which they would disseminate under the water. In a few minutes, the fish becoming stupefied by its peculiar properties, would rise to the surface, and float; where they were easily caught.

In addition to their favorite drink, called "Carver," they procured another, a non-intoxicating drink, from the cocoa-nut during the season the fruit was maturing. The end of the case or shuck in which the fruit is enveloped is encircled with a string. This is wrapped daily until a projection or teat is formed; and when drawn out of sufficient length, the end is repeatedly incised. From this opening there exudes a juice, which is carefully collected in cups made from the cocoa-nut shells. This juice resembles sweet cider very much in taste. If allowed to stand and ferment it will soon change into vinegar.

When I first landed, I endeavored to keep a calendar but, through neglect, so many days elapsed that I abandoned it entirely.

I began to get acquainted with the people, and gradually felt myself at home. Oftentimes, I would wander by myself within the domains of the tribe for miles, not fearing any danger. The Island possessed natural scenery that was grand. Its hills and intervening fertile valleys—studded here and there with small plantations of banana, yams, cocoa-nut and "toca" [sic]; its forest of imposing trees, where I would often ramble to enjoy the stillness and admire its variegated foliage; its coral-bound shore; its clear sky

1 Ed. note: Tapa is another Polynesian word, not used in Pohnpei; perhaps such Polynesian words are additions made by Pettyjohn's editor.

2 Ed. note: Pohnpei is a very rainy place, specially during the so-called rainy season. How could Pettyjohn not remember that? He may not have stayed for a full year, as he claims.

and salubrious atmosphere combined to make it, so far as natural advantages were concerned, a very desirable place to live. Yet to me there was a melancholy stillness that to me grew monotonous; and I longed to be again with civilized people. By a rough calculation, I estimated I had been on the island about a year. How I should make my escape, I did not know as I feared that another vessel would never approach the island.¹ Longingly I waited, and patiently waited for a sail; until discouraged, I nearly lost hope and tried to reconcile myself to remain there, to the end of my existence. My hopes, however, ended in fruition, when one day, I discovered a sail approaching the island. Scarcely had the vessel been hove to, when the natives were soon ready with their canoes, laden with a supply of oranges, yams, etc. When ready, two requested met to go with them, probably because my knowledge of the language might enable them to make better trade. I readily acted on their suggestion, and we started for the ship; I hoping to be able to make my escape. When the canoes approached the ship, the crew noticing that I was not of the race, called the captain's attention, who enquiring, asked me if I was not an Englishman? "No, sir, I am an American," I said. And the conversation continued:

—"How came you here?"

—"I deserted the whaling ship **Matilda** of London."

—"How long have you been on the island?"

—"I do not know, as I have forgotten the date that I landed."

—"Would you not like to get away? We are in need of two men, and would like to have you."

—"Where are you bound?"

—"Hong Kong; and I will give you fifty dollars for the run."

—"I am anxious to leave, but fear to attempt it; for should I fail to make my escape, I should no doubt be killed."

During this conversation the trading was going on.

—"You remain close to the vessel," said the Captain, "and when we are through trading, we will fill the ship away, and throw you a bow-line."

The natives were not long in making their exchanges and the Captain beckoned that it was now my turn. We paddled our boat close to the ship; when they gave us a line which my companions made fast. While pretending to be bargaining for a trade, the vessel filled away, and was going through the water at a good rate of speed, nearly sufficient to tow our frail canoe under. The natives became alarmed, but I pacified them. When the ship had gained sufficient headway so as to make it impossible to be overtaken by the canoes, they threw me a bow-line, which I quickly threw over my shoulders and under my arms, and was instantly drawn up on the deck. At that same moment they cut the line which was towing the canoe, casting her adrift. It fell astern, and the ship sped away on her course. The natives hallowed loudly. Being out of their reach, I felt safe, and beckoned them a good-bye.

1 Ed. note: How can he say this, when many whalers were stopping, at Kiti at least, in the 1840s?

My thoughts and habits had been moulded by more than a year's experience. My interest and sympathies were centered on the Island, especially as I had developed a love for the wife I had left and I felt almost a stranger among civilized people. We gradually left the land from sight. I took one lingering look, and bid the island a farewell forever.

CHAPTER IX.

The ship on which I escaped from Ascension, bound for Hong Kong, China, was loaded with Sandal-wood and Beach-la-mar. The captain and crew had given me forthwith, a suit of clothing and he had agreed to pay me fifty dollars for the trip. After twenty-two days of fine weather and fair wind, we reached our destination. I was then discharged, and remained in Hong Kong ten days. I then shipped on the American Bark **Eugene**, bound for New York, where we arrived, having had good weather, in one-hundred-and-twenty days. Remaining in New York until I had spent my money, I again enlisted in the United States Navy, for a period of three years. I was sent on board the **Dolphin**, a brig of war carrying an armament of fourteen guns, and a crew of 76 men. She was commanded by Capt. Henry S. Ogden. And on the twenty-third day of June 1849, we sailed for China via St. Helena.

...

Document 1847E

Mrs. Pfeiffer's first voyage across the Pacific—From Tahiti to China in 1847

Source: Ida (Reyer) Pfeiffer. A Woman's Journey Round the World (London, 1850).

Note: The unnamed ship carrying the Austrian tourist, Mrs. Pfeiffer, crossed Micronesia but did not stop at any island. For her second voyage, see Doc. 1852S.

...
I felt extremely reluctant to leave Tahiti; and the only thing that tended at all to cheer my spirits, was the thought of my speedy arrival in China, that most wonderful of all known countries.

We left the port of Papeiti on the morning of the 17th of May [1847] with a most favourable wind, soon passed in safety all the dangerous coral reefs which surround the island, and in seven hours' time had lost sight of it altogether...

The commencement of our voyage was remarkably pleasant. Besides the favourable breeze, which still continued, we enjoyed the company of a fine Belgian brig, the **Rubens**, which had put to sea at the same time as ourselves. It was seldom that we approached near enough for the persons on board to converse with each other; but whoever is at all acquainted with the endless uniformity of long voyages, will easily understand our satisfaction at knowing we were even in the neighbourhood of human beings.

We pursued the same track as far as the Philippine Islands, but on the morning of the third day our companion had disappeared, leaving us in ignorance whether she had out-sailed us or we her. We were once more alone on the endless waste of waters.

On the 23rd of May, we approached very near to the low island of Penrhyn.¹ A dozen or two of the natives were desirous of honouring us with a visit, and pulled stoutly in six canoes towards our ship, but we sailed so fast that they were soon left a long way behind. Several of the sailors affirmed, that these were specimens of real savages, and that we might reckon ourselves fortunate in having escaped their visit. The captain, too, appeared to share this opinion, and I was the only person who regretted not having formed a more intimate acquaintance with them.

1 Ed. note: Tongareva, lat. 9° S. & long. 158° W.

28th May. For some days we had been fortunate enough to be visited, from time to time, with violent showers; a most remarkable thing for the time of year in this climate, where the rainy season commences in January and lasts for three months, the sky for the remaining nine being generally cloudless. This present exception was the more welcome from our being just on the Line, where we should otherwise have suffered much from the heat. The thermometer stood at only 81° [F] in the shade, and 97° in the sun.

To-day at noon we crossed the Line, and were once more in the northern hemisphere. A Tahitian sucking-pig was killed and consumed in honour of our successful passage, and our native hemisphere toasted in real hock.

On the 4th of June, under 8° North latitude, we beheld atgain, for the first time, the lovely polar star.

On the 17th of June, we passed so near to Saypan, one of the largest of the Ladrone Islands, that we could make out the mountains very distinctly. The Ladrone or Marianne Islands are situated between the 13° and 21° North latitude, and the 145° and 146° East longitude.

On the 1st of July we again saw land: this time it was the coast of Luconia, or Luzon, the largest of the Philippines...

...

In the night of the 1st-2nd of July, we reached the western point of Luzon, and entered on the dangerous Chinese Sea. I was heartily glad at last to bid adieu to the Pacific Ocean, for a voyage on it is one of the most monotonous things that can be imagined. The appearance of another ship is a rare occurrence; and the water is so calm that it resembles a stream. Very frequently I used to start up from my desk, thinking that I was in some diminutive room ashore; and my mistake was the more natural, as we had three horses, a dog, several pigs, hens, geese, and a canary bird on board, all respectively neighing, barking, grunting, cackling, and singing, as if they were in a farm-yard.

...

Document 1847F

The Catherine, Captain Cotton L. Pratt

Source: Ms. in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; PMB 211.

Extracts from the log kept by Charles Edward Cloutsman

...
[Between Fiji and China, the ship only sighted the Marianas.]

...
Sunday Feb 21st 1847

Throughout this 24 hours good breezes and fine weather. all sail set... at 3 P.M. saw some of the Ladrone Islands Saypan Island bore NW by N Dist 25 miles Tinian Island bore NW by W, Agrigan Island bore WNW, Rota Island bore SW by W. The Barque sailed between Rota & Aguigan with a good breeze. at 10 A.M. saw a ship & a Barque to the Southward standing to the North they are whalers by the looks of them. Ends fine weather.

Island site nothing [to] buy today because its Sunday for dinner thank God &c.

...
[On the way back to Fiji, the ship passed by the Volcano, or Iwo, Islands.]

...
Sunday May 2nd 1847

Commencnes with fine breezes from the South and pleasant[,] all sail set off the wind with a fore top mast stud sail. at 3 PM saw the Island of St. Augustin a burning volcano bearing E 1/2 S by Compass Dist 10 miles...

Throughout the night small breezes and pleasant[,] the same island in sight all night at 5 AM the Island bore NNE Dist 10 miles at 11 AM the winds hauling to the Eastward we steered to the SSE. Ends small breezes pleasant.

Lat. by Obs. 24°02 N. Long. by Obs. 141°30 E.

...
[The ship then headed East, thus bypassing the Marianas. The log ends as the ship was crossing the Equator near 150° of longitude East.]

Document 1847G

The Canadian whaler **Athol** of St. John, Captain Coffin

Introductory notes, by R.L.

The **Athol** was a brand-new 398-ton ship registered in St. John in 1845, as N° 40; she had been built at St. John by William and James Lawton.

Captain Coffin was 31 years old at the beginning of this voyage. The **Athol** visited Pohnpei and Kosrae in October 1847, and Guam in April 1848.

Ships spoken by the **Athol** during the first two years of her 5-year voyage (1845-50), according to Benjamin Doane (next document), were as follows:

- U.S. whaler **Japan** of Nantucket, off Juan Fernandez Is. in May 1846;
- U.S. whaler **Henry** of Salem, Captain Lind, at same time and place; she was about to be shipwrecked on the Marquesas (ref. Starbuck, p. 431);
- English whaler **Fanny** in Callao, Peru, in May 1846;

At the Galapagos Islands, summer 1846:

- President**, of Nantucket;
- George**, id.;
- Balaena**, id.;
- William C. Nye**, id., Captain Pease;
- George Porter**, id., Captain Arthur;
- Boy**, of Warren, Captain Barton;
- Sarah Frances**, of Fairhaven, Captain Hiller;
- Pacific** of New Bedford, Captain Hoxey;
- Robert Edwards** of N.B., Captain Burgess;
- Arnolda**, of N.B., Captain Coffin.

Between Payta and Honolulu, in September 1846:

- Formosa**, of N.B., Captain Briggs;
- Joseph Maxwell**, of Fairhaven, Captain Parry;
- Garland**, of N.B., Captain Crowell;
- Spartan**, of Nantucket, Captain Fisher;
- John Adams**, of N.B., Captain Mason;
- James Allen**, of N.B., Captain Shearman;
- Menkar**, of N.B., Captain Norton.

At Honolulu, April 1847:

—**Phoenix**, of Nantucket, Captain Wilson.

At the Bonins and on the Japan Ground, May-July 1847:

—**John A. Robb**, of Fairhaven, Captain Winslow;

—**Triton**, of N.B., Captain Spencer;¹

—Canadian whaler **Canmore**, of St. John, Captain Cudlip, on 31 May 1847;

—English whaler **George Holmes**, Captain Destin.

In the Okhotsk Sea:

—**Minerva Smyth**, of N.B., Captain Crocker;

—**Sarah**, of Mattapoisett, Captain Purrington;

—**Honqua**, of N.B., Captain Brown;

—**Josephine**, of Sag Harbor, Captain Hedges;

—**Sheffield**, of Cold Spring, N.Y., Captain Port;

—**Nassau**, of N.B., Captain Weeks.

At Kosrae, in October 1847:

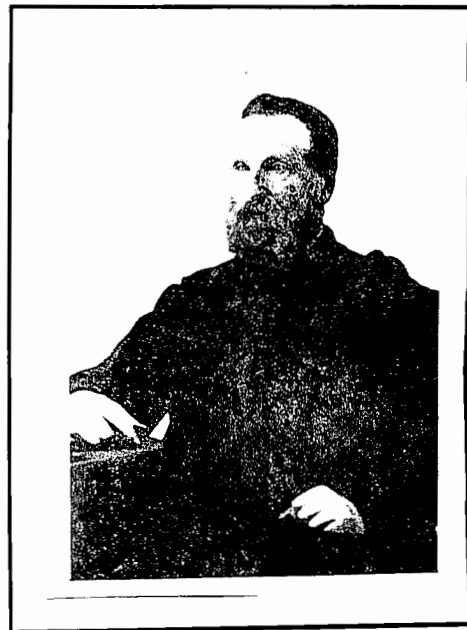
—**Wolga**, of Fairhaven, Captain Luce.

At Sydney, in January 1848:

—Canadian whaler **Canmore**.



**Captain James Doane
Coffin (1814-1885).**



**Mary Doane Coffin
(1817-1853).**

¹ Ed. note: This ship was to be cut off at Nonouti a few months later.

The logbook of Captain James D. Coffin

Source: Ms. logbook in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, located on the Studley Campus of Dalhousie University, Special Collections, Killam Library; Log Inv. 451.

Note: For the narrative of Benjamin Doane, see Doc. 1847H.

Journal Of another Whaling Voyage To the Pacific Oceans [sic] By J. D. C. On Board Ship Athol 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.¹ To make my fair one happy, and to know that she thought much of me was my delight. It is now 1845. Eleven years, eventful years, have flown. I cannot 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,² and my having rather a superiour ship. We have, I think, good officers, but an inferior crew; however, we must make the best of them.

Saturday July 2

Fine weather. Lat. 40°35' [N.], Long. 45°35' [W.]

...

At the Sandwich Islands.

Friday March 19th [1847]

Arrived at the Sandwich Island of Oahu. At 3 P.M. the pilot boarded and took us into a snug little harbour, protected from the sea by coral reefs. During our stay, ships were arriving and leaving every day. There was generally about 15 ships in port. The Sandwich Islands do not seem to me to be exactly that paradise on earth that I had conceived of.

It was about 4 P.M. when we anchored, and after Mary and I had viewed, and discussed some of novelties which presented themselves, I asked the pilot where we would find a comfortable hotel, or boarding-house; considerably to my astonishment, he replied, there are none in the place; but you will probably soon get acquainted, and find places enough, at which to stay. I got on shore in time to get a steak sent to the cook

1 Ed. note: His previous voyages had been aboard the whaling barque Margaret Rait, of St. John; during his fourth voyage of 1840-44, as captain.

2 Ed. note: The Coffin family lived in Barrington, on the southern corner of Nova Scotia. His wife, Mary, née Doane, and his 2-year-old daughter Esther, accompanied him. Esther was to die of a brain fever while the ship was at Sydney in 1848. Another, a boy, was born on 9 April 1846, off Juan Fernandez Island, and was named James Fernandez, Nandy for short.

for supper, but could find no lodging for myself and family. During my absence, Mr. Damon came on board...¹

...
Wednesday April 20th [1847].

It is now 13 days since we left the Sandwich Islands. During the first three or four days after leaving, we had a strong breeze from the NE, as much as we could carry, Top Gallant Sails too. The wind after that, kept getting more to the eastward, and lighter. From long. 175° E. the wind has been generally from E. to E.S.E. about a 5 knot breeze, except while passing between the Island of Hession [sic], Deserta, Halcyon, and Lamera [sic], it was quite rough sometimes from the west, with heavy and long showers of rain.² We have seen nothing like whales. The wind now is about E. by compass, Variation 12° E., Lat. 19°53' [N.], Long. 165°30' [E.]

Wednesday 21st.

A moderate breeze from the E.S.E. steering WSW. Weather cloudy. Lat. 19°40. Long. 161°2.

Thursday. A gentle breeze from the E. by S. Studdingsails on the larboard side. Cloudy and thunder.

Friday. Wind E.S.E. weather fine.

Saturday. Wind E.N.E. fine.

Towards the Bonin Islands.

Sunday April 25th. A fine breeze from N.E. by N. Course WNW. Lat. 17°29. Long. 151°50.

Monday 26. Strong breezes from the N.E. Latter part squally. Lat. 18°55.

Tuesday. Fine weather, light breeze E.N.E. Lat. 21°4. Long. 145°42.³

1 Ed. note: The American missionary and editor of the newspaper The Friend.

2 Ed. note: From the names of islands he gives, it is clear that he was using obsolete charts. They were then in the vicinity of Wake Island.

3 Ed. note: The ship was then passing the northernmost Gani Islands, i.e. the northern limit of the Marianas.

Wednesday and Thursday. Very fine weather, wind light from the N.E. Lat. 24°11. Long. 146°31.

Friday. Fine thought to make the island of Forfana [sic], but did not see it.

Saturday. Saw Coffin Island.¹ Chron[ometer] 30 miles long.² Weather rainy and cloudy.

Sunday. Fine weather. Saw whales going fast to the east. Could not catch them. We were about 40 miles west of Coffin Island.

...

[The ship was hit by large swells that ran contrary or crosswise to the wind.]

...

Mary was a little frightened, and there were none of us but were glad to see the wind abate. The children were quite contented to lay on the field bed on the floor. Lat. 29°45 [N.]. Long. 160°25 [E.]

...

[The **Athol** had to leave the Bonins to go to Sydney, for repairs. The route followed took them to Kosrae.]

...

October 18th. Since the last date we [had] the wind and weather vbl [variable]. In lat. 27° we had a gale from the eastward. From 24° to 14° we had variable winds and squalls: In 14° got the wind from the E.N.E. and it is now N.N.E. fine weather with now and then a shower. Mr. Thomas is quite ill, the Carpenter is just recovering from a very severe attack of inflammation of the eye, and two others are just recovering from a severe attack of dysentery. Lat. 9°47. Long. by Lunar Obs. 157°17., by Chron. 156°6.

Near Ascension [Pohnpei].

October 20th. Yesterday we made Ascension at noon, had a fine day. The wind headed us, could not fetch the island. To-day 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 ve-

1 Ed. note: One of the Bonin Islands sighted by his namesake in the 1820s.

2 Ed. note: From a later entry, it is clear that his longitude by chronometer was about 1°30' too far east, supposedly from that by [lunar] distances, using his sextant. However, he compared his data with other officers (Thomas, Dauton, Shields, Taylor) and he must have adjusted his chronometer, or his method, as the two readings became nearly the same afterwards.

getables, except a few cocoa-nuts; 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 loth 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, renegades, 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, cocoanut, bananas, tortoise shell, 'Beach la Mar' and wood, water, and spars. The natives bring no yam 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 8/4th 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 pipe full. 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 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 white, 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 they fasten 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 hoe 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 had 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 some times rob a ship, an instance of this occurred about six months ago. There are

...
[Rest of page blank. Check if rest of story about Pohnpei, 22-28 Ict 1847 is really missing.]

...
Friday October 29th
Fine weather, with a gentle breeze from the South. Standing to the E.S.E. making very slow progress and the worst is we are short of water. Long. by Chron. 160°50, by lunar 161°40

[Kosrae]

Saturday 30. 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 to-night, but the weather looks squally and not to be depended on.

31st. Light airs and variable,. Sent a boat on board the **Volga** 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. No prospect getting water off to-day. 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 [rather Kosrae] is a small island, its number of inhabitants they do not know themselves. It was formerly under divided [sic] 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.

Monday November 8th [1847]. Saw sperm whales and got one. Fresh breeze from the eastward. Got the Sprat [sic] cut in. Lat. 0°20' N. Long. 162°50.

Since Monday we have had the wind light veering from NE to ENE; to-day it is variable. No whales. Thursday.

Towards Sydney.

Tuesday 16th. Light airs from the ENE. We have had two days breeze from the NNE but altogether we are getting along most miserably slow! Really I do not know what we shall make of this voyage; but we must do something as yet.

On the 11 error of Chron. by lunar 8'50" slow.

On the 15 id. 8'28"

On the 20th id. 8'50"

...

Ship Athol. From Sydney towards the Japan Sea [in 1848].

Friday squally weather, wind from ENE to NNE. We left on Sunday and have since had the wind from S.E. to N.E. we have a dull time of getting along.

Saturday 11th March. Squally showers weather wind varying from N.E. to N.W. a very irregular sea, No whales. No Obs.

Sunday 12th. Fine weather, wind light. Spoke the **Winslow** of New Bedford, Capt. Simmons, 35 months out, 1000 bar. sperm.

...
[The Winslow was on her way to Sydney. The Athol passed west of New Caledonia, sighted the Solomon Group, then northward through the Carolines.]

...
29th March.

Until to-day we have had the wind fresh and light from the North with squalls. To-day fine, with light airs from the WNW. We are really doing nothing. Not getting along at all, and it is time for us to be there now. I really do not know how this round about, in and out expensive voyage, will terminate. I often think about my employer; what will he say about my proceedings, especially the heavy bills, but this I have to [ab-]solve me, that I have acted to the best of my judgment and under the circumstances which I have been placed. I cannot see that anyone could have done better.

30th March. Fresh breezes from the west. Latter part squally. Lat. 7°11 [S.]. [Long.] 165°30

31st. Almost incessant rain, some lard squalls. Spplit the jib. Dark cloudy weather, wind very shifty. No Obs.

April first. Wind WSW strong breeze, squally with rain. Lat. 2°25 [S.]. Long. 166°26 [E.].

April 2nd. Wind W by S sterong and squalls.

Monday 3. Wind W by S, North and NW. Strong and squally. Lat. 48 miles S. [Long.] 167°33' [E.].

Tuesday 4th. Wind N.W. light with squalls.

5th. Wind NW light breeze and fine. Ently [sic] on the Equator at noon. Long. 167°31' [E.]¹

1 Ed. note: They were passing just to the east of Nauru, but no sighting was reported.

6th. Light breeze and fine from NE. Lat. 1°25. Long. 165°5.

7th. Wind from North NE fresh breeze and fine. Lat. 2°35. Long. 165°17.

8th. Wind NE fine breeze. Lat. 4°12. [Long.] 164°27.

9th. Wind NNE light and fine. Lat. 5°6. Long. 162°12.

10th. Strong trades. Cloudy. Lat. 7°6. Long. 159°51.

[Pohnpei]

11th [April 1848]. Strong breeze at NE and clear. At 7 A.M. made Ascension W by S 25 miles. 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 Ladrone, 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 studdingsail, wore round, made a board tacked and weathered the island. This is a low island [Oroluk] bearing NW1/2W from Ascension. It is not noticed on the charts. We were near going on to it.

13th. Strong trades and fine weather. Steering WNW. Lat. 9°40. Long. 153°j40.

14th. Fresh breeze and fine weather. Lat. 11°39. Long. 150°22.

[Guam]

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 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 waiting two days for them to be dug, we got 2 tons of sweet potatoes.

Guam is the southernmost island of the Ladrone 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, providing 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 for 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 resident of any note who that day had made so free with the sap of cocoanut tree as to become intolerable, and he would insist on showing

us the Lions. 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 Islands, 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...

April 22nd. Since we left Guam, which was on the 18th, we have had fine weather, and a fine breeze, varying from NE by N, to E.N.E. We have been sailing along very pleasantly. WE have seen nothing but a school of killer [whales]. We were at first quite sure that they were sperm whales, but got sadly disappointed.. We had to put a man in irons to cool him a little. ONE day and a night in the sun on bread and water, did it effectually. We are steering NW by N. Lat. 21°11 [N.], Long. 145°0' [E.]

...

[They cruised off the Bonins, On 29 April 1848, they spoke the **Leonidas** of New Bedford. Later on, they met the **California**; Captain Coffin copied in his own logbook the positions where the former had met whales on her previous voyage (1843-45).]

...

[Mr. Thomas died while whaling, the ship was taken and sold at Goa, India, and the Coffin family took passage to England and then to Halifax.]

Document 1847H

Voyage of the Athol—The narrative of Benjamin Doane

Sources; Ms journal in the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, located at 1675 Lower Water St.; in Halifax; revised many times by his son, with one early typescript still in possession of the Cape Sable Historical Society in Barrington, N.S.; published as a book entitled: Following the Sea (Halifax, 1987).

Extracts regarding Micronesia

...

CHAPTER VIII
Preparatory to a long voyage.

...

In February [1845] a vessel was cast away on Cape Sable,¹ and the materials saved from her were sold at auction on March 15th. Among those who attended the auction was Captain James D. Coffin, to whom I was introduced that day. He had lately arrived home from a four years' whaling voyage in the bark **Margaret Rait**, and was having a new ship, the **Athol**, built in Saint John [New Brunswick], in which he would make another long cruise to the South Seas. Captain Coffin talked whaling to me, being thereto assisted by Captain Solomon Kendrick, with whom I had already made an eventful though profitless whaling trip to the Labrador [Coast]. So far, in my West Indies voyages, the line had not altogether fallen in pleasant places; the great change of climate, especially in the winter, was so sudden that it made men old in a few years, and anything seemed better than continuing in that trade. The adventurous element appealed strongly to me also; and being easily persuaded myself, I prevailed upon my father and mother to consent to my going whaling with Captain Coffin.

The **Athol** was to be ready about the middle of April and the intervening time I spent paying last visits to friends around the shores...

...

The **Athol** has been launched and was lying at a dock, with only her lower masts in, and no rigging on her at all, when we arrived [at Saint John]...

1 Ed. note: At the S.E. tip of Nova Scotia.



Benjamin Doane, at about 1860. *Note the tips of the fingers of his left hand that were amputated after his arrival at Sydney in 1848.*

On July 10th we finished rigging the **Athol** and took her down to Partridge Island, where she remained at anchor until the 12th.

...

CHAPTER IX

The cruise of the Athol

Early in the morning of Saturday, July 12th I sent my chest and clothes on board the **Athol**.. Late in the afternoon the captain came on board with his wife and little daughter Esther, who were to go with us, and at seven we were under way, a thick fog closing down upon us and lasting until we were out of the Bay of Fundy.

...

[Capt. Coffin had forgotten his case of charts at his home in Barrington, N.S., but he had no time to stop to retrieve them. They were to be brought by the **James Stewart** and delivered to him in the Pacific Ocean.]

...

The officers of the ship were:

Captain, James Doane Coffin; mate, Joseph Taylor;¹ second mate, Thomas Thomas;² third mate, Amzi Dauton;³ fourth mate, John Shields.

A young Scotchman named MacDonald, who had been studying medicine in Barrington under Dr. Geddes, was down on the articles as 'Doctor'. James Craft and I were boat-steerers, and I had my quarters in the steerage. The carpenter and cooper also lived in the steerage with us. The carpenter was a Prince Edward Island Scotchman. The cooper was Patrick Shields, uncle to the fourth mate.

The crew were the usual nondescript lot always found on whaleships, composed of everything but sailors. Some of them had never been to sea before. One was an ex-college professor; another had been clerk in a bank. They had been ruined by drink. A third had been educated for the ministry, and owed his downfall to an affair such as Joseph was fortunate enough to escape from with Mrs. Potiphat. Those who had had previous experience on salt water were a raffra of all nationalities and colors, most of whom had been whaling before.

Samuel Pinkham, of Barrington, was cabin boy. The cook was an old Negro, from New York...

...

From the captain down, none of us received any wages. We were all on shares, or lays, a loose-jointed sort of partnership. The owners paid for the victualling and disbursements of the ship. The oil that we should get was common stock, in which each had

1 Ed. note: Joseph Taylor was from Fredericton. He was to leave the ship at Sydney, Australia.

2 Ed. note: He was killed by a whale in the Sea of Japan.

3 Ed. note: He was to leave the ship at Pohnpei.

an interest according to the lay on which he was shipped and the quantity taken while he was on board.

...

[They stopped at the Azores and took on potatoes and live hogs, sheep and poultry, as well as more men. The ship then sailed past Tenerife Island in the Canaries, past the Cape Verde Islands in September, where they bought oranges and bananas, before heading for the Abrolhos Islands off the coast of Brazil.

...

[Chapter X is a very good explanation of a whaleship organization, and how sperm whaling was done. After passing Cape Horn in January 1846, while the ship was sailing near Guafo Island, Chile, they met the **James Stewart**, Captain Kenney. When the ship was at San Carlos on the northern tip of Chiloe Island, eleven men deserted the **Athol**. While off the Island of Juan Fernandez, the captain's wife gave birth to a boy. His parents named him James Fernandez Coffin. On 10 May 1846, they reached Callao, the port of Lima, where they shipped four men—two Americans, one Hanoverian and a Spaniard. They went on a first cruise on the offshore grounds, near the Galapagos Islands.]

...

On the 14th [July 1846] we spoke the ship **Robert Edwards**, of New Bedford, Captain Burgess. The **Robert Edwards** ran down to leeward of us and lowered a boat, and her captain with his wife and child came on board. It did our souls good to see the meeting between the women. They ran towards each other, shook hands, hugged and kissed, like sisters that had been long separated. As the two ships remained in the same vicinity for some time, several visits were interchanged, and we rigged a whip and chair with which to hoist the ladies out and in.

...

On Saturday, September 5th, at 6 p.m., we came to anchor in the port of Tumbes, Peru, in eight fathoms of water, a mile and a half from the shore.

...

[Chapter XVI relates to their second cruise offshore to Honolulu. In Paita they had shipped 8 new men from 8 different nationalities.]

...

On Saturday, the twentieth [March 1847], we made Oahu (Captain Cook's Wahoo)... The captain went ashore to market, and while he was gone we had a call from a missionary, the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, pastor of the Seamen's Bethel, with whom and his family Captain and Mrs. Coffin later became acquainted and with whom they boarded while we were in this port.

Honolulu in 1847 was a busy little place. Ships were arriving and leaving every day, from ten to twenty being generally in port, principally "spouters" like ourselves.

...

CHAPTER XVII

Japan Sea

Yams and other vegetables were scarce and very dear in Honolulu... During our stay we caulked and payed the **Athol's** decks and topsides, and scraped and painted her down to the copper sheathing. Two of the eight men who joined us in Payta left, and four able seamen were shipped to make up a full crew. They were as good men as ever walked a deck...

On April 9th we were ready for sea and sailed for the Bonin Islands.

...

On May 31st we spoke the bark **Canmore**, Captain Cudlip, of Saint John, New Brunswick, nineteen months from home, 800 barrels sperm oil, 500 right whale oil, and our boat went aboard to hear the news, but from the one spot of earth dear to me, old granite-bound Barrington, they had no news to tell.

...

[Boats from both Canadian whalers landed on Harbor Island in the Bonins, and managed to get one heifer from the local Japanese colony. On 5 June, the ships parted company and the **Athol** went to the Japan Sea. Chapter XIII is about their cruise in the Sea of Okhotsk and offshore Yeso or Hokkaido Island.]

...

The weather being blowy and cold and the men but poorly prepared with clothing, the captain determined to leave this ground and start for the offshore of Japan, try for sperm whales again, and then proceed to Sydney.

...

[They met with gales and typhoons as they made their way towards Pohnpei.]

...

CHAPTER XIX

“Every prospect pleases and only man is vile.”

[Visits to Pohnpei and Kosrae in 1847]

Lookouts were kept at the mastheads by the dozen, but no whales were seen, and we continued making our way toward Sydney, via the Magellan Archipelago, the Ladrones and the Caroline Islands, the hands employed drying and bundling bone and stowing down bone and oil.

The island of Ponape, or Ascension, as it is better known to whalers, one of the Caroline Groups, was sighted on Wednesday, October 20th [1847], at 11 a.m. bearing southeast, distant forty miles. As the natives were said to be friendly, the captain determined to stop and recruit water and vegetables. The wind was light and the strong current set us off so that we could not fetch the island that day. But if it had been invisible, we should have known it was there by the sweet odors of flowers that were borne out

to us ten leagues and more away. It is about thirty miles long by fifteen in width, and is mountainous but not very broken. It is surrounded by a coral reef, just awash, on which the sea breaks, about three miles from the shore, with water deep enough for any ship inside. There are three channels through the reef on the north side.

Getting close in with the island on Thursday evening, we were carried fifteen miles during the night by the current, but in the middle of the forenoon of Friday, the 22nd, five canoes with about one hundred natives and two white men boarded us. With them were the King or Chief of the island and his two sons. They brought nothing except a few cocoanuts, which was a disappointment to us, for we had been so long without vegetables that scurvy had been making its appearance.

The white men were renegades of their race, injurious both to the natives and to those visiting the islands for an honest purpose. They were under the protection of the Chief, who permitted them to act as middlemen in all the trade between ships and the natives, in return for which they paid him a certain toll. Consequently, prices were high. The first white man to come on board engaged with the captain to supply us with yams at the rate of five pounds of tobacco, or five pounds of powder, or five fathoms of cloth, per hundred. They received about a quarter of the price in advance, with which to purchase from the natives. When the articles were delivered on board they took the remaining three quarters for themselves, out of which they paid the King's revenue.

Early in the afternoon, the white men and all the natives except the king and his staff who remained with us all night, set out for the island, somewhat reluctantly, owing to the distance, the strong current and the brisk headwind. The King and his sons were tall, noble-looking men, with long straight hair, smooth complexions and very good features; they were supple and active, and no doubt in battle were fierce and brave. The young men were eighteen to twenty years old. The father perhaps upwards of forty years of age, and our subsequent intercourse with him and his people showed him to be a sensible man, loved and feared by all his subjects. The island had formerly been divided among a number of chiefs, who were continually at war among themselves, but he had subdued the others, and was now, "from the centre all round to the sea," monarch of the whole island.¹

The King was the only one who was admitted on board armed. He carried an adze, the handle of which was the limb of a tree, cut out from the trunk so as to form a projection on the end about four inches long and two in width. Upon this was lashed the blade of a two-inch steel chisel. The handle was ornamented with scroll and fine criss-cross carving. It was a beautiful and formidable weapon and his inseparable companion. The King and his sons took their meals with the captain. While he was seated at the table, the King's adze hung over his shoulder, handle in front, ready to grasp. Their escort fared well among the men, and danced for us, boxed and wrestled, and sang the

¹ Ed. note: As this story was expanded from his original journal notes, the author may not have remembered well. They may have met the Nahnmwarki, or paramount chief, of the Metalanim tribe only, or else the beachcombers may have exaggerated the power of their protector ashore.

native songs. They were much interested in our single-stick exercise, at which some of the crew were very skilful, but they were generally superior to us in boxing and wrestling.

The next morning about twenty canoes visited us, and their occupants all came on board to see their Chief. This time there were women and children as well as men. The day before there had been only men.¹ They brought him sugar-cane and the South Sea tittle—khava. This is a drink which, from its manner of preparation, can never become popular with white men. It is made by chewing [sic] the root of a species of pepper-plant and ejecting the chewed mass into a calabash or bowl, in which is laid a large plantain leaf or piece of tapa cloth (cloth made of the inner bark of the bread-fruit tree). Water is added, the contents are stirred around and left to stand a short time, and then the masticated khava is folded up in the plantain leaf or cloth and wrung out. The liquid ferments if kept long enough, but it is generally drunk unfermented and produces a drowsiness or mild fuddle of intoxication. Each family has its own khava chewer—actually an old woman.²

Besides a quantity of yams contracted for by the white factor, the canoes brought a few coconuts, fowls and bananas, which the owners were permitted to trade for tobacco with the crew. The fowls run wild in the bush and have to be shot or caught when wanted. The islanders eat very few of them, and when short of tobacco will give a good fowl for a pipeful.

The natives were all over the ship in crowds, and as metal in any shape was immensely valuable to them, longing eyes were cast upon lances, hatches, and things of that nature, and a close watch was kept to prevent small articles so tempting to our visitors from turning up missing. Such primitive people, still in the Stone Age, could hardly be considered morally censurable for appropriating objects of iron that came in their way, any more than we were guilty of cruelty to animals in killing whales when the price of oil made it so remunerative. Among themselves theft may have been a crime; but respect for the rights of other races, either in their lands or chattels are not held so sacred by the white man that he can afford to mark the boundaries of the Sixth Commandment for any one but himself. Our complete immunity, however, from such depredation was due to the strict commands of the Chief to his people, under penalty of death. A whaleship that had recently touched at the island had suffered seriously from thefts by the natives, and the King was anxious to efface the bad reputation thus created.

While the islanders were roaming about the decks, one of them in some way cast off the tackles and gripes of one of our boats, which, as the ship rolled, swung off the crane and fell down on top of a canoe alongside, parting her warp or painter and sinking her. The people in there, by a special mercy, were unhurt. But what a hubbub the accident caused. A dozen men or so jumped overboard to save the canoe, her occupants and

1 Ed. note: The women and children had come to see Mrs. Coffin and children.

2 Ed. note: The author cannot possibly have witnessed the *sakau* ceremony in Pohnpei, as his description is heavily influenced by Polynesian stories.

freight, and there was a great deal of shouting and confusion. The captain even bustled around to show his concern for the mishap, and wished to lower a boat to assist in the rescue, but before that was done the other canoes had picked up everything and everybody, and the damaged canoe was towed ashore. The old Chief, throughout the commotion, looked on as calm and undisturbed as a statue; he minded the excitement of the others no more than if they had been a swarm of flies.

The canoes of this island are worthy of mention. They are by far the most ingenious examples of naval architecture that the South Seas produce. They are made of the trunk of the breadfruit tree, of an average length of forty feet, shaped and hollowed out by fire, stone implements, or such iron tools as of late years they had obtained from whalers. Projecting from bow and stern and three feet or more in height [rather length], is a single piece of wood, running off gracefully along each gunwale toward amidships, held to the main body by elaborate lashings. The hull of the canoe is thus composed of only three separate pieces, and no nails either of wood or metal are used in the whole structure. Extending over one side about seven feet are two thwartship beams, suspended thirty feet long and eight inches in diameter. Each end of this log or outrigger curves upward like a sleigh runner and presents a sharp edge to the water. In carrying sail, it is kept to windward, and its weight prevents the canoe from upsetting. If the breeze is fresh, a man crawls out on it to increase balancing power. A single mast is stepped amidships, upon which is hoisted a large mat squaresail [sic].¹ When working to windward, instead of tacking and carrying the outrigger to leeward, the sheet [rather boom or yard] is taken forward, and the canoe comes by the wind other end foremost. The paddles are beautifully carved and polished. The bow and stern, sides and gunwales, thwarts and even the outriggers are also carved in checks, scrolls and grotesque figures, which are further ornamented by staining in blue, red and yellow. In modelling, construction and ornamentation, the canoes are almost entirely the work of the women [sic].

On Sunday, October 24th, we stood in toward the island until we saw the surf on the reef, and then hauled aback, made a raft of water casks, and with two boats towed them ashore through an opening in the reef on the northwest [sic] side,² attended by the Chief and about thirty canoes. Mr. Shields went in the starboard boat; Mr. Thomas in the waist boat, and I with him.

Inside the reef are several small islands, on one of which lived the white man who was our supply agent, with three native wives. After landing the raft, we rowed out to his house and had supper, consisting of breadfruit, yams, roast fowl and cocoanut milk. Though he was under the Chief's protection, he apparently depended somewhat upon himself to keep his own home secure, for he had two cannons mounted—a four- and

1 Ed. note: Square sail! Definitely not, as all Micronesian canoes have triangular, or lateen, sails.

2 Ed. note: If his direction is correct, they had contact with the Sokeh's tribe, instead of the Metalanim tribe. However, I believe that NW is a transcription error for SE; the same error exists for Kosrae (see below).

eight-pounder—and a good supply of muskets and ammunition. In his house were a considerable store of English prints, beads and knives, the property of a company of Hong Kong merchants, whose agent he was.¹ These he used in his trade with the natives for sandalwood, tortoise shell and *beche de mer*. The latter is a repulsive looking sea worm found on the coral reefs, which the natives gather, cure by boiling and drying, and furnish to the white traders, who sell it to the Chinese, by whom it is esteemed a great table delicacy.

The most interesting thing that I saw at the white man's house was a still, the coil of which he had made of two musket barrels. The Chief, though he enjoyed his daily draught of Kava, would not allow alcoholic spirits on the island, and it was all the white man's life was worth to be discovered importing them. But for his own use he had devised this rude method of making alcohol from cocoanut sap, and his appearance indicated that he probably consumed the bulk of his product.

This man's marital experiences were peculiar, as they certainly were extensive. As mentioned, at this time he had three wives. But they had a number of predecessors who when about to become mothers would disappear, despite his most careful searching, never to be seen or heard of by him again. As explained by him, the clan system under which the native society was organized is, compared with our simple rules of relationship, extremely complicated. Everyone, high and low, male and female, belongs to some particular tribe and is bound by the regulations which control that particular tribe. Whole tribes are regarded as brothers and sisters, and intermarriage among them is strictly prohibited on pain of death; and even intermarriage between one tribe and another is subject to minute regulation. On the other hand, all the men of certain tribes are regarded as the husbands indiscriminately of all the women of certain other tribes. But thorough as their system was, it made no provision for the classification of a half-breed race; and it was to this that the white man attributed the fact that he had no children and that his wives should disappear at the most interesting junctures.

Mr. Shields with his crew remained all night in the white man's island. Mr. Thomas and his men accompanied the King ashore to his house, where we were entertained with singing and dances till a late hour. Then mats and tapa blankets were furnished us for sleeping. The next morning, Monday, October 25th, the ship was twenty-eight miles off shore, becalmed. We filled our water casks in a few hours, and spent the rest of the day seeing the sights of the island. The King gave each of us a guide and a token which served as a protection or pass wherever we went. In the evening, the ship being still offshore, both boat's crews were made welcome at the Chief's house and entertained in the same way as on the night previous, only the program was vastly more elaborate than the first. Readers of Captain Cook's Voyages will find in substance a good de-

1 Ed. note: Perhaps brought to Pohnpei by the *Naiad*, Captain Cheyne.

scription of the manner of our entertainment in Mr. Anderson's account of the festivities held in his commander's honor at Tonga Island.¹

The men of Ascension Island are tall and stalwart, generally over six feet in height. The women are diminutive, none exceeding five feet. Both men and women have smooth olive complexions and regular features. The men seemed quite indifferent to trading. Not so the women, who used many arts and some blandishments to induce Jack to give up good plug tobacco for more cocoanuts and bananas than he could possibly keep from spoiling on his hands. Judged by our standards, the women of the middle and lower class would be called utterly immoral; but their freedom of conduct and absence of marital fidelity is regarded by them as a matter of course and an injury to no-one. The upper class is chaste and virtuous, in that respect an example worth following in lands many degrees of longitude away.

The dress of these people is graceful and well adapted to their tropical climate and aquatic habits. The men wear a grass kilt which reaches to the knees, topped by a broad belt woven in beautiful designs of many colors. The women wind about six yards of tapa cloth around their waists, the ends hanging down gracefully in front and behind. Both men and women wear a grass tippet over their shoulders, and a broad yellow band around their heads to keep the hair smooth. All these articles of dress are made by the women. The belts, as well as the tapa cloth, are woven with little sticks similar, except as to size, to those used by sailors for weaving sword mats.²

As curios, I bought a number of full native costumes, in exchange for tobacco. The kilts and tippets were cheap and easily obtainable; but the belts, genuine works of art both in color and design, were more valued by the owners, as they deserved to be. Two I acquired after sharp negotiations from different sources, for five square plugs of tobacco a piece. But my special admiration was for the belt worn by the King himself, which, being made known to him, he took it off and handed it to me, and in return graciously accepted the same quantity of the circulating medium as I had given for each of the others.

The houses generally have an underpinning of stone, and a framework of quite heavy timber ingeniously lashed together. The roofs are neatly thatched with flags or palm leaves, projecting at the gables and eaves about ten feet, to furnish shade for the sides which are left open in fine weather. Curtains of small reeds are hung outside the framework, which in rainy weather are let down, making the interior perfectly tight and comfortable. The floors are of small poles—the King's houses had boards dubbed smooth with the adze—covered with mats. Some houses had but one room. Others were divided into rooms by reed curtains about seven feet high, the space above to the ridgepole being open. The people have some taste for cultivation of the soil, as evidenced by their

1 Ed. note: Here we have the proof of the author and/or his son having been influenced by books on Polynesia, when they rewrote, and expanded, the original journal forty years after this visit.

2 Ed. note: Possibly mats made with sword grass.

extensive plantations of yams, bananas, taro and cocoanuts. The breadfruit is ripe on the island the year round.

On Tuesday morning, the 26th, the ship being within eight miles of the island, we tried to raft our water casks, but when we reached the mouth of the channel, the heavy sea stove several of them, and we were compelled to give it up and spend another day and night on shore. I employed the time gathering marine shells and other curios. Tortoises abounded, several of which I killed, weighing between 40 and 50 pounds, and added their shells to my collection.

Mr. Shield's boat went aboard the ship, and returned with astonishing news. Amzi Dauton, the third mate, who had been broken as boat-header, and the carpenter, an Englishman whom we had picked up at Callao, had formed such warm attachments for two olive-hued ladies that, with the captain's consent, they had resolved to leave the ship and live as Kanakas on this island, away from society, friends and the world. When the news got around among the natives the success of the two favored belles caused many other women to deck themselves in all their finest tackling, with the hope of enticing others of our company to remain with them. They flocked around in great numbers, decorated with fancy headbands and sashes, necklaces of shell beads, sharks' and porpoise teeth, armlets of tortoiseshell, etc., but they made no further permanent conquests. It might be the life of the free, but it had some ugly drawbacks. While walking around with some natives, I had seen an Englishman, dressed native-fashion, who had been living there about three years and who was a running sore from head to foot with a kind of leprosy. It is said that the native diet renders white men specially liable to this disease, its effects being increased by excessive kava drinking.¹

About 3 p.m., Wednesday, October 27th, we got alongside the **Athol** with our water. We also brought off three boatloads of yams, breadfruit and bananas, and twenty-five dozen jungle fowl. In the last boat ashore went Mr. Dauton and the carpenter to become family men among the Ponapeans. The captain gave them their discharge papers and a statement of their account—a paper showing that up to date the ship had taken so much oil, of which their share was so much, and that they had drawn a certain amount; so that in case of their ever returning home they could obtain the balance. Before sunset we had our water all in and stowed, made sail and stood out to sea, waved adieu to the islanders and left them and their new citizens to take care of themselves. Light breezes continued through the night, and next morning this beautiful island was still in sight, bearing west by south, distant forty miles, but its wise and potent King, his lusty heathen subjects and Christian renegades had passed out of our lives, and the island while we gazed was gone from our horizon for ever.

Five days of cruising for whales ensued but to no purpose. The only strange object raised from the masthead was, on October 29th, an uncharted ledge of rocks, about a quarter of a mile long by two hundred yards in width, a dozen or more of the rocks out

1 Ed. note: What the author calls leprosy was probably yaws.

of water. We passed within three miles of it. The ship's position at noon of that day was 6°2' N, 161°40' E.¹

On Sunday, October 31st, we saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island, bearing north northeast, distant thirty miles. During the day we spoke the ship **Wolga** of Fairhaven. Being short of water, with the prospect of a long passage to Sydney, the captain, after sending a boat aboard the **Wolga** for information, determined to try the island for water. At one o'clock canoes with about forty natives came off to us. Among them was the King's son with a white man for interpreter. When within six miles of the island we started a raft of casks for the shore, with two boats, accompanied by the natives. We entered as fine a harbor as I was ever in in my life, and at 9 p.m. landed, made the raft fast, and by invitation went up to the King's house to pass the night.

Kusaie, or Ualan, or Strong's Island, is the principal island of the outer or easternmost group of the Carolines. The harbor where we landed is on the southwestern [sic] part,² at 5°12' N, 162°58' E. The island is mountainous and had the most pleasing appearance of fertility and habitableness of any I have ever seen in the South Seas. There was, however, very little cultivation of the soil; the natives had no bent for agriculture. Yams were not planted at all; breadfruit, bananas and cocoanuts grew spontaneously. The houses were large, well built and comfortable, the villages neat, with well kept grounds and walks. Indeed, "Every prospect pleases, and only man is vile."

The people were a savage suspicious-looking set of copper-colored rogues. The men and children went entirely naked; the women wore a sleeveless shirt or sack reaching to the knees. The expression of treachery and cruelty seen on so many faces was not rendered more attractive by the sight in the harbor of the charred remains of two whaleships, which about two years before had called here for wood and water, were taken by the natives and burned and their crews massacred.

The King of the island was upwards of fifty years of age with an only son. His house was in a large circular enclosure, with broad walks 150 yards in length and covered with mats leading up to it. When the canoes went out fishing in the morning the first fish caught was always brought ashore for the King's breakfast. The man who carried it, as soon as he came within the circle of the royal grounds, dropped to his knees and crawled into the presence of the King; and in retiring he crawled backwards the length of the matted walk till he was outside the enclosure. On all occasions his subjects never approached him except on all fours. The old King spoke English very well. Speaking of the fate of the two whaleships referred to, he expressed great penitence and regret for the event, said that his people should not commit any more such deeds, and that he wanted ships to come without fear and supply their wants at his island.

Besides the white interpreter before mentioned, we found an Englishman on the island who had been left by an English whaleship in the previous year. It was evident that

1 Ed. note: This position of close to the SE corner of Pingelap atoll.

2 Ed. note: Since they were at Lele Harbor, SW is a transcription error for NE.

they were not missionaries, but the King had heard—perhaps from them—of missionaries, and was very desirous of having the gospel preached to his people, “for,” said he, “they are bad men, very bad.”¹ The King of Ascension [Pohnpei] also had besought Captain Coffin to have a missionary sent to instruct his people. The same requests were probably made of every whaleship that touched at these islands; and they were not made in vain. A few years afterwards, I think about 1850, a missionary from Massachusetts, named Doane, began his devoted service among the Carolines, which he continued in spite of arrest and imprisonment by the Spaniards, up to the time of the transfer of the islands in 1899 to Germany. Under the benign sovereignty of that nation, the gentle Ponapean and fierce Kusaian alike will doubtless soon be beyond all need of pious instruction.²

We set about filling our water casks the first thing in the morning. The stream from which the water was obtained was perhaps a mile from where we landed with the raft, and to bring the water we employed about twenty women, each carrying a dozen or more cocoanut shells hung over her shoulders. These the women filled at the stream and emptied into the casks, marching back and forth till the work was completed. The boat crews remained at the landing to watch the rafts and boats, as it was deemed prudent, especially as the ship was nowhere in sight, to keep together and offer no temptation to the natives to attack us.

By noon all the casks were full; but there being a strong breeze with considerable sea, and the weather looking squally, the **Athol** had gone out for sea room. The watering party, therefore, spent the afternoon looking about the island in company with the two white men and two or three natives whom the King detailed for our bodyguard. We visited a number of villages, and saw the women weaving their belts and making mats. As at Ponape, except for the assistance which the men render in canoe building and fishing, the women do all the work.

On Wednesday morning, November 3rd, the weather was rainy with fresh breezes, and the prospect was presented of another day on shore, but about eleven o'clock, the ship made her appearance and we started with the water. The Englishman desiring to go to Sydney with us, we took him as a passenger. About a mile outside the reef we met the ship, considerably to the captain's surprise, as he thought we were weather-bound ashore. We were off none too soon, however, for by the time the water was hoisted on board, the wind had fallen very light, and with a heavy sea heaving on, it was no place for us to linger. The weather continued so moderate that for the next two days we remained in sight of the island, which in a clear atmosphere is visible at a distance of more than forty miles. When on the fourth day after leaving the island a strong breeze sprang up, the sea was so remarkably smooth that there were absolutely no waves or swell to

1 Ed. note: The call for missionaries was his way of avoiding reprisal from an English warship, for the murder of whalers and destruction of at least two ships.

2 Ed. note: This paragraph was written between 1900 and before the arrival of the Japanese, in 1914. In fact, missionaries had first arrived at Kosrae in 1852.

give the ship motion, she moved only ahead as if sailing on a pond. It was such an experience met with by the early navigators that gained the Pacific Ocean its name.

...

On Saturday, November 29th, we made Volcano Island, one of the Solomon Group... The next day we kept as Sunday, as we had not altered the day on crossing the 180th Meridian when bound from the Sandwich Island to the Japan Sea, and we wanted our calendar of days to agree with that of Sydney.

...

We were now down in a part of the Pacific that is crowded with islands and shoals and coral reefs, so that the navigation required careful attention. Several days of bad weather, when no observations could be had, caused considerable anxiety, as the chronometer was nearly ten minutes slow and losing about four seconds a day, and the charts were known to be incomplete and inaccurate...

At noon of December 9th, we saw the coast of New Holland (as Australia was till commonly called)... At 4 p.m., we took on board a Sydney pilot and at 5:30 came to with both anchors in Pinch Gut, in six fathoms of water, abreast the Governor's house, Sydney Harbor, about two cable lengths from the shore.

During the past two years and a half, we had pursued our adventurous calling in all zones and half around the globe. The whalerman is subject to all the perils that other sailors encounter at sea or in port. He deliberately seeks a thousand others in the line of his peculiar duties, and casualties are accepted as matters of course. We had been singularly fortunate in escaping with but one serious accident—the fatal injury to the man who was towed under by a whale and who died in hospital at Honolulu. Delivered from every peril, we were now once more in port where life was secure and, protected on every hand, the people dwelt in safety.

...

[The aftermath.—Soon after their arrival at Sydney, the Canadian barque **Canmore** came in; she sailed before the **Athol** did. Doane left the **Athol** at Sydney, to ship aboard a wool ship bound to England, the 800-ton **Berdmondsey**, Captain Samuel Banes. The first mate, Mr. Taylor, did the same thing, aboard another wool ship. Mr. Thomas became first mate of the **Athol**, but he was later killed by a whale in the next cruise in the Japan Sea.]

...

Apart from the sorrow over the loss of his brave and loyal officer, Captain Coffin felt that in consequence the whaling voyage could not be profitably continued. He determined to make a port and sell the ship, which would bring a good price in any Pacific port. He sailed for Honolulu where he sold the oil they had taken since leaving Sydney; and then what considerations led him to Goa, one of the most out of the way places in the world, I never learned, but in that tiny Portuguese colony, far up the Arabian Sea, on the Malabar coast, he sold the **Athol** to the Portuguese Governor... With the purchase price of the **Athol** in gold, Captain Coffin with his wife and son took such trans-

portation as they could find up to Bombay. There they sailed in an East Indiaman for England and thence by Cunard steamer to Halifax.

...

[At London, Doane joined the ship **Alceste**, Captain James D. Cann, and made a voyage to Florida where the ship ran aground, after loading with cotton. Finally, in Liverpool, he shipped aboard the ship **Adelaide**, Captain Samuel Jolly, bound to Halifax, where they arrived on 25 September 1849. He reached his home at Barrington, soon after. He married Maria Knowles in 1852, emigrated to New York, became a U.S. citizen and later captained many steamers, until his retirement in 1890. He died in New Jersey, in 1916, three weeks before his 93rd birthday.]

Document 1847I

Captain Woodin's trading voyages

Introductory note.

In 1839-40, Captain Woodin was Master of the brig **Caroline** during a voyage from Hobart Town to Port Philip and the Mauritius. The logbook was kept by his Mate, H. Hough. In 1846-47, he was Master of the 153-ton barque **Eleanor**. This barque was built in 1829. The log has very brief entries, mostly about the weather. The story of the the early part of this sandalwood trading voyage by Woodin was published in the Nautical Magazine 19 (May 1850): 298-302.

The logbook of the Eleanor, Captain Edward Woodin

*Source: Logbooks in the Crowther Library, ms. 910.4 ELE, and in the Tasmanian Archives, NS676/1.
Note: The Eleanor sailed to Hong Kong, via Pohnpei, in 1847, with Hadley Westbrook as Mate.*

...

Friday 22nd January [1847]

1 a.m. Squally and heavy rain.
 4 a.m. do.
 8 a.m. do.
 10 a.m. People employed as most necessary.
 Noon do.
 1 p.m. Moderate breezes and fine. All sail set to the last advantage.
 4 p.m. do.
 8 p.m. do.
 10 p.m. Saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing NNW dist. 18 miles.

Saturday 23rd [January] 1847

1 a.m. Moderate breezes and fine.
 4 a.m. do.
 5 a.m. Fresh breezes with heavy rain.
 6 a.m. Moderate and clear. Ascension bearing NW dist. 14 miles.
 7:30 a.m. Received the Pilot on board & stood for the Lee Harbour.
 1 p.m. Light breezes & clear.

2:30 p.m. Came to in the Lee Harbour with 45 fathoms chain. Starboard bower in 11 fathoms water.

8 p.m. do.

Midnight do.

Sunday 24th.

Fine pleasant throughout.

Monday 26th

Light breezes & fine. 6 [a.m.] Got the Larb[oard] boat out. People employed watering ship, etc.

Tuesday 26th

Light variable airs & fine. People employed securing sail(?) & otherwise preparing for sea.

Wednesday 27th

Light breezes & fine. 7 [a.m.] Weighed & made sail. Stood out of the harbour. 9 [a.m.] Pilot left the vessel. Noon, fresh breezes & fine. People employed securing anchor, etc. Midnight, fair.

Thursday 28th [January] 1847

1 a.m. Course WNW. Wind NE. Moderate breezes & clear. All sail set to the best advantage.

...

Epilogue.

The ship went to Hong Kong by way of the Batanes Islands, north of Luzon, then back to Tasmania by way of the eastern coast of Luzon. This log ends at sea at a position 1040' N. and 132°24' E., situated NW of Palau.

In 1849-50, Woodin made another voyage with the **Eleanor**, the log being kept by his Mate, Hadley Westbrook. This log opens when they are at sea, from Hobart Town, as they are bound to Hong Kong. They may have stopped again at Pohnpei in November 1849. They returned to Hobart Town by way of the eastern coast of the Philippines, sighting the Catanduanes, Cape Espiritu Santo, Mindanao (Port Bajango), and the Asia Islands.

See also Doc. 1851P for his voyages of 1851-53 to Palau, among other purposes, for bêche-de-mer, in competition with Captain Cheyne.

Notes 1847J

The Canadian whaler James Stewart, Captain Kenney, 1847-48

Note: Captain Joseph Kenney, of Cape Sable Island, Nova Scotia, is supposed to have left an autobiography, but it appears to be no longer extant.

J1. Remarks made by Benjamin Doane

Source: Same as for Doc. 1847H.

[Captain Coffin of the whaling ship **Athol** and Benjamin Doane, who shipped as boat-steerer, met Captain Joseph Kenney in Saint John in May 1845. He had been the mate of Captain Coffin aboard the **Margaret Rait** and was then waiting for the **James Stewart** to return, to take command of her as Master. On 3 June 1845, the **James Stewart** announced her arrival at Saint John by firing a gun at the mouth of the harbor.]

...
 On February 11th [1846],¹ a fourth ship made its appearance and ran down to speak us. She was the **James Stewart**, of Saint John, Captain Joseph Kenney, five months from home. Captain Kenney was welcomed on board the **Athol** and stayed till eleven o'clock that evening. He brought Captain Coffin's charts that he had left at home, and also several letters.

...
 As whalemens' hours are from daylight to sunset, "early to bed" was a rule which executed itself, visitors generally departing in good time for their own ship. One interchange of visits, however, was prolonged much further on board the **Athol**, and Mr. Taylor went to spend the evening with the mate of the **James Stewart**. His boat-steerer (myself) and crew, of course, accompanied him. About sunset, the fog shut in and prevented the return of the boats to their respective ships. For four days the fog continued as thick as it ever was between Clam Point and West Head, and during that time the **Athol** had two captains, while the **James Stewart** had two mates. We shortened sail and stood back and forth, beating on the heads of empty casks during the day, and

1 Ed. note: When the Athol was off the coast of Chile.

hoisting lights at night, so as to be heard or seen if we should pass near the other ship. At daylight of the fifth day the fog cleared off, and we saw the **Athol** standing for us, the island of Guafo in sight.

...
We now parted company with the **James Stewart**, expecting to meet in San Carlos, Island of Chiloe, the captains having agreed to go in there at the end of another week.¹

J2. Remarks by Higgins, second mate of the *Ann Alexander*

Source: See Doc. 1847L2.

[The *Ann Alexander*, Captain Sawtell, went around Cape Horn in March 1846, then by Juan Fernandez Island, before heading for the Galapagos Islands, where they met a Canadian whaler.]

Monday June 22nd 1846

... We also spoke the Ship **James Stewart**, Kenney, of St. Johns New Brunswick 9 months out, 300, 150 Sperm ...

Lat. 00.22 North, Lon. 91.28 West.

Sunday June 28th 1846

First part spoke Ship [William C.] **Nye**, Pease of New Bedford, 20 months out, 600. Latter part the **James Stewart** struck on the Rocks off Turtle Hole and shipped her rudder and it is supposed that she marred her keel some. She got off without material damage. At present she steers with a large spar.

Monday June 29th 1846

First part, the Captains were all on board the **James Stewart**. Latter part they all volunteered and picked up her rudder. One took it on board to repair it. Thus ends.

...

Saturday September 4th 1847

All this day fine weather. Spoke Barque **Canmore**, [blank], St. Johns, 22 months [out],₂ 750 Sperm, 75 Whale.

...

1 Ed. note: There is no further mention of the *James Stewart* in Doane's narrative. They did, however, meet another Canadian whaler from Saint John, the *Canmore*, in the *Bonins*, and at Sydney (see Doc. 1847J).

2 Ed. note: There is a third logbook mentioning the *James Stewart*, that of Dr. L. A. Baker (Doc. 1848F). The *James Stewart* visited Guam in the fall of 1848, then Honolulu.

Documents 1847K

The Uncas of New Bedford, Captain Charles W. Gelett

K1. The narrative of the voyage according to Captain Gelett

Source: Captain Charles W. Gelett. A Life on the Ocean: Autobiography of (cont'd).

...

At the Ladrone Islands.

Again picking up the thread of the narrative, after our visit of a few days at Hilo we sailed for Honolulu; Mrs. Gelett having disembarked, I pursued my voyage to the Japan Sea, touching at Grigan, one of the Ladrone Islands, south [sic] latitude 19 degrees, longitude 145 degrees 40 minutes east.

Grigan is small but heavily timbered, and abounds in bread-fruit, bananas, jack-fruit, yams and sweet potatoes.

The population in 1847 was about 100, among whom were two Englishmen, with native wives. The natives were friendly, and danced a hideous war dance for my diversion. They were naked.

We took on board fifteen hogs, fattened on cocoa-nuts. One, when dressed, weighed 400 pounds. Guam, about 300 miles south of Grigan, is the largest island of this group. It is 26 miles long and has a fine harbor. Leaving Grigan we steered to the northwest, passing just south of the Lewchew [Okinawa] Islands, into the Yellow Sea.

...

[They went whaling in the Japan Sea, and up to the Yesso [Hokkaido] Sea, up to 47° and, by September, had taken 2000 barrels of oil and 30,000 pounds of whale bone.]

...

We reached Honolulu on the first day of October, 1848.

The California gold fever.

While the **Uncas** lay at Honolulu after our return from the Japan Sea, a vessel arrived from California, with gold dust aboard, to be re-shipped to Valparaiso. As I was bound for that port, I took it on as freight. The gold was packed in small wooden boxes. At that time there were no vessels plying up and down the western coast of the Ameri-

can continent. This gold was said to be the first shipped from the new fields of California, and I never had reason to doubt the truth of the statement.

The California gold fever was raging at the Hawaiian Islands when we arrived there from our whaling voyage, and two of my men, one of them the first mate, took the fever and got their discharge from the **Uncas**, that they might go to California. Both men, after staying in California a while, returned to New Bedford, without having made their fortunes. They found it harder work to dig gold than to catch whales.

...

K2. The journal of Jotham Newton

Sources: Ms. journal in the University of California at Berkeley, among his papers, vol. 1 (Mss # C-F 75); Log Inv. 4694. The second half of Vol. 1, as well as Vol. 2, is a diary of an overland voyage to California afterwards.

Notes: This journal is a brief summary of the voyage. Henry Eldridge was first mate, Peter Childs was second mate, Francisco Phrater [sic], third mate, Giles H. Allen, was 4th mate. The ship Uncas had a capacity of 413 tons; built at Falmouth, Mass. On this voyage, it brought home 3600 barrels of oil and 40000 pounds of bone. Sailed about 75000 miles. She went and came by way of Cape Horn, says Jotham Newton.

Editor's comments.

This young sailor was but 17 years old when he left home to go to New Bedford and join the crew of the **Uncas**. He had but 25 cents in his pockets, and a gingerbread....

Once in the Pacific, they stopped at Juan Fernandez I. to take on water, then straight to Maui in the Hawaiian Islands... Then northward to Sakhalin Island...

Unfortunately, this author does not mention the ship's visit to Agrigan Island in 1847 (see Doc. 1847N).

Documents 1847L

The Ann Alexander, Captain Sawtell

L1. The log kept by the First Mate, John S. DeBlois

Sources: Ms. journal in the New Bedford Public Library; partly published in the book entitled: The Ship Ann Alexander of New Bedford, 1805-1851, by Clement C. Sawtell, Mystic, Marine Historical Society, 1962; Log Inv. 337.

*Note: John Scott DeBlois, later Captain, was from a Huguenot family, born in 1815; he died at Newport in 1885. Although he had received no schooling, he learned to read and write while at sea. He made one more voyage aboard the Ann Alexander, as captain, in 1850, until his ship was sunk by a whale in 1851. He then made three more whaling voyages (*Vigilant*, 1852-55; *Merlin*, 1856-59, 1860-63) and continued a seafaring life until he retired, in 1883.*

Extracts from this log.

...

Wednesday December the 22 [1847]

... At 3 p.m., the Ship **Atkins Adams** of Fairhaven came down to us, 16 months out with 700 bbls of sperm oil... Lat. 01°20 S. Long. 172°49 W.

...

Saturday December the 25

... At 4 p.m., saw the Island of New Nantucket [Baker] bearing N dist. 15 miles... Lat. 00°08 N. Long. 176°53 W.

...

Friday December the 31st

... At 2 p.m., saw the Ship **Mechanic** of Newport, 14 months out with 180 bbls. At 4, saw another ship steering West. At daylight, saw 2 ships standing to the South... Lat. 00°41 S. Long. 179°06 E.

...

Thursday January 6 [1848]

... At 2 p.m., saw a dead whale. We found him to be good and took him alongside and commenced cutting in. At 4, finished boiling, 16 bbls of oil. At 11, saw a ship standing to the W. Lat. 01°52 S. Long. 177°20 E.

...

Saturday January the 8th 1848

... At 7, spoke the Ship **California** of New Bedford, 17 months out, 1300 whale, 400 sperm oil... Lat. 02°17 S. Long. 178°40 E.

...

Thursday January the 13

... Saw the Bark **Garland**. Lat. 00°31 S. Long. 179°21 [E].

...

Friday January the 28

... At 4 p.m., spoke the Ship **Josephine** of Sag Harbor, 14 months out with 1400 bbls of whale oil... At 9 a.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing South dist. 15 miles. Saw nothing more this day... Lat. 01°07' S. Long. 176°04' E, by Lunar 176°44' E.

Saturday January the 29

... Byron's Island in sight. At 3 p.m., the natives came on board of us. At 4 p.m., wore Ship to the North. At sundown, Byron's Island bore SE dist. 5 miles... At 10 [a.m.], saw [blank] Island bearing SSW dist. 20 miles. At 11, saw Byron's Island bearing SE dist. 20 miles... Lat. 01°06 S. Long. 176°50 E.

Sunday January the 30th

... Byron and Peroat [Beru] Islands in sight... At 5 p.m., the natives from Byron's Island came off to us, we being about 8 miles from the Island. At sundown, it bore E dist. 10 miles... Lat. 00°37' S. Long. 176°29 E.

...

Friday Feb. the 11

... At 8 a.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing South dist. 15 miles... Lat. 02°30 S. Long. 176°26 E.

...

Thursday Feb. the 17th

... At 2 p.m., saw Woodle [Kuria] Island bearing NE dist. 1 miles... AT daylight, Woodle and Henderville [Aranuka] Islands in sight. At q0 a.m., the natives from Woodle Island came on board. At noon, they left us.

...

Saturday February the 19

... At 4 p.m., saw Kny's [Tarawa] Island bearing ENE dist. 25 miles... Lat. 00°40 N. Long. 173°30 [E].

...

Monday February the 21

... Anton Mara [María?] quite smart today. At 5 p.m., he was taking to coughing and began vomiting blood and died in about 2 minutes. There had been all care taken

of him that could be. We laid aback through the night. At 7 a.m., the Captain read the funeral service and then buried him in the deep...¹

Tuesday Feb. the 22

... At 4 p.m., put Anton Mara's things up to auction and sold them... At daylight, saw Woodle's Island bearing ENE dist. 15 miles. At 11 a.m., the natives came off to us... Lat. 00°50 N. Long. 173°03 E.

...

Thursday March the 9

... At 3 p.m., saw the Ship **Atkins Adams**. At 4, she came down to us, 9 months out with 950 bbls of oil. Lat. 02°26 S. Long. 174°39' E.

...

Tuesday March 28

... At 8 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] High Island bearing WNW dist. 30 miles... Lat. 00°58 S. Long. 170°12 E.

...

Thursday April the 6

... At daylight set all sail. About the same time, saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing NNW dist. 15 miles/ At 7 a.m., the natives came on board of us. We ran within 8 miles of the Island. Lat. 02°42 S. Long. 176°43 E.

Friday April the 7

... At 2 p.m., saw [blank] Island bearing W by N dist. 25 miles. At sundown the natives came on board of us, we being about 8 miles from the Island, standing from it to the SE... Lat. 02°52' S. Long. 176°12 E.

...

Monday May the 8

... At 5 a.m., saw the Island of Guam bearing W by N dist. 15 miles. At 10 a.m., took the Pilot aboard and kept the ship off for the watering place.

Tuesday May the 9

... At 3 p.m., came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water and sent a raft of casks on shoe for water. At 5, got off 70 bbls. of water... At 8 a.m., sent another raft of casks ashore for water. At 11 a.m., got off 100 bbls more of water. So ends, all hands employed in stowing water.

Wednesday May the 10

Lying the West side of Guam with a strong gale from ESE and a heavy sea from the South. All hands employed in stowing water. At 2 p.m., dropped the other anchor and

1 Ed. note: This man was from the Cape Verde Islands (see L2 below).

gave her all of both cables. Latter part, strong gale from the same. The Pilot on board. So ends.

Thursday May the 11

Lying at the Watering at Guam with a heavy gale from the E.S.E. with both anchors ahead. At 2 p.m., commenced sending down the three top gallant mast. When we came up with the main top gallant rigging the Ship pitch the head of the mast off. Middle part strong gale and heavy squalls from S.E. At daylight took both anchors after very hard work and went to sea with the Pilot on board...

Friday May the 12

... At 11 a.m., dropped the anchor in the harbor of Port Apra in 22 fathoms of water...

Saturday May the 15th, A.D. 1848

... All hands employed in getting off wood. At 7 a.m, the Bark **Harvest** of Fairhaven, 22 months with 700 bbls, laid off and bound to the North. At 10 a.m., the Starboard Watch went on 4 days liberty. The other employed in getting off wood. So ends.

...

Monday May the 15

... At noon, finished getting off 6 cords and half...

Tuesday May the 16

... The Starboard Watch on liberty. The other employed in painting the bends. Latter part, employed in painting the iron work. At 10 a.m., sent a raft of casks ashore for water.

Wednesday May the 17

At 7 p.m. the Starboard Watch came on board after having 4 days liberty. At 8 p.m., got off 16 bbls of water. At 8 a.m., sent the Larboard Watch on 4 days liberty. The other, employed fitting the main topgallant rigging and bowsprit shrouds...

Thursday May the 18

... At 6 a.m., the Bark **Harvest** hove in sight on her passage from the watering place. At 10 a.m., sent sixties ashore for water...

Friday May the 19

... At 1 p.m., got off 12 bbls of water and 3 p.m., saw the Bark **Harvest** lying off and on for recruits. At 11 a.m., a boat came from town loaded with recruits...

Saturday May the 20

... At 7 a.m., the Watch came off. The Capt. ashore trading for recruits...

Sunday May the 21

... At 11 a.m., the Capt. sent a boatload of recruits, potatoes, yams and pineapples, 100 lbs of beef...

Monday May the 22

... The Capt discharged William and paid him off, a native of this place... At 10 a.m., sent a boat and crew up to the town. The Capt. gave the Steward liberty to stay at the town till the ship was ready to go to sea. [when] the time came, the Steward was not to be found...

Tuesday May the 23

... At 4 p.m., the Capt. came from the town with a load of potatoes and the Pilot and had shipped 3 men to go with us, 2 Sandwich Island natives and a man by the name of George Stiles. At 6 a.m., took the anchors and went outside of the reef. At 11, landed the Pilot. At noon, took our dep[arture] from Guam and steered NNW with light winds and heavy rain from NE.

Wednesday May the 24, A.D. 1848

... At 5 p.m., saw the island of Rota...

...

L2. The log kept by the Second Mate, Higgins

Source: Ms. Log 394 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 267, 306, 307; Log Inv. 336.

Note: Sailed from New Bedford on 11 November 1845. The log-keeper says that he was Second Mate (see entry of 10 April 1849).

Extracts from the logbook

...

[The ship went around Cape Horn in March 1846, then by Juan Fernandez Island, before heading for the Galapagos Islands, where they met a Canadian whaler.]

Monday June 22nd 1846

... We also spoke the Ship **James Stewart**, Kenney, of St. Johns New Brunswick 9 months out, 300, 150 Sperm ...

Lat. 00.22 North, Lon. 91.28 West.

Sunday June 28th 1846

First part spoke Ship [William C.] **Nye**, Pease of New Bedford, 20 months out, 600. Latter part the **James Stewart** struck on the Rocks off Turtle Hole and shipped her rudder and it is supposed that she marred her keel some. She got off without material damage. At present she steers with a large spar.

Monday June 29th 1846

First part, the Captains were all on board the **James Stewart**. Latter part they all volunteered and picked up her rudder. One took it on board to repair it. Thus ends.

...

[The ship slowly made her way westward along the equator, then down to the Marquesas, then up to the 30° lat. N. passing east of Micronesia, where the ship met another Canadian whaler.]

...

Saturday September 4th 1847

All this day fine weather. Spoke Barque **Canmore**, [blank], St. Johns, 22 months [out], 750 Sperm, 75 Whale.¹

...

[The ship visited Hawaii, then southward by Jarvis Island, etc.]

...

Tuesday Dec. 21st 1847

All this day fine pleasant weather. Saw Ship **Atkins Adams**, Lane, Fairhaven, 16 months, 700 bbls. Thus ends.

Lat. 2.17 South. Lon. [blank] West.

...

[After meeting with another U.S. whaler, i.e. the **Josephine**, Captain Hughes, of Sag Harbor, the ship reached the Gilbert Islands and began seeing whales.]

...

Friday January 28th 1848

P.M. Visited the **Josephine** Sag Harbor. A.M. made Byron's Island bearing 15 miles South. At Meridian about 12 Lat. 1.00 South, Lon. by Chron. 176.09.45, by Dist. 176.48.30 East.

Lat. of Byron's 1.10 South. Lon. of Byron's 176.48.30 [East].

Saturday January 29th 1848

P.M. fine weather. Byron's Island in sight and about forty or fifty canoes alongside with four of the natives in each one. They left the ship at sundown to paddle their canoes about 7 miles to windward. There was some of the Ladies, came to be our Wives. A.M. stowing down. Land in sight, on both beams.

Remarks on board Ship **Ann Alexander**, Sawtell, Master
Sunday January 30th 1848

1 Ed. note: The latitude on the previous day was 30°40' N, but no longitude given, as the logkeeper, i.e. the cook, admits that he had had a "few words" with the "skipper" on that day.

Finished stowing down 53 bbls of oil. When the decks were washed off, there was several canoes [that] came alongside and two Ladies, one of them could satisfy all hands easy enough, at least she did several and wanted more for a head of tobacco a piece.

Lat. 00.56 South. Lon. [blank] East.

...

Remarks on board Ship Ann Alexander Friday February 11th 1848

P.M. a strong breeze and fine weather. A.M. squally. At 8 a.m. made Hope Island in the Lat. of 2.45 South 15 miles off. At mer. 10 n. miles distant bearing S.S.W.

Lat. of Hope Island 2.41 South, Lon. 176.23 East nearly.

...

Thursday February 17th 1848

Latter part fine weather. At 2 p.m. made Woodle's Island dist. 25 miles off bearing N by E. Middle part squally. A.M. fine pleasant weather. Woodle's, Simpson's and Henderville's Islands in sight bearing from E by N to SSE. At 10 o'clock the canoes began to come alongside to trade, some with coconuts, some with fowls, fish, shells, cooked taro (the largest I ever saw), Ladies and ladies dresses, all of which could be bought for a few pounds of tobacco, except the Ladies who could not be bought but for a short time and then they were very reasonable, only a head and sometimes half a head of tobacco a piece. At mer. they all left us for the shore and to all appearances very satisfied and I think both parties were equally satisfied. There was one white man [who] came on board with some of the natives and reported the Ship **Triton**, Spencer, New Bedford, with 700 bbls sperm and taken by the natives at Henderville Island and 16 of her crew massacred. It appears to me, by what he said, that there was some Portuguese on the Island that were concerned in taking the ship. The ship **Columbia** of Sag Harbor was wrecked on said Island some time previous no doubt had some articles on board which the natives fancied and thinking they could get a like prize was a great inducement to them besides being urged on by the Portuguese beachcomber that are far beneath the poor natives in principles or in fact anything else. He (the white man) says Capt. S. and his 2nd Officer with their boats and 10 men their boats crew went on board the **U.S.** of New York in search of his Ship. Capt. S. went on shore after the **Columbia's** oil, thinking to make a North West near the Equator to shun the cold and fog on the Coast of Kamskatka. The natives while on board of us appeared perfectly harmless, the Ladies in particular were very good natives and loving as you please. Thus ends.

Friday February 18th 1848

P.M. left Woodle's Island astern and out of sight. In a short time at 4 o'clock sighted Hall's [Maiana] Island, it bearing N by E and about 25 miles distant. A.M. saw black-fish, the Land 8 miles off, S.B. lowered. Two canoes came off but we ran from them, and they had their trouble for their pains.

...

Monday February 21st 1848

P.M. fine weather. At 5 Antone Mary, a native of St. Nicholas one of the Cape Verde Isles, paid the debt of nature which was caused by coughing and raising blood. He died very suddenly .

...

[On 22 February they were back at Hall's Island, on the 24th at Woodle's Island. Over the next few days, they had luck in whaling.]

...

Friday March 31st 1848

All this day very squally. Bill has been found out in stealing tobacco, money and a jackknife; they were found stowed away in his mattress. Thus ends.

Lat. 2.10 South. Lon. [blank] East.

...

Thursday April 6th 1848

All this day fine pleasant weather ... Hope Island in sight 4 miles ... about 75 or 100 canoes in sight ... Several board us.

Lat. 2.47 S.

...

Tuesday April 25th 1848

All this day fine pleasant weather, steering NW by W for Guam.

..

Monday May 8th 1845

P.M. some squally. A.M. much the same. At daylight made the NE end of Guam then came to the town and took a Pilot about 11 o'clock and steered for Umatac Bay to get water for the next cruise.

Tuesday May 9th 1848

P.M. At 1 o'clock came to in Umatac Bay in 10 fathoms water and sent a raft of casks ashore for water and got off 70 bbls at sundown amidst smart squalls. A.M. got off 70 with a boat's crew. Thus ends.

Wednesday May 10th 1848

Dragged the anchor about 150 fathoms and let the other go, then stowed down our water in a complete gale and heavy squalls. At sundown sent down topgallant yards. Middle part much wind and heavy squalls with almost continual rain. A.M. much the same. Stowed down some water and chocked off all we could between decks with empty casks and other ridbiste(?) while the wind came over the land which bore about SE from us there was a heavy ground swell rolling in from the SW. I would willingly give all that I have in the ship if I wasn't on the shore with about 600 dollars all told.

Thursday May 11th 1848

P.M. struck topgallant masts and broke the main topgallant by sending down the fore without letting go the main royal stay rigging and everything came down about my head in the topmast crosstrees. It hurt our man so as to knock him off duty. At 5 a.m. more moderate, hove up both anchors and put to sea. So we are at present 10 miles from the Land and I for one can say that I am thankful to God for it. Thus ends.

Friday May 12th 1848

Commences with strong breezes and cloudy weather. Middle part more pleasant. A.M. fine weather. Beat into the harbour and over the bar through the reef, and came to anchor at mer.

Saturday May 13th 1848

All this day getting off wood and sending the watch ashore on liberty. At 3 a.m. Barque **Harvest**¹ in sight outside of the reef with colous set for a Pilot. Thus ends.

Liberty at Guam.

Wednesday May 17th 1848

At 9 a.m. all hands on board that has been on liberty. Employed painting the bends and a few other jobs.

Thursday May 18th 1848

All this day fine pleasant weather. Capt and Mate on liberty. Employed getting water. Barque **Harvest** in sight.

Friday May 19th 1848

All this day fine weather. Barque **Harvest** laying off for recruits. Got off some water and three barrels sand.

Saturday May 19th [sic] 1848

All this day fine weather. Got off our boatload of recruits, all sorts.

Sunday May 20th 1848

Shipping men to fill the placee of one deserter, one discharged and a runaway. P.M. fine pleasant weather. A.M. sent a boat to the town after ... Captain and Pilot received one boatload potatoes from the town ... up the main topgallant ... crossed the topgallant yard ...

1 Capt. Lakey, 22 months out, 700 sperm.

Monday May 21st 1848

P.M. got al our recruits on board. A.M. got under weigh, farewell to Guam. At Mer. discharged our Pilot and stood to the North ... left Guam on our starboard quarter.

Wednesday May 23st¹

All this day fine pleasant weather. Guam and Rota in sight.

...

[The ship went to the Japan Ground, then to Lahaina in Maui Island, then to the Galapagos, and finally arrived back home at the beginning of November. Captain Isaac Fessenden Sawtell, born in 1815, became Captain of the whaling bark **Ohio** of New Bedford, voyage 1850-54. Later on, he became a politician, serving in the Massachusetts Legislature for two terms.]

1 Ed. note: No entry for the 24th.

Document 1847M

The Golconda II, Captain Studley, via the Marshalls

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 266; Log Inv. 2007.

Note: Although the voyage was from 1844 to 1848, the log covers the period up to October 1847 only. It was unusual for a whaling ship to pass through the Marshall Islands.

The voyage of Captain Benjamin R. Studley

...

Saturday May 1st [1847]

... Steering NW by W under all sail. Thought we saw land on the weather bow but did not ascertain certain. At daylight, Hunter's [Kili] Island was in sight on the Starboard beam distance 3 miles. Sent 2 boats in shore. Saw a few natives but could get nothing but a little sand.

[His position, intrapolated, from adjacent dates, was about 4°50' N., 169° E.]

...

Thursday May 6th

... Steering NW under sail... At daylight, saw one of Peterson's [Patterson] Group of islands [i.e. Kwajalein] on the larboard quarter. Afterwards, saw a canoe with 3 natives in it out [of] sight of land. Lat. 9°50 N. Long. 165°50 E.

Friday May 7th

... Steering NNW... At 8 p.m., shortened sail and wore ship heading SE, not daring to run on account of islands to the northward. At daylight, steered NNW under all sail. At meridian, saw Rimsky Korsakoff [Rongelap] Group of Islands on the weather bow.

...

Documents 1847N

A visit to the Marianas in 1847

N1. Ladrone Islands.

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, 6 December 1847, p. 189; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Marianas 5.

Friend Damon:

As it was your wish I should furnish for your readers some account of the Marianas, or Ladrone Islands, I send you the following:

The Islands composing the Group, or Chain, are eight larger, and a number of smaller ones, besides two Volcanic Islands farther to the North, one of which Volcanoes is still in active operation. They lay in nearly a North and South line, and in longitude of 156° [rather 146°] East, and latitude from 13° to 19° North. The Southern Island is called Guam, the next Rota, both of which are inhabited, and under the Spanish Government. Tinian, the next to the North, is occupied as a penal settlement, and Saypan, still farther North, is inhabited by natives from the Caroline Group of Islands, and Gregan, the most Northern part of the Chain, by some King's Mill group natives, and two white men, runaways.

These islands are excellent to recruit a whale ship, either before or after the Japan or North West season. Guam affords an abundance, everything a whale ship wants, (repairs excepted,) and at a cheap rate. It has been the usual practice of ships bound to Guam, for refreshments, to anchor a day or two at Umata Bay, to take on board what water may be wanted, as it is much easier getting it there than at the harbor; but it can be got at the harbor, and with as little trouble as at many places where whalers often water. Sometimes, also, ships in want of hogs stop a day at Rota, or Tinian, as they are getting rather scarce at Guam. The harbor is called Apra, and is easy of access, being formed by a coral reef and a small Island, and is perfectly safe, unless in the season of typhoons—August, September and October—when it will be more safe to haul into the inner harbor. The only port charges are \$6.50, and are to be paid at but one place. There are no duties on anything you may have to sell. The harbor lays on the West side of the Island, and if a Pilot is wanted one will always come off, provided the customary signal is made. Pilotage in and out, \$12.00. The principal city is situated five miles from the harbor, and contains about 2,500 inhabitants. The whole Island contains 8,000 and Rota 500. Formerly they contained a great many more, report says when first dis-

covered, the 4 Southern Islands, Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saypan, alone, contained 60,000 [sic], the descendants of which have intermixed with the Spaniards, and are now reduced to about 8,500 souls. Good wood can be had for \$3,00 per cord cash, or \$4.00 trade. Beef rather poor, 5 cents per pound. Yams \$1.00 per hundred pounds. Sweet potatoes 75 cents per hundred pounds. Oranges 24 cents per hundred. The Government is good and entirely supported by Old Spain, at the expense of about \$8,000 per year. The inhabitants have to make their own roads and bridges, and I believe pay one tenth of the produce of the land, which eventually goes to the Priests, five of which reside on Guam. They are Catholics, but of what order I cannot say.

Yours,
Blue Water.¹

N2. Visit to Gregan's Island

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, 6 December 1847, p. 182; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Agrihan 5.

For The Friend.

Frind Damon:

To show you how useful your paper is to us whalemens, and also to contribute my mite to make it more so, I send you the following. You no doubt recollect that I have, whenever I had the opportunity, procured all the back numbers of your Seamen's Friend. On my last passage from Honolulu to Guam, I read, amongst other news, an account of Capt. Brown's visit to Gregan, one of the Ladrone Islands. I feel interested in the account of the natives, as I happened to know of their being there landed the first voyage I came into the Pacific Ocean.

When I learned that Capt. Brown had left hogs there I concluded not to mention the circumstances to anyone until I was out of Guam, bound for Japan and then stop there if possible, hoping if we went there alone, to get a good stock of hogs. I left Apra Harbor on the 9th of April, sighted all the islands as I went along and saw nothing worthy of remark unless it was a large rock, not laid down in the charts, situated between the isle of Sarigan and Torus Rocks; and also to state that Alamagan Island does not exist [sic], but what is laid down as Alamagan and Pagan Isles are all Pagan Island.

I made Gregan on the 10th, and at 10 p.m. [a.m.?] sent a boat on shore. At 10 p.m. the boat returned with two white men, from whom we obtained the following account. The natives were landed by Capt. Worth on the Island of Pagan, where they remained several years and where the two white men joined them, but as the white men had been at Gregan, and knew it to be the best soil, after much toil constructed two canoes and went over to Gregan, leaving before day, and landing just at night. There had been but

1 Ed. note: A pseudonym, of course. This man could very well be Captain Gelett of the ship *Uncas* (see Doc. 1847K). His leaving Apra on 7 April could perhaps be confirmed by another ship.

five children born.¹ The children were mostly girls, the oldest of which were nine years and ten months; they number in all fifteen souls.

The hogs left by Capt. Brown have rapidly increased, and their progeny was said to be about 400 hogs and pigs; and I have no doubt it came to at least 300—the best hogs for ship's use I ever saw. I took more than 40 hogs and pigs, and could have had more, but found the youngest of the two whites was trying to get some of my men to run away, and as I could take no more that day, left the Island. From the last boat that went on shore one man (John Werden) did run away. The landing is just to the left of the S.E. point of the Island. Now I will merely add I hope it will be a long time before there is any *rum* carried there for sale.

Yours,
Blue Water.²

1 See Friend, Sept. 1, 1846. Ed. comment: See Doc. 1845E.

2 Ed. note: If Blue Water is Captain Gellett, his statement to the effect that he bought "40 hogs and pigs" from Agrigan is not in contradiction to his statement in his autobiography (Doc. 1847K) that he bought "15 hogs" there.

Document 18470

The Atkins Adams, Captain Samuel Lane

Sources: Log 593 in NBWhM; PMB 286; Log Inv. 452.

Notes: The log-keeper was someone named Fish, or Fisk. The voyage began from Fairhaven on 22 August 1846 and ended on 16 June 1850.

Extracts from the log

...

[The ship went around Cape Horn, up the west coast of South America, stoppeing at Paita, Peru. While bound to Japan Ground, cruised westward headed for Apia, Samoa, then north.]

...

Remarks Monday May 17th [1847]

First part fresh trades with passing clouds, steering NW by W with all drawing sail set. Middle and latter parts the same. At 8 a.m. made Hope [Arorae] Isle bearing SSW 20 miles distant.

Lat. 2°30' [S.]

Remarks Tuesday May 18th 1847

First part light trade, large number of canoes alongside. At 1 p.m. the boat went on shore. At 5 returned, kept off WNW, set studding sails. Middle & later parts light breeze with clear weather. At 6 a.m. made Rotches [Tamana] Island bearing SW. At 11:30 a.m. saw whales, lowered 3 boats. At 3 p.m. waist boat struck.

Lat. 2°26

...

[Banaba]

Remarks Sunday May 30th

First part light breezes with clear weather. At 6 p.m. took in topgallant sails, fullled to the wind. Middle part the same, latter part running for Ocean [Banaba] Isle. At 12 came to, several canoes alongside.

Lat. 0.00 S.

Remarks Monday May 31st

First part light breezes. At 3 p.m. boat sen on shore. At 5 came on board with fowls, took one native, kept off W by N. Latter part fine breezes. At 9 a.m. saw whales. At 10:30 lowered, got 2, larboard & waist boats.

Lat. 0°35 S.

...

[The ship went straight to the Japan Ground without reporting any island or ship along the way. However, on 10 July they spoke the **Triton** of New Bedford, 11 months out, 350 bbls sperm. On 30 November they were near Jarvis Island.]

...

Wednesday 22nd [Dec. 1847]

At 3 p.m. finished stowing down. At 3:30 spoke **Ann Alexander** 25 months 700 sperm.

...

Friday December 31st 1847

All these 24 hours fresh breezes. At 9 a.m. finished boiling. So ends another year 16 months out, 750 sperm, 120 this season.

...

[The ship stayed near the Gilberts for a while, speaking the **John Jay** of Sag Harbor on 14 January 1848, the **Rowena** of Fall River on the 16th. On 15 February, they were still near Hope Island. On the 18th, several canoes were alongside, but no other information is given. On the 23rd, they spoke the **Scotland** of Nantucket. On the 9 March 1848, they speke the **Ann Alexander** again. On 18 March they sighted Banaba. Then they decided to go to Guam.]

...

Monday March 27th

Firs part fine breezes from the NE with clear weather headig NNW. Middle and latter parts wind from NE. At 5 a.m. made Strongs Island bearing E by N 20 miles by distance.

Lat. 5°40 N.

...

Wednesday March 29th

First part fresh trades with clear weather heading NW1/2 N. Midle & latter parts the same. At 11 a.m. made Arrecifes [Ujelang] Island bearing NNE 10 or 12 islands in one chain.

Lat. 9°36 N. Long. 161°10 E.

Remards Thursday March 30th

First part fresh trades. At 2 p.m. boat went ashore. At 5 came on board. Middle part lying with the main yard aback. At 5 made all sail steering NW by W.

Lat. 10°20 N.

...

Tuesday April 4th

First part fresh trades with clear weather. At 7 a.m. made Guam.

Wednesday April 5th [1848]

Fresh breeze. At 4 p.m. took a Pilot. At 10:30 came to anchor at Umatac. Got off 300 bbls water.

In Port.¹

Ship Atkins Adams Bound to the Bonins

Monday April 23rd

At 8 got under way and put to sea.

...

Saturday April 29th

First part fine trades with clear weather. Middle and latter parts the same. At 9 a.m. made Gregan bearing East 25 miles.

Lat. 17°07 N.

Sunday April 30th

First part fine breeze with clear weather. At 1 a.m. made Assumption bearing NE 25 miles. At 4 p.m. wet hold. At 6 tacked to the North. Latter part the same beating up to Gregan.

Lat. 18°49 N.

Monday May 1st

First part light trade with clear weather. Latter part lying off and on. Got off 1600 lbs of live pork.

Tuesday May 2nd

First part fresh trades. At 6 p.m. headed to the SE. Latter part getting coconuts off Pagan Isle.

Lat. 18°11 N. Long. 146°00 E.

...

[After a while on the Japan Ground the ship went to Hawaii, then on the so-called Offshore Grounds, down to Chili, and home.]

1 Ed. note: Nothing is said about the visit.

Document 1847P

The reported loss of 17 U.S. whalers in a typhoon was incorrect

Sources: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, 10 July 1848; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape 9.

Reported loss of seventeen American Whalers.

There is no reason to hope the report by the **Vishnu**, of the loss of seventeen American whalers, is exaggerated, and that the majority have escaped. The **Vishnu** touched at Ascension [Pohnpei] on 11th March [1848] where she learned from Capt. Swain, of the whaleship **Potomac**, who had lately arrived from the coast of Japan, having fallen in with the **Rebecca Sims**, Capt. Taber, that gentleman reported that in September last, he was in company with upwards of thirty whaleships on the coast of Japan. They experienced a severe typhoon in lat. 35 N. and after it had subsided seventeen of the ships were missing.

There is a probability of several having been lost, but the opinion of an experienced captain of a whaling ship now in this port is, that during the gale many vessels were driven from their cruising ground, and as the season was nearly over, bore away for the neighborhood of the Equator, and not having been seen by their consorts, were considered lost.

[Copied from] China Mail, April 6.

[P.S.] The report referred to is the following:

Hong Kong, May 14.

The **Vishnu**, [Captain] Haberdier, arrived here from the New Hebrides, states that it was reported by the **Rebecca Sims**, (American whaler), at Ascension, that 17 American whalers were supposed to have been lost in a typhoon on the N.W. coast of China [rather Japan], in October last.

Document 1847Q

Some whalemens lost for 11 days near the Gilberts

Sources: Article in the Salem Advertiser, 14 April 1847; copied from the New York Observer of 8 April, itself copied from the Polynesian, Honolulu; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Gilbert Islands 2.

Whaling Incident

On the 6th of January [1847], the bark **Harriet** of Freetown, Capt. Durfee, cruising on the line, lowered her boats for sperm whales. The first and third mates had each secured a whale and made them fast alongside, when they returned to assist the second mate, who was fast to another. They came up with him about 9 o'clock at night. In the morning the ship was not in sight, it still blowing a gale and raining hard.

They lay by the whale three days, when they ventured to stand to the westward in hopes of falling in with some ship. On the 7th they caught a shark which they ate with good relish. They were then standing for the Kings Mill Group of islands, but a new gale coming on they were obliged to reef down and stand to the eastward and finally to heave to where they lay for 36 hours, in a gale unusual for those latitudes. ON the morning of the 10th day again stove [sic] to the west.

Early on the 11th day they discovered a sail and stood for her, which proved to be the barque **Hanseat** [rather Hansa] of Hamburg. They were taken on board and treated with great kindness. They had had nothing to eat during the eleven days excepting the shark they had caught, and one or two flying-fish, and no water, except what they had caught in the line tubs. Some of them had lain down to die, two days before they saw the ship; and all of them so weak that they could scarcely support their weight.

Capt. Durfee, after cruising for several days in the vicinity, was making the best of wa to this port with the remnant of his crew, having given up all hopes of ever seeing any of his officers and crew again, when the barque **Hanseat** [sic] spoke him Jan. 20. He was not more surprised than delighted to find his men all safe and receiving all attention possible as the thrid mate was a brother.

Documents 1847R

The Dutailis expedition to Mili atoll, to investigate the Angéline incident

Source: Report of Commander Dutailis in Revue Coloniale, n° 15, Série 2, mars et avril 1849, pp. 145-197.

Report of Navy Commander Dutailis, in charge of the corvette Ariane, regarding his mission to the Mulgrave Islands.

The purpose of the expedition is the investigation of the disappearance of part of the crew of the whaler Angéline.—French Catholic mission in the Samoa and Wallis Islands.—Consuls Pritchard and William.—Visit of Msgr. Bataillon aboard the ship, at Futuna Island.—Survey of a new island named Aroré and Hope.—Expedition to Naileup [i.e. Nalu] to rescue the sailors of the Angéline.—New expedition for the same purpose.—Their death probable.—False hope of having found traces of one of our unfortunate companions.—Chart of the position of this anchorage and of all the islands in the vicinity, by Mr. Halligon.—Gifts amde to the natives.—Trees and seeds planted on Barr Island.—Astonishment of the inhabitants of Paanopa [Banaba] at the sight of a warship.—Medicine left with the Europeans for one of them severely wounded.—Trading with the natives... Customs of the inhabitants of Aroré, Pitt, and Mulgraves.—Presumed cannibalism.—Paanopa Island...

I.

When I left the port of Papeete, I was conscious of the sad, painful and difficult mission that I had been assigned to me. Its main purpose was **to search for the crew of two whaleboats of the Angéline** at the Mulgrave [Mili] Islands, Indeed, 35 months earlier, the unfortunate captain, surgeon and 11 sailors had boarded these boats. I was to find out, if possible, if they had perished and otherwise to look for them, ransom them, rescue them, and finally establish relations with the Indians. Since they will have in future to behave well with Europeans, we were to show them that we have the means of defence and attack that allow us, anywhere and at any time, to severely punish them, if they do not behave properly.

After the unhappy event had occurred, an expedition led by Navy Captain Bérard had taken revenge, on 23 August 1845, for the death of our countrymen, by burning what the islanders praised the most, and killing six of the Indians who, in their madness, put up an imprudent resistance.

The fear that followed must have been great, because, after a very long passage of time, the corvette **Héroïne** could not maintain contact with any of the islanders. Even today, the first man to get near us did so with great hesitation and was unable to stop shaking all over.

In order to attain, as much as possible, the intended purpose, we first had to break the resistance of the Indians to any contact, to establish relations with them, make them presents, trade with them, learn a few words of **their language, so different from any other in Polynesia and Melanesia**, above all to learn the words for numbers and words, such as **man, gun, killed, whaleboat**, etc. that could help us, with the help of signs, to elucidate this incident, to attract the Indians on board and keep them there without them suspecting that we kept them as hostages, while the officers were exploring the huts ashore, and even go so far as the island where the crime was committed.

This was the plan that I concocted from the beginning of the expedition, and that I followed from then on with just as much persistence as care.

...

I departed from Futuna [Island] on 17 December. Until the 24th, I had light airs from W.N.W. some calm weather, some rain, then I had made only about 40 leagues when I met the first breeze from the E. They kept on increasing as we were making progress northward, and became strong enough to make the corvette reach a speed of from 7 to 8 knots.

Delayed as we were by badly determined points, by others not yet known, we were not always able to benefit from the easterlies. In spite of this, we arrived in sight of the Mulgrave Islands on 5 January [1848].

The intervening period of 21 days was employed by the survey of an island, new to us, because it did not exist on our charts, but which was well known to English and American whalers who, over the last two years, seemed to have visited it many times.

On 31 December, at 10:20 a.m., as we were in lat. 2°35' S. and long. 174°43' E, we sighted land [Arorae] bearing WSW distant about 7 miles. As this land did not [sic] belong to the Gilbert Archipelago, I fell back in order to reconnoiter it. At noon, I was on the same parallel; I went near it as much as I could and, while I was waiting to make an observation for longitude, I had contact with the natives and let them all climb aboard. They were carried by more than 30 canoes and numbered about 150 individuals. I learned from an American living among them that the island was named **Aroré** and is called **Hope** by the whalers.

After we had surveyed it under sail and gotten the information that I wished to know, I pursued my voyage, coasting along the Gilbert Islands at about 10 leagues to the East of their positions.

On the 2nd, at 5:30 a.m., the winds having become variable, one tack brought me in sight of the Matthew [Abaiang] Islands; our chronometers indicated that we were 16 miles from them. The night from the 2nd and 3rd was spent making short tacks in order not to miss the parallel of Pitt [Butaritari] Island. We passed at 8 miles from the position assigned to it on the chart, but the weather being bad at times, with squalls, the

overcast sky prevented me from verifying its position. There remains another, unnamed, further N and NW, whose position was marked as doubtful. I continued sailing close to the wind and, at 3:30 p.m. I found myself southward of the land in question. I immediately had an observation made in order to determine its longitude. This, in addition to the good latitude, observed at noon, was sufficient to give us a perfect position for the S point, that we had first sighted.¹

The main point of this island having been determined, and time being pressing, I regretfully pursued my voyage, in the direction of the Mulgrave Islands which I intended to approach on their S and W sides.

On the 5th in the morning, I found myself in sight of Meli [Mili] Island [proper], the southwesternmost island of the archipelago of this long chain called the Mulgraves.

In addition to the general plan decided earlier, I had added a task, to the effect that, if possible, I should explore, before arriving at the anchorage used by the **Rhin** (at least 14 or 15 miles beyond Meli toward the NE), the coasts farthest from the scene of the crime, in order to, if I could establish relations, learn from Indians not connected with the incident the more important details about it.

I spent the whole day of the 5th making short tacks close to the land to make a good survey of it. At 2 p.m., believing I could see a passage, I sent Lieutenant Porquet. He tried in vain to find a way into the interior sea at two different places, We noticed a few women here and there but the sea did not permit them a landing, and not one canoe came out to us.

In the evening, I tacked off shore and made short tacks during the night.

At daybreak of the 6th, being to the eastward of the lands visited on the previous day, I approached the shore and, believing I could see a new pass, I sent Midshipman Moisson to make sure and to make contact with the Indians; same deception as on the previous day. We were then 7 miles East of the W point of Meli, and, since the land extended much farther, and trended E and ESE, I decided to go back and take the opportunity of the wind being favorable to make a survey of this unknown part, since I could coast along it at a distance of less than 1 mile, if I so chose.

I was hoping that luck would perhaps help us and that, if our unfortunate countrymen had left Naileup, they might have come this way.

At 4 p.m., I was back at Meli, without having discovered anything more than on the previous day. Therefore, I abandoned this part and headed northward. Before nightfall, by making short tacks, I had reached the Island of Naileup, incorrectly named Gal-leleup. In so doing, I passed successively before Meli, Meraro, Varai; the last islet is the northernmost, before Naileup.²

At Varai [Bakariki], the friendly signs stopped. In any case, we would not have been able to respond to such friendly invitations, because the sea broke violently upon the

1 Ed. note: As this position is given below, it is possible to identify it as Butaritari Island.

2 Ed. note: According to a modern survey, and Bryan's Place Names, they correspond to Mili, Garu, and Bakariki.

shore and, although we were almost always close enough to distinguish the people ashore, we did not pass into the inner sea.

I had planned to round Naileup during the night, but, having found the sea running very high and, since I could not strain the ship on account of recent damages to the rigging and masts, I decided to stay in the lee of Naileup and close to it during the night.

However, in the morning of the 7th, the current having carried me southwestward, I made all sail and sailed once more along the islands visited before, and although the sea was still running very high and the wind very fresh to the north of Naileup, I made tacks while looking carefully at all the points of the northern chain. Before sunset, I recognized between two islands a free space that looked like a pass. We were then at about 6 miles east of Naileup.

Daylight was too far gone to push our observations further. I got away before night-fall and postponed until the next day the search and survey of this pass.

At daybreak of the 8th, I made sail for the pass seen on the previous day. At 10:30 a.m., I hove to 1 mile from it and sent Midshipman Halligon to take soundings and tell me if it was practicable for a ship with our draught. At 11:30, this officer having made the agreed signal, I made sail and entered the pass at the end of the ebb tide. We had hardly dropped an anchor when we found the current running at 1-1/2 knots and the presence of a coral head that was too near us to be ignored when the tide should reverse. Consequently, I immediately had boats lowered and cables lengthened; with kedge anchors we warped our way further into another anchorage where we finally moored the ship safely. This day having resulted in much labor being done, we ignored the many invitations made by some Indian women who, from the point of the island on the west side of the pass, were shaking mats and, by a thousand signs, were inviting us ashore.

The island west of the pass is named Tokeoa, and that on the east side is Barr (pronounced as if it had three -r).

The next morning, having seen a few Indians on Barr Island, I went ashore and ordered the boatmen not to leave the whaleboat and to maintain it afloat; besides, I was being watched from the corvette, that was but 600 *toises* [approx. 1.2 km] away.

I was immediately greeted by young women who offered me some necklaces and later by one Indian who said he was the owner of the island. The other men were staying far away and were hiding behind trees. Little by little they came nearer. Half an hour later I had already exchanged names with Aloya and had perfectly recognized a hole which the **Rhin** or some other ship had used as a watering place.

From this moment, our relations remained constant; our men brought their casks ashore to be filled, but the Indians did not come alongside yet. The next day, one of them, my namesake, took the risk, then the next day a few more ventured forward. Finally, on the fourth day, men and women were going back and forth from the other islands to Barr and Tokeoa, and from there they came alongside in our boats.

During these first few days, we concentrated upon collecting and learning the main words that we had need of, exchanged names with the Indians living on the islands near the pass and studied the land, the customs and habits of their inhabitants.

On the 12th, thinking that our intimacy was rather well established and that we knew enough words to broach the subject, I decided to undertake the next day a peaceful expedition to Naileup. The next day, Lieutenant Kersauson, under the pretext of making a few purchases, visited a rather large number of islets and a large number of huts located between the anchorage and Naileup Island. At the same time, I convinced a few Indians of our acquaintance to accompany Lieutenant Kersauson in the voyage that I had planned, and I explained that it was meant to strengthen the friendly relations we had with all the islands of this vast chain.

Upon his return, Lieutenant Kersauson submitted the following report to me.

[Report of Lieutenant Kersauson]

“On 13 January [1848], I left the ship at 10 a.m. and, in accordance with the orders I had received from you, headed for Naileup Island, for the purpose of making contact with the inhabitants of this island. As they had been severely punished by the boats from the **Rhin**, the Indians of Naileup had until then not dared to visit the corvette. The two Indians from Barr Island whom I had convinced to accompany us were losing their self-assurance the closer we got to the objective of our expedition. They began to sing a sad and monotonous song which they interrupted only to ask me if I would go ashore, alone. When I said I would, this news seemed to calm them down a little. When we came closer to the shore, a few women appeared on the beach, but they stayed where they were and did not come toward the place where the boat was going.”

“I asked the Indians whether or not they would accompany me ashore, but they made signs that they would not, that I should go alone. Thinking that any hesitation of my part would be interpreted by them as fear, and that the danger, if it existed, would be increased by it, I immediately stepped ashore. Midshipman Porquet, who was in charge of the boat, had his men keep watch carefully, and was prepared to come to my aid, if need be. Two men, chosen as my bodyguards, had pistols hidden in their belts, and were to follow me at a short distance.”

“I approached the group of women who were then to the left of the boat and saluted them with their universal word of welcome, *adéra*. They immediately came towards me, offered me some coconuts and soon I was so completely surrounded by them that, not fearing any attacks behind this natural shield, I went up the crest of the beach and sought the shelter of the trees. I noticed some very young people and one old man wearing a long white beard. My *adéra* was similarly successful with them; the old man came to me and embraced me with the most friendly demonstrations; I was then abandoned by the women. Their friendly demonstrations were so warm that I cannot describe them, but, as soon as a man appeared, they got away, although the men do not seem to be jealous at all.”

“I had no sooner been joined by my two bodyguards that I ordered them not to let themselves be distracted and to watch for any movements on the part of the Indians. I continued to walk under the cover of the trees, but keeping parallel to the beach, visiting all the huts and inspecting their canoes. There were many of them under construc-

tion; others, in very bad state, had no doubt been demolished during the expedition of the **Rhin**. The men were slowly gathering around me, all being unarmed. I sat down among them, and invited them to visit the corvette. Having crossed the island and not noticed anything that might have revealed the presence of our unfortunate countrymen, I was about to go back to the boat when an Indian, escorted by about 10 men, come towards me. He greeted me with the usual word, *adéra*, and offered me the wreath of shells from his head; I gave him in exchange one knife and a few fish-hooks. He took my arm and did not let go of it. I learned that he was the chief of the island. He was a strong and handsome man, with a European face, adorned with a beautiful black beard, his hair turned up in the Chinese style, his body perfectly tattooed. I tried to convince him to accompany me to the corvette; he refused, but he promised me that he would come the next day aboard one of his canoes.”

“Friendly relations were thus established, but the chief, always frightened, did not come near the beach without shaking all over.”

“As time became short, I had to decide to leave Naileup. I was followed by a female relative of the chief, her daughter named Luna, very young and very pretty, another young woman and a few men. We tacked during five hours in order to get to the corvette, and during our long tacks, we did not sight any bank that might prevent the ship itself from navigating inside.”

“The [interior] sea always looked dark blue and must be very deep, because, upon nearing the islands, we could easily see the bottom in 25 to 30 fathoms.”

“We arrived alongside at 5 p.m.”

“This is, Sir, the faithful narrative of our expedition to Naileup, unfortunately not very successful, because it only made us more convinced of the unfortunate death of Captain Hyenne and his men.”

Early in the morning of the 14th, trusting in the promise made by the chief of Naileup to Lieutenant Kersauson, I was ready to receive him and had made arrangements to get the best results from this visit. Today, as yesterday, I had invited Luna, his close relative, and a few Indians who could, without their realizing it, be used as hostages and ensure the safety of our sailors, then at a distance of six miles from the ship.

My wait was disappointed; but, refusing to be beaten, and wishing to exhaust all the means in my power to arrive at some result, I decided on another expedition for the next day, with new instructions.

This time, they had to bring back, not only the chief, but the main proof of the crime, the shotguns taken from the whaleboats, the same that had been seen during the attack by the crew of the **Rhin**, and to try once more to learn about the fate of the men of the **Angéline**.

We spoke about this during part of the day with the Indians whom I had assembled on board. Lieutenant Kersauson, with an admirable patience, explained to them that if the guns were returned, they would receive in exchange the beautiful axes that were exhibited.

We tried, but in vain, to excite their cupidity by all means at our disposal. At first, they pretended not to understand, then they wished to leave at once. Finally, we succeeded in keeping them on board, either by the friendliest of demonstrations, or by a continuous repetition of the word *adéra*, which, no doubt, means friend.¹

During this session, we convinced a few Indians to accompany us the next day. They understood its purpose. In the evening, a canoe set sail for Naileup, and I felt sure that it carried our proposals to the chief of that island.

On the 15th, I sent the launch once more, armed as on preceding days, with Lieutenant Kersauson in charge and Midshipman Moisson at his service. I had a whaleboat follow them, and upon her return this boat was to be sent on another mission.

Lieutenant Kersauson made the following report to me regarding this new mission.

[Second report by Lieutenant Kersauson]

“On the 14th of January, I had, following your orders, to return to Naileup and try to recuperate the two shotguns that the **Rhin** had seen there, and that we thought must still be there. I was also to try and find out more about the fate of the captain of the **Angéline** and his sailors.”

“I left at 6 a.m. aboard the launch, armed as on the previous day, in charge of Midshipman Moisson. We were followed by a whaleboat, which I was to use during the return trip to visit all the intervening islets. I was accompanied by six Indians and the female chief, who had agreed to leave her daughter Luna behind.”

“Upon our arrival, there was no hesitation on the part of the Indians. The chief was on the beach. He came forward into the water and carried me ashore, so to speak.”

“He immediately proposed to exchange names with me, and once this had been done, he led me to his hut, where we met his wife, also very young and pretty, to whom he explained that I was now his other self. She immediately removed the fine mat that she used as a skirt and offered it to me. In exchange, I gave her the few fathoms of red cloth that I was wearing over my belt. She gave me her second mat, her belt and her shell necklace. They had been all she had on and her whole adornment. A small mirror, which revealed to her how pretty she was, seemed to repay her largely for her sacrifice. She then invited me strongly to follow her into the hut, and the crowd was encouraging me to do that, but I remembered that my mission lied elsewhere. I therefore pulled the chief towards the other houses. After I had wandered for some time here and there, to see if the chief would make any objection to my going in one direction or another, I came back to the beach where the men had gathered under some coconut trees. The chief had a mat brought in, and both of us sat on it in the middle of the assembly.”

“I was greeted by everyone by the name of Aoniméné (the name of the chief). As I saw that the assembly was well disposed, I made a request to have the two shotguns, offering two beautiful axes in exchange. They all feigned not to understand. The explanations were not easy, but I had learned to count up to 13, I knew how to say **man**,

1 Ed. note: It does mean friend, although the preferred modern spelling of the word is *jera*.

gun, shotgun. I was therefore certain that they understood perfectly what I was asking. Some old women who were prowling about the assembly were speaking very loudly, almost with anger. Aoniméné drew closer to me and called me by his name. Seeing that I insisted upon the return of the guns, he gave an order to a few men who immediately went away. I thought I had succeeded; unfortunately, they brought me only a large quantity of coconuts. I refused to accept them and renewed my request. The assembly became noisier. The chief alone kept silent, listening to those who were speaking; he seemed to become very embarrassed. In succession, they brought spears, then mats; I was refusing them all and asking for the shotguns, while reassuring the assembly with the word *adéra* which, for them, is a word of friendship and peace. Finally, seeing that all my efforts were fruitless, that they persisted in not wanting to understand, I narrated to them, in sign language, the coming of Captain Hyenne, aboard two boats manned by 13 men, and the crime that they had committed. I asked for the place where they had been buried, and the two shotguns; their troubled faces proved to me that I had been perfectly understood.”

“They were all speaking at the same time, and the chief, very agitated, exhibited a great fright. He stood up, his men surrounded him, took him by the hands and led him away to the wood. For one moment, I thought they might be going to get the shotguns, but I waited in vain. The senior surgeon, who had come ashore with me, brought to my notice that the women were gathering up their children and their mats and going to the wood. I became more watchful, but refused to go back to the boat, as the female relative of the chief was urging me to do. She no longer left my side. She understood full well that the fate of her daughter depended a lot on my own.”

“I was convinced that I had nothing to fear; some women had remained on the beach near the boats. I went forward into the wood; a few men came near me, but I tried in vain to make them go and bring back the chief. They all told me that he had left and was far away. Time was passing, I wished to make one last attempt at questioning him and bring him on board, hoping that, once there, fear or gifts would make him speak. I decided to go after him myself. Only one old woman tried to prevent me, by grabbing me by the body and trying to drag me back to the boat. I got rid of her and, escorted by five or six Indians, went into the wood. The surgeon wished to follow me. Along the way, the Indians having noticed that he had a small pistol in a pocket, did not try to take it away from him, but two of them grabbed his two arms and, under the pretext to lead him, held him so tight that he could not have made use of his weapon. I had no worry at all; I read on their faces that they were afraid and I stayed convinced that they they would never become aggressors. We arrived at a few huts; the chief was sitting under the trees. He appeared to be very friendly and, after some instants, I managed to get him to come back where the boats were. Once more, I asked for news of the men, but seeing that he might flee at any moment, I no longer insisted. I also managed to have him board the whaleboat with his wife, but when the boat was being pushed into deeper water, the Indians came into the water and jumped into the boat in such large numbers that, to prevent it from sinking, the oarsmen had to jump overboard. I had trouble con-

vincing those Indians to go into the launch instead, and, when I had with me only the chief and his wife, I was about to push off when the people who had remained ashore began to shout loudly. The men aboard the launch and those ashore jumped into the water and surrounded the whaleboat, trying to board it, preventing the movement of the oars, and pulling the chief by his hands to make him jump into the water. The latter was very afraid. I could see that he was about to take flight, or that we would have to use force to prevent him from doing so; any struggle might have serious consequences. I did not forget that my instructions were that I was to avoid any collision at all costs, and only act in self-defence in case of an attack. I decided to let him step ashore. The whaleboat was then dragged back more by the swimmers than by the oars. The chief threw himself overboard, along with his wife; once ashore, he manifested by his gambols the joy he felt at parting with the man whom he had once considered as another self. I came back to the corvette, coasting along all the islets in-between; I stepped ashore on Tokeoa and walked along its full length. We were made perfectly welcome there. We returned on board at 1:30 p.m.”

“I regret, Sir, not to have succeeded in the mission that you had entrusted me with. I believe that I have neglected nothing to achieve a better result, but the fear of the Indians is still too great for us to be able to acquire the least thing that could prove their guilt.”

“Any request we make seems to tell them that we have some doubt, and they benefit by not revealing anything that would make us certain. I am convinced that Captain Hyenne and his sailors have been massacred. If a few of them have escaped, they are no longer in these islands. I thought I understood in the account given by a man from Barr Island, that there had been a fight between the white men and the Indians, that guns had been fired three times, and that 13 white men had been killed at Naileup, but how to establish the truth of all of this by sign language?”

Lieutenant Kersauson, with a patience and persistence that he surely must be praised for, had used every means at his disposal to get, either at Naileup, at Tokeoa, at Barr, and at all the points that he has visited, any information on the fate of the sailors of the **Angéline**. He tried to find out if they had been killed, eaten or buried and finally, whether or not there were still some of them alive; he tried to recover the guns.

Without running any apparent risk, he did expose himself several times; his courage, his presence of mind, his frank and loyal actions have triumphed over the evil thoughts of the islanders, and perhaps over their evil designs toward him. Nothing stopped him; unfortunately, his efforts were not crowned with success, and if he did not succeed, it is because it was not meant to be, for anyone, to do better than he did in getting more from the Indians.

I now take this opportunity to thank every member of my staff. Every one of them considered the mission his own, and has tried to obtain a happy result, either by following orders, or by giving them, either on his own or as a member of the group; they have all tried to lift the thick veil that still hides the fate of the unfortunate sailors of

the **Angélica**. If, with the means that we have used, the zeal and the good-will that every one has brought to his investigations, we did not succeed, it must be assumed that only time, by erasing the facts and dissipating the fear that now grips the Indians, will bring out revelations regarding this fatal event. As for me, I am convinced that my countrymen have been killed. If I do not say that they have been eaten, it is because this idea is repugnant to me and it would be made even more horrible by presenting it as such to the families of these unfortunate men.

The launch had no sooner returned alongside, at about 3:30 p.m.,¹ that an unusual movement was detected among the Indians. They were going back and forth between the main deck and the gun deck; they were exchanging information between themselves, an old woman was shouting what seemed to be orders for them to go ashore. In effect, most of them threw themselves overboard and, in spite of a very strong ebb tide running at the time, they tried to swim to Barr Island.

I stopped a few Indians who happened to be in my cabin, by promising them the use of a boat; they calmed down. Nothing we were doing, however, could have caused them to become frightened.

Immediately after I finished my supper, I went ashore at Barr Island where I found all the Indians gathered in groups before their huts and the temporary shelters. I mixed with them, make fun of the terror that had seized them, mocked the old woman, and, with the help of Lieutenant Kersauson, soon succeeded in having them laugh at themselves and at the panic that had struck them and made them flee so rapidly.

We parted company only after we had become convinced of their good dispositions toward us. They believed us so well that, that same evening, many came on board; the next morning many more came, and they did not leave us until we began to make ready for sea.

The reactions of the people yesterday had proved to me that nothing could overcome their fear, that the slightest circumstance was sufficient to make them run off. Realizing that a longer stay on our part would not clarify our investigation, I decided, in the morning of January 16th, to set sail.

We have received no information from an Indian who knew a few words of Spanish. Later on, at Paanapa [Banaba] Island (South Ocean Island), I believed for a while that I was on the trail of one of our unfortunate countrymen, who might have escaped the disaster; however, after more information was obtained, I learned that the Frenchman in question lived at Pleasant [Nauru] Island among several foreigners, must have deserted from a whaler and had run away with one of her whaleboats. The Portuguese man who gave us this information knew all of these foreigners but had never heard of the **Angélica** incident; this would certainly not have been the case if the Frenchman had been a witness to the bloody massacre.

1 Ed. note: It took less time for the whaleboat to row directly back to the ship than for the launch to make tacks to return to it.

In conclusion, these islands are visited often enough, the sailors who visit them have constant contact with one another; if someone had escaped, the news would certainly have circulated among them.

During our stay at this anchorage, its position was determined, as well as that of all the islands in its vicinity, by means of surveys. The chart that was made by Midshipman Halligon could be very useful to the navigators who will follow us in this faraway corner of the world.

Before leaving this poor, but happy, country, exempt from all the evils that affect the other islands, I wished to leave to their inhabitants a permanent and useful monument to commemorate our visit. Independently of the gifts that we made to them, I had 12 young banana trees, from Wallis Island, planted on Barr Island; 4 pineapples were planted; some orange, watermelons and cotton seeds were also planted. I hope that these products, by adding to the food supplies of the inhabitants, will increase their well-being and provide future navigators with some useful and pleasant resources. I also hope that the iron that I left to them will not become an element of discord among them and a motive for war between themselves and other islands, such as Meli, which has the reputation of being warlike. Finally, I hope that civilization will reach them at the same time as the Gospel and the peaceful and pure morality of our religion.

[Visit to Banaba]

Once again I coasted along all the islands between Tokeoa and Naileup at a short distance. Once there, I headed for South Ocean Island. Its position is badly determined and its proximity was such that I could not refuse to spend a few hours to solve this problem.

On 20 January, at daybreak, the island bore ahead of us, distant about 15 miles. I immediately steered in such a way as to be on its meridian at a suitable time. At 9 o'clock we marked the SE point, and at noon, the position of the center of the island was determined, taken from the SE point, corrected. In the meantime, we had come within half a mile of the land and had had contact with a large number of Indians led by the king's son, a few Americans and one Portuguese. The natives call this island Paanopa. They had never seen a warship before; that is why their surprise was great.

At the request of the Europeans, we left some medicine for one of their numbers who was seriously wounded, we traded with the natives and pursued our voyage southward. The position of this island, rather exact in latitude, had been placed 75 miles too far east, according to our chronometers.

...
Our crossing had nothing unusual. On 22 March we dropped anchor in Sydney Harbor, between Pinchgut Island and Fort Macquarie. In the harbor, I found two three-

masted ships belonging to the Société de l'Océanie, the **Arche-d'Alliance** and the **Anonyme**.¹

...
On 17 April, we had completed the loading of the food supplies and spare equipment that I needed. The number of our sick had dropped to 34, and they were all recovering. I set sail and headed for Tahiti.

...
On 27 April, a cooper named Hervé-François Morvan, threw himself overboard; we were making 7 knots at the time, the sea was high. Nevertheless, Alexandre Pointel, Cadet Officer 2nd Class, moved only by courage, immediately dived after him, and kept the unconscious body of the unfortunate man up for many minutes, but he could not be revived.

...
On 12 May, we sailed past Rotuma, and on the 17th we dropped anchor in Papeete Harbor.

II.

Aroré Island.

This island was probably discovered recently, because it does not appear on any of our charts and is not mentioned in any of the publications available to me. It seems to have been visited frequently these past two years by English and American whalers, who have given it the name of Hope Island.

It is low and well wooded. It may be seen from 10 miles away. Its length is from 6 to 7 miles and its width from 1 mile to 1-1/2 miles. It can only be approached on the west side. The S point ends with breakers that extend 3 cable lengths from it.

The sea breaks rather strongly on the beach on the east side. At the N point of the island, there is a sand bank mixed with rocks upon which there is often only 4 fathoms (6.5 m) of water. It is dangerous because the sea does not always break upon it; it extends 4 miles and its direction is determined by the angles comprised between NNE and ENE, with the N point being the peak of this triangle.

The W point of this island forms a wide bay where the whalers anchor. They can easily get fish, fowls, coconuts, etc. which they trade for tobacco.

The population of the island is from 400 to 500 inhabitants. Their nakedness is total; they are generally affected by a disease that makes the skin seem to be fish scales. Their canoes, made up of an infinite number of pieces, are carvel-built and are most elegant in shape.

1 Ed. note: L'Arche-d'Alliance was commanded by Captain Marceau. Other ships in port were: HMS Rattlesnake, Captain Stanley, and the schooner Bramble.

A custom has been established here, that may also exist elsewhere, and it is one that is most useful to navigators. Each ship leaves a note, specifying the name of the vessel, her home port, the quantity of oil on board, etc. It was due to this set of notes, brought over by the Indians and carefully preserved by them, that we owe much of the above information, as well as to a young American sailor, living among them and left there on account of sickness.

S Point	Lat. 2°40'54" S.
	Long. 174°40'49" E.
N Point	Lat. 2°37'24" S.
	Long. 174°56'33" E.
Magnetic variation	9°2' N.E.

Pitt [Butaritari] Island.

The S part of an island that we took to be Pitt Island, or one marked doubtful and placed W of it, is located, according to our observations, in the following position:

S Point	Lat. 2°58'2" N.
	Long. 170°39'30" E.
Magnetic variation	9°38' N.E.

Mulgrave [Mili] Islands.

The Mulgrave Islands seem to form a chain of atolls whose extent is not yet determined. Their archipelago is shaped like a sort of parallelogram with a double side, or double rows of islands, on its east side.

These islands, almost all joined together at low tide, are sometimes separated at high tide by the sea, but most often the water on the belt of reefs between them is not deep enough for a boat to cross over it safely. We carefully examined this reef over a distance of almost 40 miles but found only one pass suitable for a large ship and one pass for boats.

A successive accumulation of coral animals, jetsam and flotsam, have made part of this belt wider and longer in places. That is where some trees have taken roots, then some inhabitants have come. Such small bunches of greenery, outlined by sandy beaches on the inside and coral blocks on the outside facing the sea, give to this chain the appearance of islets upon which the coconuts, breadfruit trees, etc. make up groves of the brightest green color, a most pleasing and lively scenery.

Each group of trees, the only parts that are habitable, has its own particular name; so it is that on what we would call an island, there are two or three groves and therefore two or three names.

It is regrettable that our knowledge was so limited that we were unable to assign to the plants that we saw their proper classification and species. Some of them, being fibrous and creeping, provide good material for ropes; others have the most odoriferous flowers.

The wooded parts being the largest, their points are the places where the current is rather strong generally. In fact, this whole chain is generally very steep-to on the outside; it tends to gain width on the side of the inner sea, where the waters are less disturbed and where the coral banks flourish and, at low tide, form a dry ledge extending more than one cable length from the shore. Such coral flats may some day become covered with sand and vegetable matter that, after a while, will make these islands big enough to become important places for taking on water; there is already a good port and a healthy and temperate climate.

During our stay, the thermometer gave us on the average 22°5 Réaumur, and the barometer did not rise beyond 0.754,5 m [75.56 cm Hg].

The space comprised between these islands is a true inner sea, as it is navigable by all sort of ships. The bottom, at 25 to 30 fathoms (40 to 59 meters) is marked here and there by white patches which, besides marking dangers, can be used as place where to drop anchors. However, such banks, mixed with rocks, are dangerous for the anchors and their cables, because the anchors could break and the cables be chafed; we experienced both of these problems.

In order to get good water, one must pay attention to the tide: its height affects water quality very much. As much as possible, watering should be done at low tide. The pass for large ships is located between Barr Island and Tokewa Island, which are on the E side and W side of the entrance respectively.

To get to the anchorage when the wind is easterly, it is only necessary to get into a position that would permit the ship to approach the eastern reef as much as possible, that is, by rounding the bank of Barr Island as close as possible, the one that is indicated by a white sea; that is the way to avoid a small patch toward the S.E., upon which the ebb tide runs at a speed of 1-1/2 knots. This patch is marked, up to the change in tide, by a rather strong whirlpool, and its level is just below the surface at low tide.

In general, it would be better to leave the anchorage at the change of tide, unless there are fresh winds, blowing with a speed that is twice that of the current. If the ship be anchored too far inside, there would be a problem going out with a westerly wind.

There exists another pass, for boats only, between Anil Island and Buguenieu Island.¹ Buguenieu is the first islet west of Tokewa. The distance between the two passes is about 1-1/2 miles.

The canoes of the Mulgrave Islands are identical to those of the Carolines, so often described—those with the superior speed. Their construction must, however, be more difficult, as the country lacks wood and all their pieces, no matter what their number, must be sewn together in such a remarkable way, so solidly as to become water-tight.

The pandanus fruit grows to an extraordinary size here. It is, with fish and coconuts, the staple food of the inhabitants.

The larger huts are made very differently from any that we had seen before in the islands that we visited. They are rectangular, without walls. The eaves come down to

1 Ed. note: Mar. 15-81 and -80 respectively, in Bryan's Place Names.

within half a meter of the ground and, inside, they have a floor with a rectangular hole cut in the center and an opening of 15 [square] centimeters at each corner of this floor, near the roof. This type of house seems to be made to shelter the people from both heat and cold, and to offer protection against insects.

They bury their dead near their houses; a few coral stones and two or three young coconut trees show the place of each modest burial.

The inhabitants of these islands have nothing to trade except some small mats that the women use for clothing, and some necklaces. We have left there the following products: banana, pineapple, watermelon, cotton, and also some cats that will perhaps kill the thousands of rats infesting each hut, even in the daytime.

As far as their customs, manners, body shapes, health and freshness are concerned, one can only compare the inhabitants of these islands with those of Tahiti. They take very good care of their hair which they wear very long. The men wear their hair, which is always black, smooth and abundant, in a bunch on the top of the head, where it forms a kind of tuft. The women knot their hair carelessly behind their heads, where they intermix the big strands gracefully, behind and slightly above the neck. The ear-lobes are stretched to a ridiculous extent. It is not rare to find men with ear-lobes measuring 15 centimeters in diameter. The women are marvelously tattooed, and their manner of dressing is rather ravishing. The leaves and flowers that they place in their hair, neck, and ears, give them a festive, relaxed and happy appearance that one can envy them.

[Cannibalism?]

Upon seeing such fearful, peaceable, hospitable people, so inclined to pleasure, one is not at all ready to believe that they could be cannibals. Nevertheless, questions arise as to the use that could possibly be made of the large hole that is found on most of the islets, near the houses, with a diameter that can reach 3 meters and a depth of from 1 to 2 meters. Why are they so well built that their walls appear as if they had been made of masonry? Would not their fireplaces be enough to cook the few fishes that they catch so rarely? They have no fowls, no pigs, no dogs, and their cooking cannot be elaborate. Their ordinary food may be considered entirely vegetarian.

If these Indians had never eaten meat of any kind, they would have undoubtedly experienced either surprise or a sort of disgust, at first sighting any. Therefore, why were they so pleased when they ate some? In my cabin, I have carried out this experiment many times, with persons of different ages and sexes, and my observations were always the same: they would put sweet foods and vegetables asides, in favor of meat, in any condition that it may have been, fresh, salted, roasted, or boiled. I am therefore led to believe that they eat meat; it cannot be from animal sources.

After they had eaten well, their contentment was extreme. They expressed it by a delirious joy and gestures that could not be mistaken: a new proof that they live miserable lives and that a meal where meat is served is the *nec plus ultra* of their pleasures on earth. As far as traces of religion are concerned, we did not see any, nothing that could make one believe that they worship anything, of any sort.

In studying the language of the Mulgrave Islands, one recognizes that it has similarities with that of the archipelagos located farther south, but the pronunciation would be very different, and it is not proven that such words would have the same meanings. As for us, the few words that we needed to acquire cost us much work, and they had no analogy, either directly or indirectly, with words used in Polynesia.

It is the only population where we saw no cripples, no hunchbacks, and no persons suffering from skin or venereal diseases. A few men bore scars made by crushing and cutting weapons; although we saw only spears adorned with shark teeth, that is not to say that they do not have other weapons.

During our stay, we saw a rather large number of canoes, but all of them were pulled up the beaches; very few were sailing on the inner sea, and none at all on the ocean.

Position of the anchorage Lat. 6°14'37" N.

Long. 169°35'42" E.

Magnetic variation 9°45' N.E.

Meli Point Lat. 6°2'22" N.

Long. 169°30'22" E.

Paanopa (South Ocean) Island.

This island is high enough to be seen from a distance of 20 miles. Its population is 450 inhabitants. It is from 2 to 3 miles in length by as many in width. It is more or less rectangular in shape, with its four corners in the direction of the cardinal points on the charts, where it is marked with errors in longitude. It is called the South Ocean Island, but its real name is Paanopa [Banaba].

During the few hours that we spent near this island, the king's son, a few chiefs and 150 Indians came aboard; they were accompanied by a few Europeans. Their articles of trade consist of fowls, straw hats, bamboo brooms, weapons. A blast of wind had just upturned all the coconut trees. Their main article of barter with the whalers is coconuts, and they get tobacco in exchange for them.

Their contacts with Europeans must be very frequent, because many among them spoke English very well.¹ As a result, they have contracted a disease that is most persistent: a horrible spectacle that is made more disgusting by their nakedness and the ugliness of their features.

The visiting ships do not get water here; they ship men, take on refreshments and maintain themselves under sail.

The N part of the island is little approachable; the beach is skirted by a cliff of 15 to 20 feet in height. On the other hand, the S part comes down gently toward the sea and is cut by sandy beaches suitable for the landing of boats and the slim and charming canoes of this island—one that was probably healthy and happy once, but that is now lost to diseases and where the inhabitants have new needs that they can hardly satisfy.

Position of the center of the island Lat. 0°52'2" S.

1 Ed. note: Some men were often shipped aboard English and American whalers (see below).

Long. 160°24'25" E.
Magnetic variation 12°23' N.E.

...

I hope that my comrades who will follow me in these faraway neighborhoods, so little known, will find in the above few pages the useful and precise information they might need to shorten their investigations and decrease the length of their navigation.

Papeete Harbor, on board, 17 May 1848.

The commander in charge of the corvette **Ariane**,
(Signed) Dutailis.

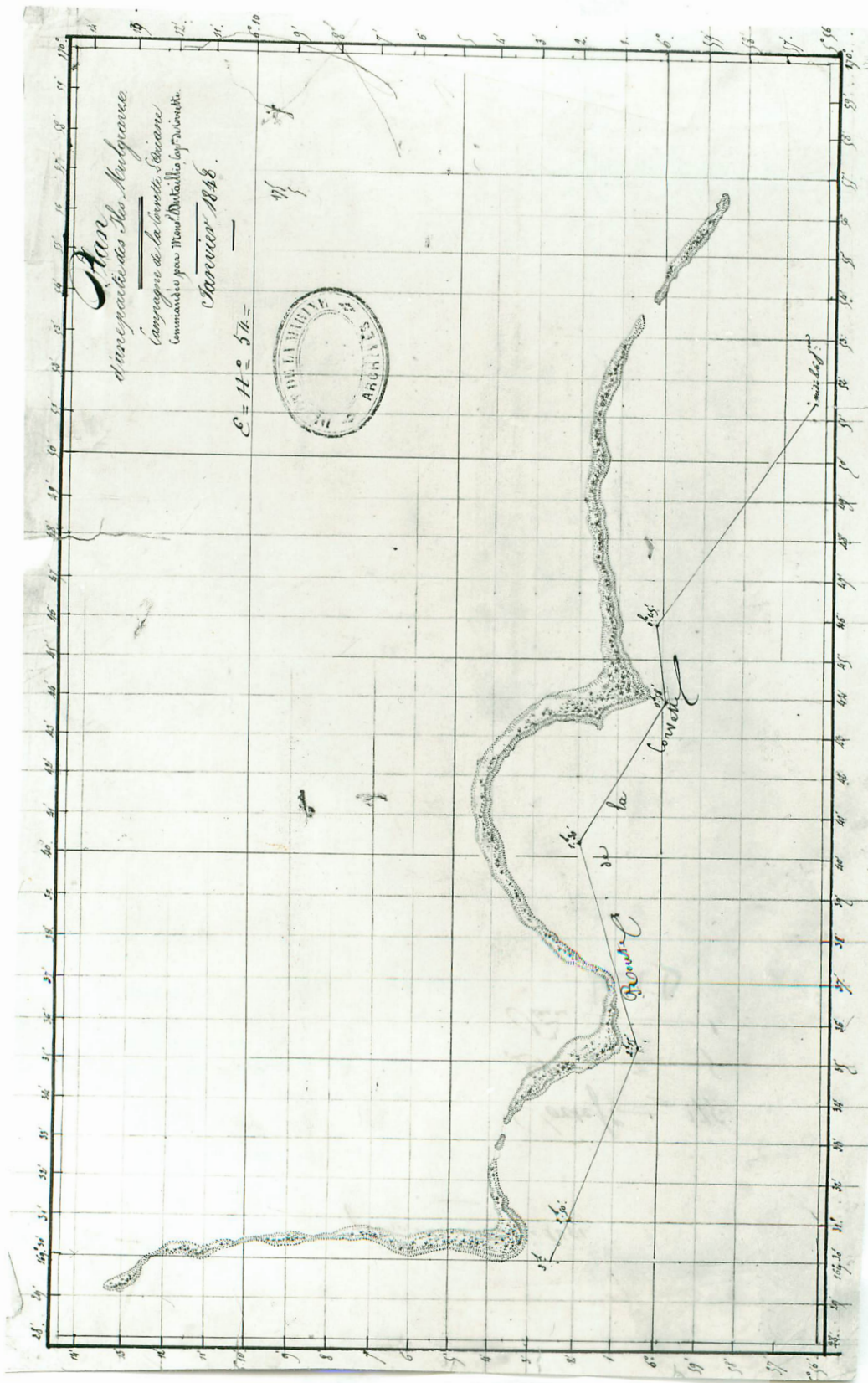


Chart of Arorae Island, Gilbert Archipelago.

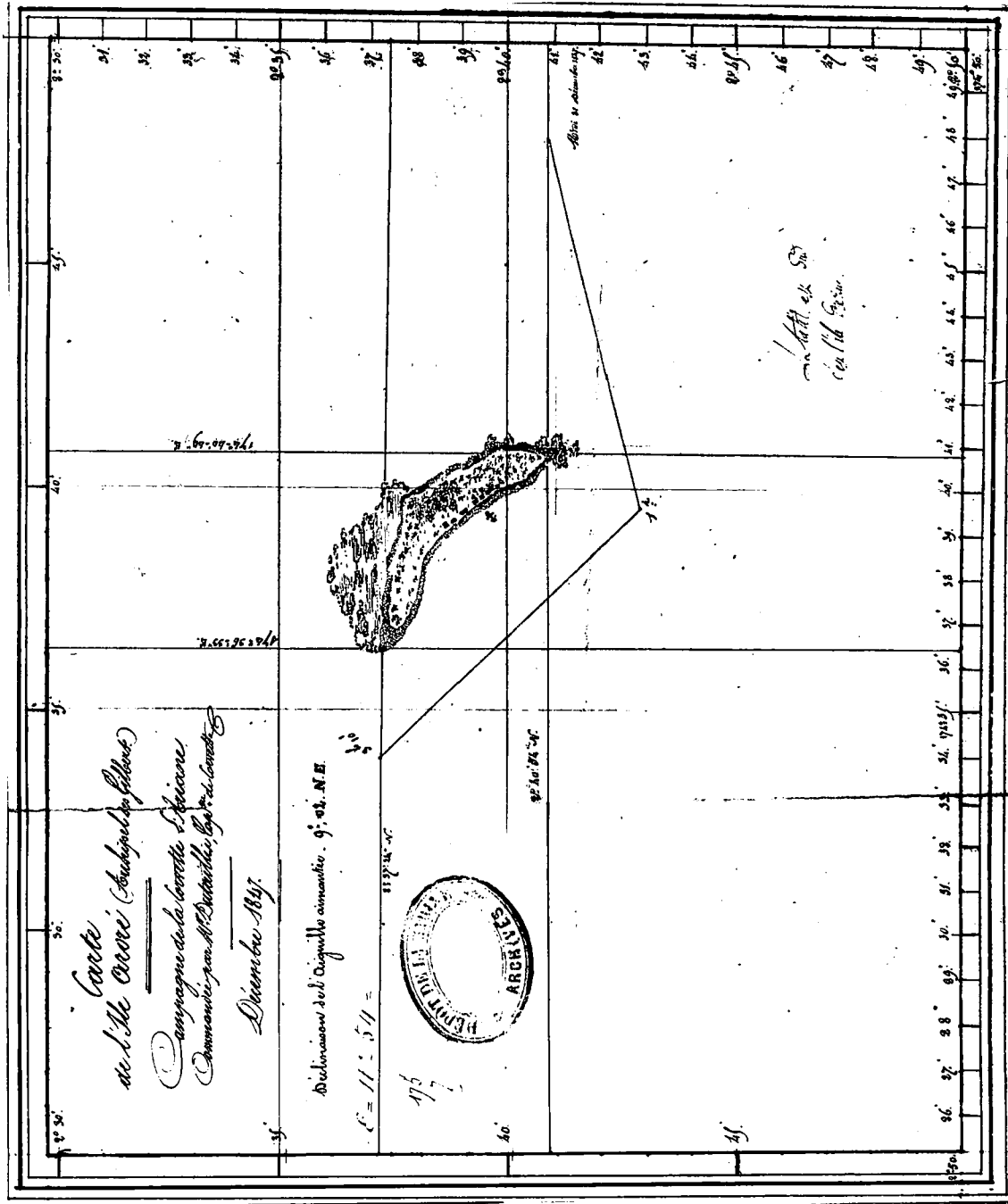


Chart of part of the Mulgrave [Mili] Islands.

Document 1847S

**The Dutailis expedition—Narrative of
Midshipman Julien Halligon**

Source: Contre-amiral J. Halligon. Six mois à travers l'Océanie: Souvenirs d'un officier de la Corvette l'Ariane (Brest, 1889).

**Six Months through Oceania: Memories of an officer
aboard the corvette Ariane**

...

Chapter VI

...

[After leaving Papeete, Tahiti, and visiting the islands of Wallis and Futuna, the French Navy corvette **Ariane**, commanded by Captain Dutailis, made her way towards the Gilbert Islands.]

...

We were heading for the Mulgraves [Mili] Islands, but had to tack constantly on account of the breeze that blew anywhere from N.E. to W.N.W. Fine weather was rare. Almost always, we were accompanied twenty-four hours a day by a very fine and penetrating drizzle. This monotonous passage had already lasted fifteen days when, one morning, at about 10:30 a.m., on the 31st of December [1847], the weather being clear, the lookout signalled land to the W1/4SW.

[Arorae Island]

In the direction in question, there was no island that could be seen from the deck. What was it? Was it a mirage? An island heretofore unknown? We immediately steered for it, and I must say that I was truly moved when we sighted a real, low, island, well wooded, a short distance ahead of us. The thought occurred to me that this expedition through Oceania, with all its dangers, fatigue and above all its boredom, would finally allow our old corvette, the **Ariane**, to be useful to the navigators of all nations, as the charts would acquire a new land. I happily set to work determining its exact position. The Commander maneuvered so as to be abreast, East and West, with the South point of the island at noon, when I determined the latitude. We then coasted along the south

and west sides of the island . At 3:10 p.m., as we were sailing at the same latitude as the North point of the island, I observed another hourly angle which, with the distance of the corvette from the land, enabled us to determine exactly the position of this *new*[sic] island. Thanks to numerous cross-bearings, I was able to trace the outline of this *newly-found island* that had the shape indicated in the following sketch.¹

Its total length, S.E.-N.W., was 6 miles; its width 1.3 miles. This island can be seen from a distance of about 10 miles in clear weather. The encircling reef extends a great distance from the N. point, but at the S. point it is but two or three cable-lengths from shore. The sea breaks heavily on the E. side. No anchorage can be seen, but the whole west side forms an open roadstead. I have placed the symbol of an anchor on my sketch, to indicate the place where the vessels that want to have contact with the natives do anchor; in fact, I must admit that this island that had been unknown, and was discovered by us, has been visited for the past two [sic] years by English and American whaling ships cruising in the vicinity.

The Commander and I were already thinking about possible names to give to *our* island when, from one of the many canoes that surrounded the **Ariane**, one individual climbed aboard, whose appearance seemed different from that of the other Indians. Without hesitation, he headed towards the stern of the corvette, then approached me. While shaking my arm so vigorously that he nearly unhinged my shoulder, he said "How do you do?" My heart sank. The *unknown* island was inhabited by savages who could speak English!! This man was not a savage, however; he was an American who had been left behind, said he, by a whaler. Soon we had among us many other deserters, from the United States or of English nationality. They seem to exercise a certain influence upon the natives. They handed to us a pile of small notes left by whaling ships, all written in English, to inform those that would follow them, not only of the name of their ship, but also the success they had had up to the time in question. None of these notes had been signed by the captain of a French whaler.

These strangers, who said they had known this island for many years, called it Hope Island. Its native name is Aroré [sic]. It appears on only one French chart, the four-part chart by Mr. Vincendon-Dumoulin, who calls it Ereraï. Here is its exact position, which we sent to the Navy's Hydrographic Service, as soon as we reached France:

—North Point, Latitude 2°27'24" S., Longitude 174°36'33" E. [of Paris].

—South Point, Latitude 2°40'54" S., Longitude 174°40'49" E.

The magnetic variation in 1847 was 9°02' N.E.

Arore Island, according to its foreign residents, has about 450 inhabitants. Their customs are very simple. They are perfectly naked, and their bodies, affected by a terrible sickness, has the appearance of being entirely covered with scales.²

1 Ed. note: Arorae had been known to whalers for decades already, and known by the name of Hope Island. It had been discovered 49 years earlier, by Captain Patterson of the ship Elizabeth, in 1809.

2 Ed. note: A skin disease called ichthyosis, I think.

As soon as the corvette hove to near the island, she was surrounded by a large number of graceful canoes, made of many pieces sewn together. The natives offered us some chickens, coconuts, yams and small pigs that they willingly traded for tobacco.

As soon as our observations were completed, we left this island whose 'discovery' had given us so many tender emotions, which soon made way to a cruel deception. At 4 p.m., we lost sight of the island which bore S62°E.

On 2 January [1848] we sighted an island at a great distance that had sharp outlines; we took it to be Matthew [Butaritari] Island.

At 8:45 a.m., on 5 January, after we had coasted along the Gilbert Islands, accompanied by very fresh winds from N.N.E., and squally weather, during a break in the weather, the lookout signalled the Mulgrave [Mili] Islands that lied on our starboard bow.

Chapter VII

What trouble a poor little chart gave us.—Arrival of the Ariane at the anchorage of the Mulgraves.—Hydrographic information regarding the Islands.—The inner sea.—How watering is done.—Our friend Aloya.—Fishing method used by the Indians.

As I have said at the beginning of this journal, the purpose of our expedition to this archipelago was to find out, in a sure manner, what happened to the captain and part of the crew of the French whaler **Angelina**. These men had stepped ashore at these islands in 1844, and never re-appeared. Already, in July 1845, Commander Bérard, aboard the transport ship **Rhin**, who had been sent here for the same reasons as we were, had caused some destruction of part of these islands, out of a conviction that they had been responsible for the assassination of our unfortunate countrymen.¹ However, they had not found any remains of their presence on these islands, and had not obtained from the natives the least information.²

Before we left Papeete, Commander Dutailis and I did a thorough search through documents for information that would help us accomplish our mission. The only things we found regarding the Mulgrave Islands were: 1) a sketch made by Mr. DeBlois in 1824 while his ship went sailing by;³ 2) a report by the Commander [Bérard] of the **Rhin**; and 3) an extract from the report by the Mate [Votte] of the **Angelina**. The latter had waited for his captain to return for many days, making short tacks off and on the islands, then decided to come to Tahiti to request the Governor to ask for revenge against the inhabitants of this archipelago for the crimes which, no doubt, they had committed, by cutting down the leader of the whaler and many men from her crew. The chart made

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1844K and Doc. 1845A respectively.

2 Ed. note: Not really so. They had found their clothes, etc. in the possession of the natives (see Doc. 1845A).

3 Ed. note: The Duperrey Expedition.

of it by Mr. Bérard, which I enclosed with my narrative,¹ was published only after we had returned to France. Besides, the report of the Commander of the **Rhin** made no mention of the conditions of the winds that he had found in the vicinity of the archipelago—an unforgivable error on the part of a navigator. Therefore, without a proper chart (the one we had was incomplete) it became very difficult, if not impossible, specially on account of the names given to the islands by our predecessors, to conceive of the exact position of the anchorage that they had talked about.

The chart of Mr. DeBlois showed two chains of islands linked together by sandy beaches. One of these chains extended from N.N.W. to S.S.E., from lat. 6°9' to 6°19'50" N.; the other chain ran from S.E. to N.W. from long. 169°30' to 169°37' E. [of Paris]. Through the latter chain, there seemed to exist a pass between two islets, giving access to that "inner sea" mentioned by Commander Bérard. We had often studied these documents, during our passage, and had come to the following hypothesis regarding the position of this pass. So it was that, when the lookout signalled land before us, as I have said at the end of the last chapter, as the wind was blowing from N.E., the Commander did not hesitate to coast along the south and west sides of the island.

As the breeze was brisk, we were soon before this chain, sailing with double-reefed topsails and our lower sails.

The whole day was spent in making our way around the island at a short distance. Some Indians, women mostly, were running to the beach, shaking pieces of clothing in the air and making friendly gestures, beckoning us to come ashore. The Commander of the **Rhin**, in his report which we kept before our eyes, mentioned the pass that he had used as being located between two islands, one big, which he named "Barr", and the other, smaller, which he named "Tokoea."

At 2:15 [p.m.], we came in sight of an island of a small size, which seemed to be separated from a larger island by a space, apparently free from any coral reef. The Commander sent me with a whaleboat to check this pass. Unfortunately, I came back on board completely undeceived; the sea was breaking everywhere with violence, and at the spot where I was able to sound, I had found a water depth of only 1-1/2 to 2 meters.

The whaleboat was taken on board, as the night was approaching rapidly, the breeze freshening ever more. Under short sails, we steered to S.E. 1/4 E. and, convinced of our mistake, we awaited the next day to look for our pass in the second chain, the only one [i.e. pass] that we thought existed.

We were not successful in our new exploration either. At 10:30, we had before us a bay that seemed to offer a good anchorage; we hove to and I was again sent to find the pass that would give access to it. Unfortunately, it was like the previous day; reefs that were completely impassable made access to the inner lake impossible. However, some Indians whom I had met in a canoe, with whom I had conversed in sign language, while shouting the words Barr and Tokoea, had shown me these two islands as existing much

1 Ed. note: Not published in his 1889 book.

farther to the northward. As soon as I was back on board, we resumed our course and, by the end of that day, spent making short tacks up the chain that we had already explored on the previous day, we became convinced that in the two chains of islands shown on the 1824 chart, there existed not a single pass that would give access to the corvette, not even to boats. However, at 5:30 p.m., when we were near the northernmost island, we saw that the land took a turn eastward and extended over a long distance. It therefore became clear that, notwithstanding the chart of Mr. DeBlois, there existed a third chain, running East-West and the island where we were [i.e. Nalu] was the westernmost island of this chain.

As the sea ran high, our vessel was laboring much. Night had fallen; we fell back and hove to in the lee of the islands.

Ah! what evil words were used against the author of these charts, that had been sketched so quickly by our predecessors in this neighborhood! They had prolonged our first assumption too long, and had caused us so many useless efforts.

Early the next morning, as we were still under the influence of a fresh N.E. wind, we began to tack to windward. It was almost noon when we reached the northernmost island of this N-S chain. We could then see a new series of islands stretching toward the E.N.E. As for me, I was well convinced that the northernmost island on the chart of Mr. DeBlois, which was the westernmost of this new chain, was the Island of "Galleleup" mentioned by Commander Bérard in his report, and that, to windward of us, we would find Tokoea and the pass. We tacked all day without meeting with the least opening in the reefs, but at 5 p.m., when we made a last tack, we discovered a pass at about 8 miles from the westernmost island, the last one of the chain that we were exploring at the time.

This pass seemed to be safe and wide enough. An islet, on one of its sides, did appear to be one described by Commander Bérard.

We tacked off the island, with the intention of maintaining our position during the night so as to be able, the next morning, to inspect this opening that we had been searching for so long.

We had noticed that, during our exploration of this last chain, few natives had appeared along the shore. It was with reason that we assumed that we were near the spot where the murder had been committed and where the vengeance had been applied. We were correct on our assumption, as the next day we found out the truth about it.

The island that is placed farthest to the north on the 1825 chart is indeed Galleleup. After it has been recognized, the navigator should head E.N.E. while counting off three islands from it (one of which is very small and touches its eastern point), he will find himself abreast of a grove on the beach next to two islets. From this second landmark, he should count off three more islands, of a fair size, before arriving at the west side of the pass. Near it, on its west side, there is another opening but it can only be used by boats.

During the night, we were currentted toward the N.W.; the sea ran high.

At daybreak, we worked our way toward the land, which we saw extending farther to E.N.E. and E. The wind was then N.N.E. and allowed us to coast along the coast at a short distance. Finally, when we were at about half a mile from the pass that we had seen the night before, we hove to and the Commander sent me in the whaleboat to explore this pass. I had received an instruction to the effect that, if I were to find that it was practicable, without any other verbal exchange, to make a signal to mean "You may follow me without danger."

I left and soon afterwards found myself in a magnificent pass, perfectly without danger, but I still made a few zigzags, taking numerous soundings, the better to be absolutely sure of it. The points that border the entrance can be approached quite close, although one can see the water change color, which might make one believe that there are a few shoals; however, near the steep shoreline, I found no fewer than 11-1/2 fathoms. For the **Ariane**, I chose a safe anchorage over a suitable ground. It was only after making sure of my assumption, by taking a few more soundings directly in the middle of the pass, that I made the agreed signal and steered in such a manner as to show the ideal route to the corvette to the anchorage that I had selected for her. However, she failed to hold her wind and did not hug the eastern side close enough, so that she let go her anchor near a small coral patch that can be seen just under sea level at low tide. She had to change her anchorage later on.

In order to reach the anchoring place that I had chosen for the **Ariane**, one should seek to reach a position outside the entrance, so as to be able to come as close as possible to the eastern reef when coming in; the above-mentioned coral bank would thus be avoided; this bank is to the S.E. and, when the ebb tide flows over it, it runs at a speed of 1.2 meters [per second]; moreover, its position is always indicated by a rather strong whirlpool. As the water is perfectly clear, one should choose a sandy area in which to drop anchor, and avoid coral that could break it (something that happened to us). If one intends to spend some time at this anchorage, it would be prudent to moor the ship well by dropping additional anchors to the N.E. and S.W., taking care to drop the first anchor in 20 meters of water. It would be better, for a wind ship to go in and out when the tide is stationary, unless the wind be blowing fresh, at twice the speed of the running tide, or faster. Also, one should not anchor too close to Barr Island, which is the island so named by the natives (as we learned later on) and the same that Commander Bérard called Tokoea, whereas the island which he calls Tokoea is, in fact, Barr Island. If the above recommendations were not followed, it would be difficult to go out when winds from the western quarter are blowing.

From our anchorage in this lake, truly an "inner sea", we could see all the chains of islets that make up this archipelago and whose chart, accompanying this volume, will make its position perfectly clear.¹

1 Ed. note: No such chart came with the copy of the rare book that I consulted. Perhaps, it had been stolen. However, I give a partial chart of Mili atoll, from a collection of charts taken from the Hydrographic Service.

After numerous observations were made, I have obtained the exact position of our anchorage, as follows:

—Latitude 6°14'37" N. Longitude 169°35'42" E. [of Paris].

The magnetic variation in 1848 was 9°45' N.E.

It is not without reason that I recommended to look carefully, before dropping anchor, since the nature of the bottom can be perfectly seen down to 40 meters; because, when we shifted our anchorage, we found out, upon weighing the anchor that one of its flukes had been broken, and while we warped her in, a large cable and a hawser were both cut by the coral heads.

In summary, this archipelago, whose size is, as we have seen, rather considerable, consists of low islands, for the most part joined together by long sandy beaches, upon which grow with difficulty a few groves of stunted trees. Over a distance of 40 miles, explored by us with the greatest care, we have not found a single pass giving access to large vessels, and only one small pass for boats. Besides, there is not the least cut through the reefs, not the smallest of bays between the lagoons [sic].¹ The wooded areas, where coconut, pandanus, and a few plants with odoriferous leaves grow, belong to the islands at the ends of the chains. In general, all such atolls are steep-to on the outside; near the reefs there is a strong current that must be avoided when the breeze is weak. What we found out, while coasting the northern chain that runs east-west, is that the current would carry us northward, specially at the N.E. tip of Gallelep.

The salt waters that are bound by these various chains, form a true "inner sea", very extensive and perfectly practicable for all sorts of vessels. One must not be afraid of numerous white spots that could make one believe that there is little depth in such places; such apparent shoals can be explained by the very high transparency of the water that allows one to easily distinguish corals at a depth of 40 meters. To repeat myself, with a few precautions, such as placing an intelligent man on the mizzen yard to warn ahead of time of the presence of banks and dangers that might appear, a ship, even of large size, could sail over this lake without fear, by employing the right amount of canvas to ensure maneuverability, and by watching the current that is often very strong and always running at a speed of at least 1 mile per hour.

Watering is done by digging holes in the sand. The water is tasteless, but is not bad. One must, however, take the condition of the tides into account; its level has a great influence on the quality of the water. If you are not in a hurry, better wait until low tide to get a supply of it. We have carried out this operation on Barr Island, at the rate of only four barrels per day. Nevertheless, we took care to send our containers ashore as soon as they became empty. The work of watering was made bothersome and tiring by the fact that it involved many boat trips, unloading of the barrels, that had to be rolled at least 200 meters from the beach. Although we were anchored at only 560 meters from Barr Island, it sometimes took us more than half an hour to return on board.

¹ Ed. note: They explored only half of the atoll; in fact, there are two other, better, passes further east of their chosen anchorage.

A short time after our arrival (8 January 1848), the natives who had been beckoning us ashore, decided to send one of their number to meet us. We saw him leave the island near us [i.e. Barr] aboard a bad canoe, but once he reached alongside, he refused to climb aboard and after he had given a few coconuts to the sailors, while making them understand that he would willingly take a piece of iron or a knife in exchange, he went back ashore, where he was quickly surrounded. Night fell and contact stopped. Very early the next morning, the Commander went ashore, to ask the natives where we could find a supply of water. He met with a few natives who explained to him that he had to dig holes in the sand to find this indispensable liquid. When the whaleboat came back alongside, the native we had seen the previous day accompanied our Commander.

As soon as he came on deck, he climbed up into the rigging and appeared to be fearful and distrustful. We had trouble convincing him to come down into the cabin, but as soon as he went into the Commander's apartments, he became half crazy, dancing in front of the mirrors and making awful grimaces to himself. He was given a bad knife and he was full of joy when he left his new friends. It was he who made us aware of the mistake made by the Commander of the **Rhin** regarding the name of the islands near the pass. We had not made him aware of our purpose in coming to his land, but, many times, he asked us to show him our flag. Ever since we arrived in sight of these islands, we had not raised our flag, fearing that the inhabitants would flee when they recognized the colors that had been carried by the ship that had punished them so cruelly.

One of our boatmen had noticed, near the watering place, the name of "Cogin" carved out of the bark of a large tree.¹ This was the first sign we had of the former presence of Europeans on these miserable shores.

When we saw again the native who had been on deck earlier, he made us understand that his name was "Aloya Aterre",² His countrymen seemed to have some respect toward him. We presumed that he was the owner of the small island of Barr. This island had only one hut that looked like a house; the others were nothing but poor sheds, much inferior to the huts we had seen on other islands visited by us. In fact, this part of the archipelago impressed me as being but a temporary residence for the people of the Mulgraves; before sunset, we could see most of the natives whom we had met there, cross over to Tokoea Island, either by swimming across the pass, or aboard small canoes.

As far as the islands further to the eastward are concerned, they seemed to us to be inhabited. Everything seems to indicate that the population of this archipelago is very small. Besides, I do not know how a larger population could eke out a living here.

Their staple food was coconut meat, and the coconut tree is very rare in all of these islands. They also eat the fruit of the pandanus tree, which grows to an extraordinary size here; they suck the reddish part of the fruit. A little fish sometimes provides variety to the food eaten by these unfortunate natives; however, this must be a rare occa-

1 Ed. note: Probably the name of a sailor aboard the ship Rhin.

2 Ed. note: The man's name was simply Aloya (see previous account by Dutallis. "Aterre" did not mean 'ashore' (à terre), but *atera*, or *adera*, which simply means 'hello' or 'friend', in Marshallese (see earlier accounts by Chamisso and Co. The word is now spelled 'jera').

sion. Their fishing method is one of the simplest: they block the entrance of a bay by a wall made of coral rocks which they have picked up on the beach (this does not constitute much work). They then wait for the tide to go down and pick up all the fish that have become trapped.

Chapter VIII

Customs of the inhabitants of the Mulgrave Islands.—The women seemed to have lewd customs.—Their descriptions.—Men with cut ear-lobes.—Clothing.—Canoes.—Language.—Huts.—An excursion to Gallelep.—Kersauson exceeds the prowess of Scipion the African.

With the exception of a few days when they wish to change their diet by making some effort to get some fish, the inhabitants normally spend their days doing nothing at all. Their women are not at all any livelier. They spend their time making coral necklaces which they wear around their necks, or else around their heads as wreaths—something that gives them a unique and graceful appearance.

The men are small, not muscular, but well formed. They wear their beard long as well as their hair which they tie up in a knot on top of their head. The women are quite cute and have the appearance of young children. They all have charming hands, as work has not deformed them. Their forearms, like those of the Marquesans, are covered with very fine tattoos that, at first sight, make them appear as if they wear lace gloves. They have a full upper body but their breasts are generally not too graceful, as they are wrongly placed. In short, despite their thick lips, their very black hair, their ever smiling faces that spell good health, by their necks that are well tied to the rest of the body, by their natural charm, by their little adventurous look, they are certainly attractive and hard to resist.

They wear, as I have said, a crown of shells on the head, a necklace of the same material around their neck. Their arms are adorned with bracelets also made of shells.

Oh! they are so far from sharing the customs of the ladies inhabiting our salons. Far from claiming gifts in exchange for their favors, they are the ones who show happiness, poor children, in offering to you, with a charming lack of sophistication, their modest decorations that they had been wearing. The flowers which they stick in their hair, and place around their neck and in their ears, give them a permanent festive air, a relaxed appearance, a look of happiness that one is very tempted to envy them.

Unfortunately, all of these adornments are not sufficient in their estimation, to make them even more attractive, and, believing that they can further improve their appearance, they have invented horrible mutilations, which they have copied from their lords and masters. In this whole archipelago, men, women and children, are the victims of an awful fashion, that of cutting their ear-lobes, and sometimes even their cheeks so as to make the opening still larger. Its diameter can reach as much as ten centimeters; it is then considered a great success. In this horrible opening, they introduce **rolls** of pandanus leaves. The women who did not voluntarily stretch their own ear-lobes to such an extent have ears that are not so repulsive. I am very convinced that this stupid cus-

tom would be abandoned by them, if only Europeans visited their islands more often, and made these ladies understand that, far from making them more attractive, this custom has the opposite effect. They all seemed to me to be coquettish and willing to do anything to make themselves prettier.

Their clothing consists in two very small mats, well crafted, with one placed in front, the other behind, at the height of the waist, and tied with a cord, braided by them with the greatest care.

Women seemed to me to be very happy in this country; the men do not mistreat them and they enjoy, I believe, complete freedom. For a few days after our arrival, as soon as we neared the shore, we could see only women; the men, fearful, were hiding themselves behind the trees, and then all these feminine voices would hurry to welcome us with the common word "adhera" [*jera*] which, for us, became our basic word in the language of the Mulgraves. Thanks to this magic word, which had different meanings according to the way it was pronounced, but specially thanks to the many signs that accompanied it, we had no problem in making ourselves completely understood by our charming friends. I nevertheless can assert that, many a time when I was watching their open mouth, so gracefully adorned with two rows of pearly teeth, I could not help from thinking that such ravishing little teeth may have torn the flesh of part of one arm or leg of our unfortunate countrymen, the whalemens of the **Angelina**.

The only weapons that we had seen in the hands of the men were spears made of coconut wood, and lined with shark teeth like the teeth of a saw.

Iron was the object they coveted the most. In exchange for old pieces of barrel hoops, which they had made into crude knives by fitting handles for them, our sailors could get anything: necklaces, mats, bracelets, wreaths and the women who had worn them also. One can easily understand how the lack of iron made difficult the building of their big canoes, sort of proas, well crafted, with which they sail in the high sea and in their inner sea which is bounded by their own islands. The country being short of wood of a fair size, such light craft had to be built up of a quantity of small pieces joined together and sewn well enough to prevent the water from leaking in. It is also easily conceived how terrible it had been for these unfortunate natives to have lost a large number of their means of transport, which had cost them so many days of hard labor, when the crew of the **Rhin**, that had shared our present anchorage, had destroyed them with axes and fire. That is why, upon reading the report of the Commmander of this ship, one finds that the same savages who had been running away when a party landed at Galleleup, turned back and, furious and full of despair, faced a certain death by rushing towards their adversaries, and trying to prevent the destruction of their canoes. The sight of their burning houses did not excite as much anger.

Their dwellings are very low, rectangular in shape and covered with pandanus thatch. They have no doors, no walls, as the roof comes down to within 50 centimeters from the ground, so that one must stoop and crawl to get inside one of them. The ridge of the roof is from three to four meters above ground. The floor of the hut consists in a large number of white pebbles, taken from the beach, and upon these they spread mats

to sleep on. So, by this description, one can see that they are, in fact, sheds, open to all winds, and as dwellings, they are much inferior to those that we had already found in the other islands visited by the *Ariane*. Nevertheless, I have seen houses that were more comfortable on the main island. At 1-1/2 meters from the ground, they had a floor, by way of a first story. A rectangular hole, 1.6 meters by 0.7 meter, allowed access to it. At the four corners of the floor, there were small holes that allow the air to circulate. This room was their storage area for food provisions, mats, etc. that were thus out of sight and less exposed to being stolen by passers-by, as compared to ordinary huts.

Moreover, the lucky owners of such rich dwellings, made us understand, by sign language, that they were there protected from the mosquitos. I must say, however, that during our stay, we were not at all bothered by such insects, because they must not be too numerous in these islands where they are not protected from the steady breezes that prevail in that neighborhood.

Every family buries its dead near the hut they occupy. A few coral stones are placed upon a small rise of ground, where two or three young coconut trees have been planted, to indicate the place of these modest burials.

As far as a possible religion is concerned, we have found nothing in the way of fetishes or idols, or ceremonies that might have indicated a particular cult.

The language spoken in the Mulgrave Islands seemed to me to be a difficult language to learn, on account of the harshness of its pronunciation and the lack of similarity with the language of Tahiti or the Marquesas. I needed a long period of study just to remember the few words that we used to make ordinary conversations with the people; they do not resemble any of the words used in other archipelagos of Polynesia [sic].

Here is a sample of their language:

		[Modern spelling]
1.	<i>Tuan.</i>	<i>Juon.</i>
2.	<i>Ruan.</i>	<i>Ruo.</i>
3.	<i>Tilu.</i>	<i>Jilu.</i>
4.	<i>Eman.</i>	<i>Eman.</i>
5.	<i>Allem.</i>	<i>Lalem.</i>
6.	<i>Cloino.</i>	<i>Jiljino.</i>
7.	<i>Eldi-Metuan.</i>	<i>Jiljilimjuon.</i>
8.	<i>Adino.</i>	<i>Ruwalitok.</i>
9.	<i>Adil-Metuan.</i>	<i>Ruwatimjuon.</i>
10.	<i>Tonga-Oul.</i>	<i>Jonoul.</i>
11.	<i>Ronga-Oul.</i>	<i>Jonouljuon.</i>
Woman	<i>Keva.</i>	<i>Kora; Koba.</i>
Man	<i>Mamoe.</i>	<i>Mmaan.</i>
Sun	<i>Hall.</i>	<i>Al.</i>
Moon	<i>Hallen.</i>	<i>Allon.</i>
To go	<i>Baclar.</i>	<i>Jeblaak.</i>
Knife	<i>Tipedip.</i>	<i>Di; Jepak.</i>

To sleep	<i>Madul.</i>	<i>Majur.</i>
Parent	<i>Diman.</i>	<i>Jema-.</i>
Sick [-ness]	<i>Maïau.</i>	<i>Mej.</i>
[Large] Canoe	<i>Thegonu.</i>	<i>Tipnol.</i>
Coconut	<i>Trematen.</i>	...
To eat	<i>Manga.</i>	<i>Mona.</i>
Pretty	<i>Comane.</i>	<i>Maan.</i>

The natives kept visiting the corvette, and less distrustful than on the first days, they did visit it in all her parts, but sometimes they asked our sailors why we did not have a flag.

During a visit we made to Tokowa Island, a few days after our arrival, everything was the same as at Barr Island, except that there were a few more huts. All its inhabitants were already known to us, for having met them on the neighboring island where they had spent part of their days.

Already one week had gone by since our arrival, when our Commander decided to send a boat to Gallelep Island, which all the evidence pointed at as the place where the murder of our countrymen had taken place.

The purpose that he had in mind in ordering this expedition was to try and bring on board some important chief and, once he would be on board, to interrogate him to get information on the fate of the unfortunate sailors of the **Angelina**.

The owner of Barr Island consented, after many hesitations, to serve us as a guide. A few days before, we had gone over to his island and had some banana trees planted in his presence. These trees had been brought by us from the Wallis Islands; we also brought with us some pinapples, watermelon seeds, and some lemon trees. He had been made to understand how precious they were, that these plants would make him wealthy, and he appeared to have been very grateful.

Moreover, when we visited Tokoea Island, we had seen three banana trees, already very tall, but we were unable to learn who had brought them there. We also had released male and female cats, that will have an active life, if they attack the thousands of rats that inhabit the huts, even in the daytime.

On the 13th of January, at daybreak, the launch, accompanied by a whaleboat, left the ship with their guns, and a certain number of armed men, under the orders of our first officer, my very good friend, [Lieutenant] de Kersauson. I need hardly add that I too was part of the expedition to Gallelep Island.

After one hour of sailing, we disembarked on the shore, and were made welcome, as usual, by a large embassy of women, sent forward by their husbands who were hiding, we knew it, in the bushes nearby. Some loud and clear "adheras" were spoken at the landing of our boats, and we soon were embraced by these friendly natives who pulled us towards their huts, not far from the beach.

1 Ed. note: The generic word is 'Ni'. Perhaps he means 'Kenato', a tall coconut tree.

Although these enchanting women were exhibiting the most friendly of dispositions, they were nevertheless more distrustful than the women living near the pass. Thus far we had not seen any man since our arrival at Galleleup, when, one man entered the hut where Kersauson and I were at the time. He was accompanied by a large crowd. He greeted us with a gracious “adhera” and came to sit down next to us. We were then made to understand that he was the chief of the island. He was a handsome young man of about 25 years of age, with European features,¹ and had a magnificent black beard which he appeared to take care of very well. He seemed to be very disturbed, shaking and ill at ease. At the sight of the gifts that we had brought him, he calmed down a little, and Kersauson took this opportunity to invite him to visit the corvette and come along with us. He instantly refused, but promised that he would come the next day, without fail, aboard a canoe belonging to him.

It was obvious that it would be impossible, short of force, to bring him with us that day. Kersauson decided to leave, contenting himself to accept on board our boats an old woman who had been presented to us as being a relative of the young chief, her daughter who was a cute little creature, and some other female companions of hers. Commander Dutailis had recommended to us that we should try and bring on board a few hostages...

We had been able to observe on the beach a few canoes; most of them bearing signs of the passage of a landing party from the **Rhin**. Galleleup, which the natives call Nailo,² is the main island of this small archipelago.³ Coconut trees are there much more numerous than on neighboring islands. There are many more bushes and the population is much greater than at either Barr or Tokoea. It was unsuccessfully that we criss-crossed the island, as we were unable to find any sign of the crime committed upon the whalers of the **Angelina**.

We therefore went back on board, little satisfied with the result. The Commander decided, while waiting for the visit of the chief of Nailo, to employ the whole of the next day trying to get, from our neighbors on Barr and Tokoea, some information about what happened at Galleleup when the two boats of the **Angelina** got there.

It was then thought that, following a long silence about this incident, some caresses, gifts of all sorts, we had gained enough influence with these good savages, to receive from them some clarifications on this murder, that had remained a mystery for us until then.

The days were passing and it was becoming urgent for us to leave the Mulgraves, so as to take the opportunity of N.E. winds to get to the Solomon Islands; such winds, according to Oxburg [rather Horsburgh], would disappear with the month of January.

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- 1 Ed. note: Perhaps the son of an American sailor from the whale ship **Globe** (see Doc. 1824M); if so, he was about 22 years old.
 - 2 Ed. note: Nailo, or Nalu; Alu is the preferred name today.
 - 3 Ed. note: In fact, Mili Island proper, further to the south, was, and is, the main and largest island in the group.

The chief of Nailo did not come the next day, but, on the other hand, the corvette was invaded by a large number of natives who did not waste time to gather in the Commander's cabin, for them the most curious part of the vessel. That is where we were waiting for them. After we entertained them for a while, by showing them many objects, all new to them, they were told to pay attention, and then, by sign language, they were made to recall the scene of the murder that probably had taken place on the main island of the group.

Thanks to our frequent contact with the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, we had been able to learn how to count in their language; we could also say words, such as shotguns, men, whaleboats. They understood perfectly what we meant to say, because soon they were all trying to flee through all the openings within their reach. Many had even managed to jump into the sea through the gun ports. We did, however, succeed in calming them down, although it was impossible for us to gain any precise information from them. Terrified as they were, they imagined that we would keep them prisoners aboard the *Ariane*; they seemed to think that, if they admitted having been witnesses to the terrible incident in question, they would surely be killed themselves.

Nevertheless, a few of them admitted that two muskets were in the possession of the chief of Nailo and that he would not hesitate to give them back, if we went there to ask for them the next day.

It was useless to try and get more information from these unfortunate savages. They were let go. Everyone dove into the sea and hurried to swim ashore; they had not expected to be set free so soon. That same night, many of them left the two islands of the pass to go to Nailo. Our old acquaintances did not seem to be so frightened and many women from Tokoea came to spend the evening on board with our hostages.

The following morning, Kersauson and I went on board the whaleboat which was towed, as the previous day, by the launch. We sailed to Gallelep, hoping that, this time, our expedition would be more successful. The weapons that we had with us had been carefully hidden. The old relative of the chief of Nailo, whom we had taken on board and many natives from Barr, had boarded the launch. They appeared to be very worried and often asked us during the passage, if we intended to step ashore alone or accompanied by our boatmen. The nearer we got to the island, the greater their anxiety seemed to be. We finally landed; almost the whole population, the chief included, was waiting for us on the beach. The chief came forward, into the water up to his waist, and carried his friend Kersauson in his arms.

According to a custom that I had already seen in use in the Marquesas Islands, the chief of Nailo exchanged name with our first officer; by this act of friendship, he ceded all his rights to his properties, to his hut, to his wife even, whom he hurried to present to his new friend. The little savage was truly charming, very young and, believe me, very pretty! I do not doubt that, if the importance of his mission had not at that moment absorbed all the attention of our good Lieutenant, the new Aonemene (this was the name of the chief of Nailo) would indeed have exercised all the rights of the new Kersauson.

Chasing all thoughts of love from his mind, he contented himself with offering to his ravishing **wife**, a little taken aback by this new procedure, some mirrors, pieces of red cloth, in exchange for the necklaces and mats that she presented to him with such a particular grace.

Both of them were soon pulled by the people towards the hut of Aonemene where, it seemed, the final act of the new pact between the new friends was to take place.

However, faithful to the role of the conqueror of Hannibal,¹ our leader refused the honor and, accompanied by the couple, came to join us on the beach where a crowd of young girls, all graceful, were trying to make us forget our loving partners from Barr Island. A circle then formed around us. The chief of the island took his place in the center, near Kersauson, who then began to narrate to him, by sign language, the scene that must have taken place on this very beach, during the massaxre of Captain Hyenne and his whalemens. Aonemene was shaking all over, in spite of all the demonstrations of affection that he expressed toward him. Now then, turning toward the crowd of natives surrounding us, our Lieutenant repeated his narrative, pointing at the whaleboat and with his fingers indicating that on the day of the murder there had been two such vessels, at the same place. Then, he counted up to thirteen in their language, had thirteen sailors stand in a row before them, then showing how thirteen men such as they had been massacred by them, and he asked what they had done with the bodies.

Turning then to the chief, he asked for the two shotguns that he had been told were in his possession, promising to give him some axes and iron tools of all sorts in exchange. Aonemene kept quiet but continued to show signs of the greatest of terror. The natives who were surrounding us consulted one another, and many of them went off towards the huts near the beach. They soon came back, loaded with coconuts which they placed in a pile before us; a few more trips and the pile became considerably higher. When they judged it to be sufficiently high, they approached our Lieutenant and humbly offered them to him. They were made to understand that we were not interested in their coconuts, but wanted the two shotguns. The inhabitants of Nailo consulted one another once more, then we saw them go back to the dwellings whence they returned loaded with beautifully-crafted mats which they placed near the coconuts. This new gift was naturally refused and again we asked them to turn over the European weapons. After a few more consultations, these unhappy savages came to offer us bundles of their long spears of coconut wood, which were no more accepted than their mats or coconuts had been. Following a new, energetic, request made by Kersauson for the two shotguns, a few men grabbed the young chief by his two hands and dragged him into a nearby wood. Most of the women ran away, taking with them their mats and their children. Soon the only people remaining near us were a few young girls who did not fear the fight which the others were sure would happen.

We simply could not go back on board, without making one more attempt to fulfil the mission that we had been entrusted with.

1 Ed. note: Scipion the African.

Chapter IX

We fail to bring the chief of Nailo on board.—Some faithful subjects.—Our countrymen had definitely been eaten.—These little ladies were cannibals indeed.—Decision to leave.—Paanapa [Banaba] Island.—Its sad population.—Hydrographical information.—A hurricane near the Solomon Islands.—Arrival at St. Mary's Bay.

We therefore decided to go and get the chief of Nailo who, as I have said at the end of the last chapter, had been dragged far away from us by a few of his men. After we had briefed two top-notch seamen in our company, armed with pistols hidden under their clothes, about the importance of not losing sight of us, and after we had ordered them specifically not to pay attention to the seductive young girls, we set out, Kersauson and I. We were soon joined by some natives who led us to their huts. Time and again, we urged them to go and get the chief; it was all futile. Some would say that he had gone to another island, and was already far away; others pretended that they did not know where he was. In short, it became obvious that we would not see Aonemene again, unless we went after him ourselves.

Addressing ourselves to the people surrounding us, we expressed our strong wish to be led to him. Their hesitation was extreme.

We opened up our clothes, we showed them that our pockets were empty, we did everything we could think of to show them that we were unarmed. Only then, but after a long consultation, did they make a sign to follow them. Their mistrust was so great that two natives, having seen a small pistol that our surgeon had in a pocket, each of them seized him by one arm, and seemingly to show him affection, tried to prevent him from using his weapon.

We found the man we were looking for inside a hut, located at about 200 paces inside the little wood. His friend Kersauson had a hard time to reassure him; nevertheless, we were able to bring him back to the beach. There, once again, he was reminded of the two shotguns. He made us understand that they had been sent to an island named Metero [i.e. Majuro] that was located far away to the north, and then he began to tremble all over, to such an extent that we thought he would flee again. We therefore stopped our questioning, hoping, once he would be on board, to be able to get from him, either by means of gifts, or by threats, the information that he was denying us at that moment.

We had succeeded to make him board our whaleboat with his wife and we were about to row toward the launch that was anchored offshore, when the natives rushed forward and jumped into our frail vessel in such large numbers that our sailors were forced to jump overboard to prevent it from sinking under their weight. We intended to get rid of these overly faithful subjects, by transferring them to the launch, and keeping with us in the whaleboat only the chief and his charming wife; however, as soon as they saw that we were leaving the shore, all the natives already on board jumped into the sea, calling loudly to Aonemene.

Then, while some of them were trying to drag us towards the shore, the others tried to jump aboard our vessel and in large numbers grabbed the flat parts of our oars, thus preventing our boatmen from moving them. It became necessary to make use of force against these defenders of the chief of Nailo, although we were aware that a hand-to-hand combat might have fatal consequences. Moreover, our Lieutenant had received positive orders forbidding him to use his weapons other than for a strict defence of his own person. Kersauson's orders were so clear that he thought he had no choice but to take back his unwilling friend and his charming wife. As soon as they had disembarked, they expressed by happy gambols that they had not hoped to see their land again.

We then went back to the **Ariane**, taking back with us the old woman and her daughter, whom the Commander wanted to keep as hostages, along with some of her companions. We became aware that, as soon as we got on board, this woman began to narrate what had happened at Nailo to the natives of the neighboring islands who happened to be around at the time; then, with an imperious signal, she ordered them all off the ship. They all dove overboard and we had to send our boats to rescue some young girls who had overestimated their swimming capacity. It was becoming perfectly obvious to us, after the failure of our last attempt, that we would not get any precise information from these savages, unless we stayed a great deal longer. We ignored their language completely, and we were finding only bad will from them or a frightening terror, when we spoke of the murder of the captain of the **Angelina**.

[Accusation of cannibalism]

We had come to the realization that they thought that we were still not completely sure about this murder; that we were trying to find out from them about it, and then, once we were sure of it, we would quickly punish them, as those from the corvette **Rhin** had done a short time earlier. Therefore, in their own interest, they kept quiet about this horrible attempt. Moreover, the Governor of Tahiti having given strict orders to the Commander not to use force against the inhabitants of the Mulgraves, for fear that, later on, they might take revenge upon completely innocent ships, I was convinced that it was useless for us to stay any longer in this archipelago. The Commander was completely in agreement with me, so that, after he had received the report of our Lieutenant, he gave orders for the preparations to be made for us to sail the next morning.

Now, if somebody were to ask me what I think was the fate of our unfortunate companions, I would not hesitate one moment to say that they were eaten. I would give him the following proofs to support my accusation against the natives of the Mulgraves:

In the islands of this archipelago that were visited by us, at Barr, Tokoea, and Nailo, besides the ordinary fireplaces that are generally placed under a tree, near the huts, that had proper sizes for their food preparation purposes, we have all seen, near their dwellings, some holes of a great depth, three meters in length by one to two meters in width, that had also been used to prepare food of another type. Now then, as I have already said, in these islands there are no quadrupeds, and the natives live only on shell-fish, fruits, and fish; they have no need of ovens of such a large size. My opinion is that such

holes were dug to prepare abominable repast of human flesh. Indeed, I do not hesitate to affirm that these savages, so fearful and so peaceful, that such delicate women, so cute, happily partake of human flesh, when they can.¹

Here is a second proof of what I say: far from feeling any queasiness, or distaste, at the sight or taste of meat, raw or cooked (though that would be the first reaction of someone who has never eaten any), the inhabitants of these islands, however, jump for joy upon seeing some bloody meat, and relish eating it. Every one of them, men and women, stops eating fruits or sweets that they had been served, as soon as they see some meat, cooked or not, fresh or salted. I have no doubt that they had eaten some before our arrival, and it was not in their islands, that do not contain any animals, not even one dog, that they had had access to meat.

Unfortunately, according to everything I was able to see, according to their facial expression upon seeing seeing any animal flesh, I cannot doubt that these savages are cannibals and the fate of the men of the whaler **Angelina** is not a mystery to me.

On 16 January 1848, with a favorable, but weak, breeze from E.N.E., we made our way through the pass and coasted along the whole E.-W. chain at a distance of a mile and a half, in order to get enough data to be able to make a precise chart of the archipelago. We finished this survey by taking a sighting on Galleleup when it bore E.N.E. Afterwards, we steered S. 1/4 S.W., but the fresh N.E. winds that had prevailed during our whole stay abandoned us at this time. Sad to say, had we left too late?

[Visit to Banaba]

We were pursuing our voyage to the Solomon Islands, when, on 20 January, at about 6 a.m., the weather being superb, the lookout signalled land to the south. It appeared to be rather high, and had to be Ocean [Banaba] Island, discovered in 1804,² had not been re-examined since; that is why, its position on all the charts was marked doubtful. We made all sails towards it, and by maneuvering so as to be in a favorable position to make a survey, we were able to come up with what I think is an exact position for it, as follows:

—Center of the island: Lat. 0°52'02" S. Long. 160°24'25" E. [of Paris].³

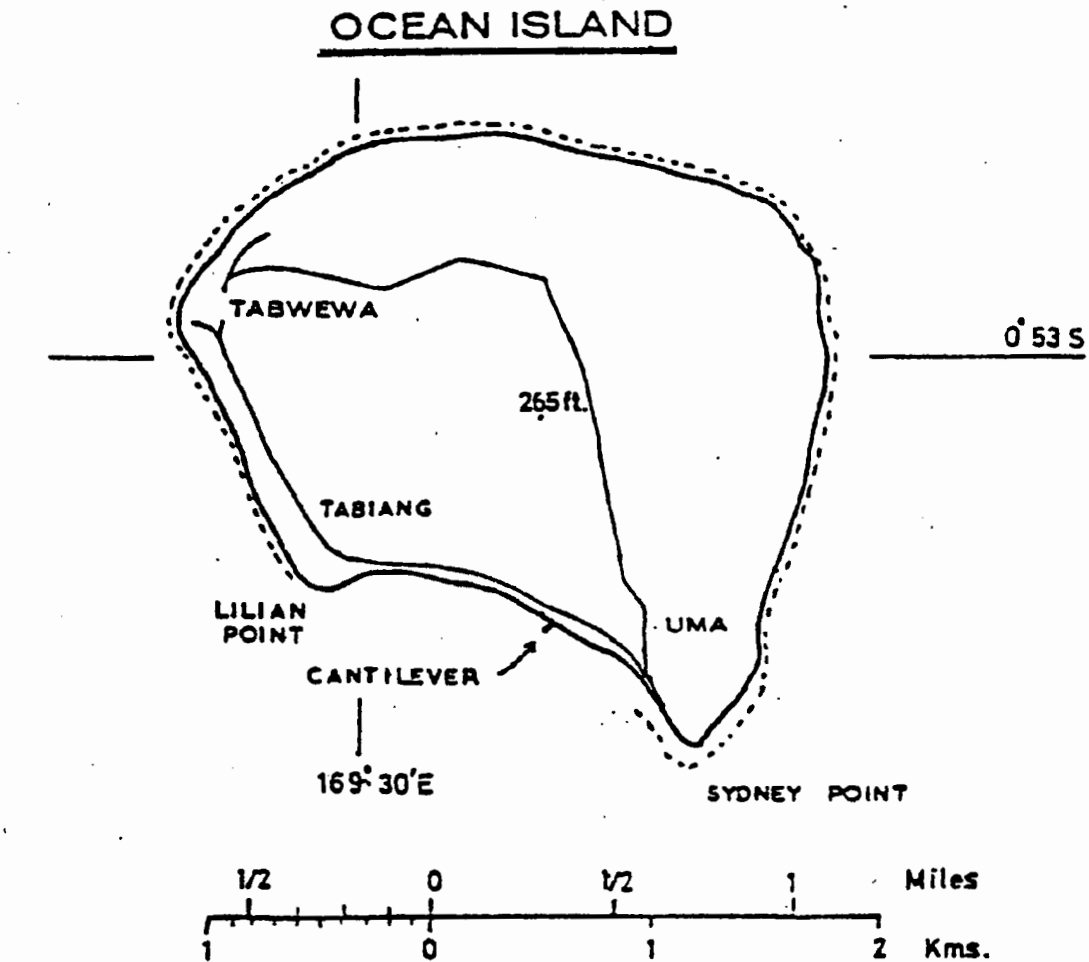
Magnetic deviation 12°23' N.E. [in 1848].

The island is high enough to be seen from 15 to 20 miles away in good weather. Its shape is like that of a square, with its corners turned to face the four main cardinal points. The reef, that is shown as a encircling reef on the charts, does not exist. The island may be about three miles in length by the same width. The northern coast is not

1 Ed. note: The underground ovens were probably used, as in Polynesia, for baking bread-fruit, fish, etc. during their feasts. We know from Chamisso, and other authors, who had already visited the Marshall Islands that bread-fruit was preserved in times of plenty, as reserves for times of famine.

2 Ed. note: Discovered by the ship *Diana*, but re-discovered that same year by the ship *Ocean*, Capt. Mertho.

3 Ed. note: There is a misprint in the original French text; 160° should read 168°.



Banaba Island in 1945. Based on Admiralty Chart No. 979.

approachable, as it is but a cliff from 5 to 6 meters in height. On the other hand, on the south coast, many small sandy beaches can be seen, where a landing could easily be made and where the beautiful native craft are beached.

After we had come close to the land, we hove to in order to wait for noon, to observe the sun. Many canoes, coming from the west side, soon came alongside, and we had many natives on deck, among them the son of the chief of the island. Many Americans, all deserters from whalers, were among them. I had a long conversation with one of them. He told me that this island is known to the natives only by the name of Paanapa. On this island, said he, we are eight Europeans [sic], living in perfect harmony with the natives, who are all very peaceful, and love a quiet family life. The population of the island is estimated at 450. They trade with passing whalers which, in exchange for tobacco, get fowls, straw hats and bamboo brooms. In the same manner, we were able to get chickens, shell necklaces, and some spears that were similar to those we had been given in the Mulgraves. A blast of wind had just cut down all the coconut trees on the island, thus depriving them of their best trade article. One of the natives presented me, as had been done at Arore, pieces of paper bearing the name of the ship, her home port, the name of her captain and the success of their whaling activities. Some awful wounds, the result of most horrible venereal diseases, covered the body of these unfortunate savages and prove, more so than their ease to speak the English language, their frequent contacts with Europeans. The men are completely naked, but the women wear a sort of mat that does not completely cover their sexual parts. Besides, men and women, on top of their festering wounds, are repulsively ugly.

Except for the south coast of the island, whence all the canoes had come from, all the other parts of the island are fringed with breakers and the rocks that have been sculpted by the waves are very interesting to look at.

The complete coastline surrounding Paanapa is without danger; only the west point has a few detached rocks near the coast, but they are all plainly visible.

Water, I was told by an American deserter, is hard to get; that is why the whaling ships that often come to the island, come here just to ship a few natives to complete their crew, get some fowls, coconuts, yams, but during these operations they always remain under sail.

As soon as our noon-time observations had been completed, we let the large number of natives on board at the time know that we were about to leave.

They immediately went back to their beautiful canoes, vessels that were much more superior to all those we had seen up to that time. The spectacle given to us at the time by these savages was quite interesting; they were swimming back to their canoes and shouting at the same time to excite themselves.

At last, we left this little corner of the earth, carrying away as souvenirs some curiously-made shell bracelets well crafted by the local women, some straw hats that our sailors had bought for 1/4 head of tobacco a piece, some fowls, and a rather large number of coconuts.

My feeling about these natives was that they ought to be pitied, as they are the victims of sexual pursuits by the numerous whalers who have brought them such awful diseases, without any means of curing themselves; in effect, they kill them by poison.

At 6 p.m., we lost sight of the island, at a distance of 16-1/2 miles. Five hours had already passed since we had left Paanapa and sailed to the southward.

Oxburg [i.e. Horsburgh] was decidedly right; our stay at the Mulgrave Islands had been too long, the season of the N.E. winds had definitely passed. Since our departure from Ocean Island, we saw them disappear little by little, and for three days had but weak E. and E.N.E. breezes. They were replaced by winds varying from N.W., W. to W.S.W. that were accompanied by violent squalls and impeded our progress.

Seventeen days had passed since we left Paanapa when, at 6 a.m. on 5 February, we sighted land to the S.W. The weather was bad, strong squalls forcing us to make maneuvers at every instant; however, we set all possible sail and were able soon to recognize that we had reached Santa Ana Island...

...

Note 1847T

The Triton Incident at Nonouti in 1847

The story as told by Starbuck.

Source: Alexander Starbuck. History of the American Whale Fishery, page 131.

In 1847 the ship **Triton** of New Bedford put into Sydenham's Island (one of the King's Mill Group) to recruit. While the Captain with his boat's crew were ashore purchasing a fluke chain, the Natives incited by a renegade Spaniard, attacked and captured the ship, killing one of the mates and several of the crew. The second mate with his men escaped in a boat. The ship worked off shore and the natives left her. She was afterwards carried into Papiete, (one of the Society Islands).

The **United States** and **Alabama**, both of Nantucket, touched at the King's Mill group and succeeded in rescuing the survivors. In all, five were killed and seven wounded.

The narrative of Captain Thomas Spencer

Source: Captain Thomas Spencer. Narrative of the Events Attending the Massacre of Part of the Crew Belonging to the Whaleship "Triton" of New Bedford (Honolulu, 1848).

...

Document 1847Y

**The schooner Alfred, Captain John Davenport,
1847-50**

Source: Log 12 in Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 801; Log Inv. 207.

Note: The voyage itself lasted from 1845 to 1852.

Extracts from the log

Sailed from the port of New Bedford, August 28th 1845

...

[In March 1847, this vessel was cruising westward along the equator towards the Gilbert Islands. By the 19th, it was cruising off them.]

...

Cruising at Kings Mill Group.

Friday 19th

In consideration of crossing the meridian & going to be in the Hemisphere some time we call this day Friday instead of Thursday.

Came in with light trades, course NNW going before [the wind] under all sail. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. The watch employed repairing main Sl. & breaking out, the mechanicsb at work at their separate trades &c &c So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 05 miles North

Long. by Chron. 173.00 East.

...

Monday March 22nd

Came in with fair weather & light trades, course N by W. Going before the wind under all sail. At 5:30 saw Simpson [Abemama] Island bearing W by N of us 10 miles dist, Hauled up North & lowered a boat & tried the current & found it setting W by S about 1-1/2 miles per hour. Tacked off through the night. At 8 a.m., saw the Island SW of us & ran for it. Latter part fine. Saw 24 sails of canoes standing off shore under sail. Ran for them. At 12 Meridian hove to among them. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 29 miles North.

Long. by Chron. [blank]

Tuesday March 23rd

Came in with fine weather, headed offshore from Simpson's Island with the topsails aback with two canoes towing astern long enough to trade with them for the things brought off then cast them off & take two more & so on through out these 24 sail. The things consisted of cocoanuts in small quantities in each canoe & at four mats & sinnet hats which were very acceptable to our ship's company. We got one small green with other fruits. At 5 p.m. finished trading & braced forward. Midnight light winds & rain squalls. Latter part fine, standing in for the epassage between Simpsons Island & [blank]. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 17 miles North.

Wednesday March 24th

Came in with light trades. Lying up S.E. under all sail. At 1:30 p.m. raised two canoes bearing down from the windward. At 2 p.m. hauled aback for them & got a few cocoanuts & some sinnet hats. At 3 p.m. let them go again then was one European in the canoe who has been on the Island two [blank], appeared to be in good health & condition. Middle part working to windward under all sail. Latter part the same. The watch employed new bunting ... top gallant sail. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 41 miles South.

...

Sunday March 28th

Came in with fresh trades. Cruising off Sydenham [Nonouti] Island under all possible sail. At 4 p.m. saw canoes come off with cocoanuts &c & traded. Middle part strong trades. At 7 a.m. saw one canoe to windward of the Island 5 miles & his sail all split in pieces. At 8 a.m. took on board 4 natives of the canoe. \ Latter part fresh trades & rough sea, the Island bearing North. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 41 miles.

Monday March 29th

Came in with fine weather & fresh trades, working to windward under all possible sail. At 6 p.m. came to anchor on the bank on the west wide of the Island in 10 fathoms water, rocks & sand. At daylight got underway. At 10 a.m., spoke the **Will Watch** of London 21 months out 320 bbls of sperm.¹ Captain went on board & spent the day. Latter part fine. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 37 miles South.

1 Ed. note: Jone's Ships, pp. 173, 175-6 says that the Will Watch, Captain Taylor, left London at the end of July 1845, was sighted at Upola (Samoa) in May 1847. In January 1848, she went from Tahiti to Timor via Zamboanga and to Bay of Bengal, and was back in London in October 1848..

Tuesday March 30th

Came in with fresh trades, standing along by the wind under all sail, tacking occasionally. In company with **Will Watch**. At 8 p.m., parted for the night. Latter part fine weather & no whales. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by [obs.] 39 miles South.

Wednesday March 31st

Came in with fine weather & fresh trades. Cruising on the SW side of Sydenham Island. At 4 a.m., spoke the **Will Watch** & kept company until 9 a.m. Captain Taylor reported ship **Columbia** of Sag Harbour to be lost on this island but did not know the particulars. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 16 miles South.

Thursday April 1st

Came in with fine weather & light trades close hauled under all sail. At 1 p.m., tacked ship to S.E. At 6 p.m. tacked N by E. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. [blank].

Friday April 2nd

Came in with fine beautiful weather & smooth sea with light trades. At 5 p.m. came to anchor on the west side of Sydenham Island on a bank of [blank] in 9 fathoms with a small island bearing NNE 2 miles dist. Lowered two boats & cleaned the bends of barnacles and grass. Middle part fine. At 3 a.m., hove up & got underway & made all sail. Latter part employed working up to the weather part of the Island, had several canoes off to us with cocoanuts & several articles [which] came out of the Ship **Columbia**. Several articles of clothing & pieces of whale line which we bought of them for tobacco. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 49 miles South.

Saturday April 3rd

Came in with fine weather, standing off & on Sydenham Island, employed trading for cocoanuts &c from the natives. At 2 p.m., a whale boat came on board with a crew of natives except one who was a Spaniard by birth & the boat belonged to the whale ship **Columbia** who was cast away about 8 months ago. He with the Captain & crew had left the Island in another ship. He brought in his boat one coil of whale line & two topsail sheets belonging to the ship & said he had the ship anchors & chains ready to come off & said something of a French vessel of war being cast away on Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island. At 6 p.m., left us. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. Several canoes in sight coming off to us. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 47 miles South.

Sunday April 4th

Came in with light trades & fine weather, standing off & on trading with the canoes. At 7 p.m. finished trading & stood off S.E. under all sail. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. At 12 tacked up NNE. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 1.46 South.

Monday April 5th

Came in with fine weather & light trades, working up towards Drummonds Island under all sail. Midnight fine & clear. At daylight saw the land ahead & stood in for it. At 8 a.m., the canoes began to come off. In the course of the forenoon was visited by sixty of them or there about & traded with them for cocoanuts & mats & nets &c &c. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 50 miles South.

Tuesday April 6th

Came in with fine weather & lght trades. At 2 p.m. raised Sydenham Island bearing North of us & stood for it. At 6 p.m. a few canoes came off to us with trade as usual. Finished with them & stood off S.E. Midnight calm, latter part much the same. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by obs. 01.19 South.

...

Friday April 9th

Came in with light trades, standing along by Sydenham on the west side of it under all sail. At 3 p.m. came off the canoes, cut us off & we traded with them. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. So ends these 24 hours. At 12 at Noon was within 10 miles of Simpsons Island.

Lat. by obs. 17 miles North.

Saturday April 10th

Came in with light trades coming off down the South side of Simpsons Island. At 6 a.m. had several canoes come off to us & traded with [them for] shells & mats & cocoanuts & a fine cock. Middle part fine. At daylight saw Woodle's [Kuria] Island & stood in for the west side of it. At 11 a.m. the canoes came off to us by Noon & commenced trading while standing along. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 18 miles North.

Sunday April 11th

Came in with light trades, standing along NNE under all sail. Employed trading with the natives of Woodle's Island for cocoanuts & shells &c &c Middle part fine, latter part much the same. At 8 a.m. saw Halls [Maiana] Island bearing WNW 13 miles dist. Latter part fine weather. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 17 miles North.

Monday April 12th

Came in with fine beautiful weather & light trades. At 1 p.m. tacked up SSE. Middle part fine. At 8 a.m. raised a shoal of sperm whales bound to N.E. Lowered 4 boats & chased. At 12 at Noon came up squally. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 23 miles North.

Tuesday April 13th

Came in squally. Employed chasing whales with vessel & boats. At 1 p.m. struck a whale & drew with both irons well put in, chased until 5 p.m. & came on board. Middle part fine working to windward under all sail. At 8 a.m. saw some killers took them to be sperm whales, lowered 4 boats in chase but discovering our mistake in a short time returned on board. Latter part fresh trades. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 27 miles North.

Wednesday April 14th

Came in with fine weatherh & fresh trades, working to windward under all sail. Middle part fine. At 8 a.m. saw Halls Island & run down under the lee of it & stood along by it. Latter part fresh trades. So ends these 24 hours. One canoe started from the [Tarawa] Island to come off but falling astern of us he gave up the chase & returned on shore.

Lat. by Obs. 59 miles North.

Thursday April 15th

Came in with strong trades, standing along NNE under all sail. At 1:30 raised Knox's Island ahead. At sundown shortened sail & hove to under the lee of it. Midle part fresh trades, latter part running off South Sony large(?). So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 46 miles North.

...

[The next few days were spent chasing whales, and catching two.]

...

Tuesday April 27th

Came in with fine weather. At 4 p.m. spoke the **Eliza Adams** of Fairhaven 10 months out 200 bbls of sperm, bound to NW Coast. At 12 Midnight parted company with him. Discharged William Tower & paid him all dues & demands at his own request to go in the above said ship. Latter part fine. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 38 miles S.

...

Friday April 30th

Came in with fine weather & light trades, course W by S going before the wind under all sail. At 2 p.m. saw Ocean [Banaba] Island ahead. At 6 p.m. luffed to the windward of it & shortened sail. Middle part fine. At 10 a.m. ran down to the North side of the *Island* but found the canoes & all trading for the time was tabooed. Hauled up to the

North & stood along. Latter part fine. So ends these 24 hours. Ocean Island Lat. 52 miles S, Long. by Chron. 169.32 East.

Lat. by Obs. 49 miles S.

This day Joseph [blank] was proved to be a thief, having stolen goods in his chest, in consequence of which the Captain has charged to his account the sum of all the things stolen on the voyage.

...

Cruising off Pleasant [Nauru] Island

Tuesday May 4th

Came in with fine weather & light trades, standing off W by S under all sail. At 2:30 raised Pleasant Island & stood for it. At 6 a.m. shortened sail & hove to. Middle part fine. At daylight, made sail & run down for the Island. At 10 a.m. several canoes came alongside with several Europeans in them with some hogs & fowls & a few cocoanuts to sell which was bought from them with tobacco principally. Latter part fine, canoes still towed astern. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Account 23 miles.

Lat. of the Island 20 miles South.

Long. by Chron. 167.02 East.

Wednesday May 5th

Came in with light airs & having natives still going on with the trading. At 5 p.m. finished with them for this time. Middle part fine, latter part much the same. Mechanics at word at their respective trades, sailors employed at sundry jobs picking running rigging &c. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 27 miles North.

...

Friday May 7th

Came in with fresh trades, running down for Pleasant Island. At 1 p.m. took some water alongside & took it in & at 4 p.m. filled up another raft & sent in for water by the natives sent in our boat & took off 3 bbls of sand. At 6 p.m. stood off the Island. At 1 a.m. tacked to the SE. At daylight all hands summoned setting shooks for water. At 9 a.m. run off for the Island. At 12 at noon hove to & took a raft of 5 casks alongside & took it in & gave them a few more casks & stood off again. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 32 miles

Lat. of the Island 34 miles.

Long. by Chron. 166.35

...

[30 more barrels of water was taken on board. They went back to Banaba and the Gilbert Islands. On 22 May, they raised a shoal of whales and caught 4 of them. On 28 May, they were back at Simpson's Island where they traded for coconuts, shells and chickens.]

Sunday May 30th

Came in with fine weather & fresh trades, standing up SE under the lee of Woodle's Island trading with the natives. Took in a white man by the name of George Campbell to work his passage to some other island for he did not consider his life safe on Woodle's Island. At 4 p.m. finished trading & stood to South under all sail. Middle part fine. At 5 p.m. tacked up N.E. At 9 a.m. stood off NNW for white water. At 10 a.m. luffed to the wind again. Latter part fine & nothing going on our mastheads & reading. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 23 miles South.

Long. by Chron. 173.40 East.

...
[On 1 May they passed Sydenham Island. The next day they traded with the natives of Simpson Island.]

Thursday May 3rd

... Took another white man off from this Island by name Richard Randell to work his passage to some other port...

Saturday June 5th

Came in with fine weather & fresh trades. At 1 p.m. the Capt. of the Barque **Ranger** of London came on board. He is 28 months out 900 sperm.¹ His boats have been fast to 4 whales today & did not get one. At 2 p.m. he went on board...

Sunday June 6th

Came in with fresh trades working to windward all sail gaining up to strange sail about 1 mile per hour dead to windward. At 6 p.m. spoke the Barque **Australian** of Sydney 2 months out 120 bbls sperm. At 10 p.m. parted company with him. Middle part fine still boiling. At 7 a.m. finished boiling. At 10 a.m. spoke **Ranger** of London, Capt. went on board to spend the day, latter part running off westward to spread chances, latter part employed working off. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs [blank]

Long. by Chron. 172.04 East.

...
[The Ranger remained in company over the next few days. On 23 June they were near Woodle's Island. On 28 June they were near Charlotte's Island. On 30 June they got coconuts from it. On 4 July, both the **Ranger** and the **Woodlark** were in sight. On 7 July they anchored on the west side of Sydenham's Island where they traded for more

1 Ed. note: Jones' Ships, pp. 172, 175-6, does report that the Ranger, Captain Cuthbert, left England in January 1845, was reported at the Bay of Islands in July 1847, at the Cape of Good Hope in May 1848, and back in London in August 1848.

articles from the shipwreck of the **Columbia**. On 14 July, they were at Nukunau and Peru Island.]

Thursday July 15th

Came in with light trades & passing rain squalls, standing SSE, Byron's [Nukunau] Island on weather bow. At 4 p.m. about 30 canoes came down to us with a few coconuts in each & some very good sinnet hats. There was 3 Europeans come off in the canoes. At 5 p.m. the canoes began to leave for the shore. At 7 p.m. found two seamen missing, James Trevor & James Jason or Crysson. They deserted the vessel & went on shore in some of the canoes. Middle part squally & variable winds heading off from E to SSE. Latter part fresh trades. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. by Obs. 02.12 S.

Long. by Chron. 176.30 East.

...

[The ship dropped in latitude and headed for Fiji shortly thereafter. They visited Sydney at the end of that year. After fishing on southern grounds for a while, they returned to Fiji, then to St. George's Channel, York Island, etc. back to Sydney and the southern grounds near New Zealand, etc. in 1848, when the log ends.]

Document 1847Z

The Eliza Adams, Captain Ephraim Harding, 1847-48

Sources: Log 436A in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 272; Log Inv. 1507. Voyage 1846-49.

Extracts from the log kept by Captain Harding

Journal of a voyage in ship Eliza Adams of Fairhaven continued from another journal commencing January 3rd 1847 see Account.

...
[The ship destination was the N.W. Coast, and then Kamchatka, Kurile Islands, Hawaiian Is., down to the equator, then towards Guam. The ship **South America** was in company. She was reported in the Gilberts a year earlier, in 1847, by ship **Alfred**.]

...
From the 27th of January [1848] to February 7th included, my sickness which prevented my writing during which time we stopped at several Islands amongst the King Mill Group to get fowls, coconuts &c.

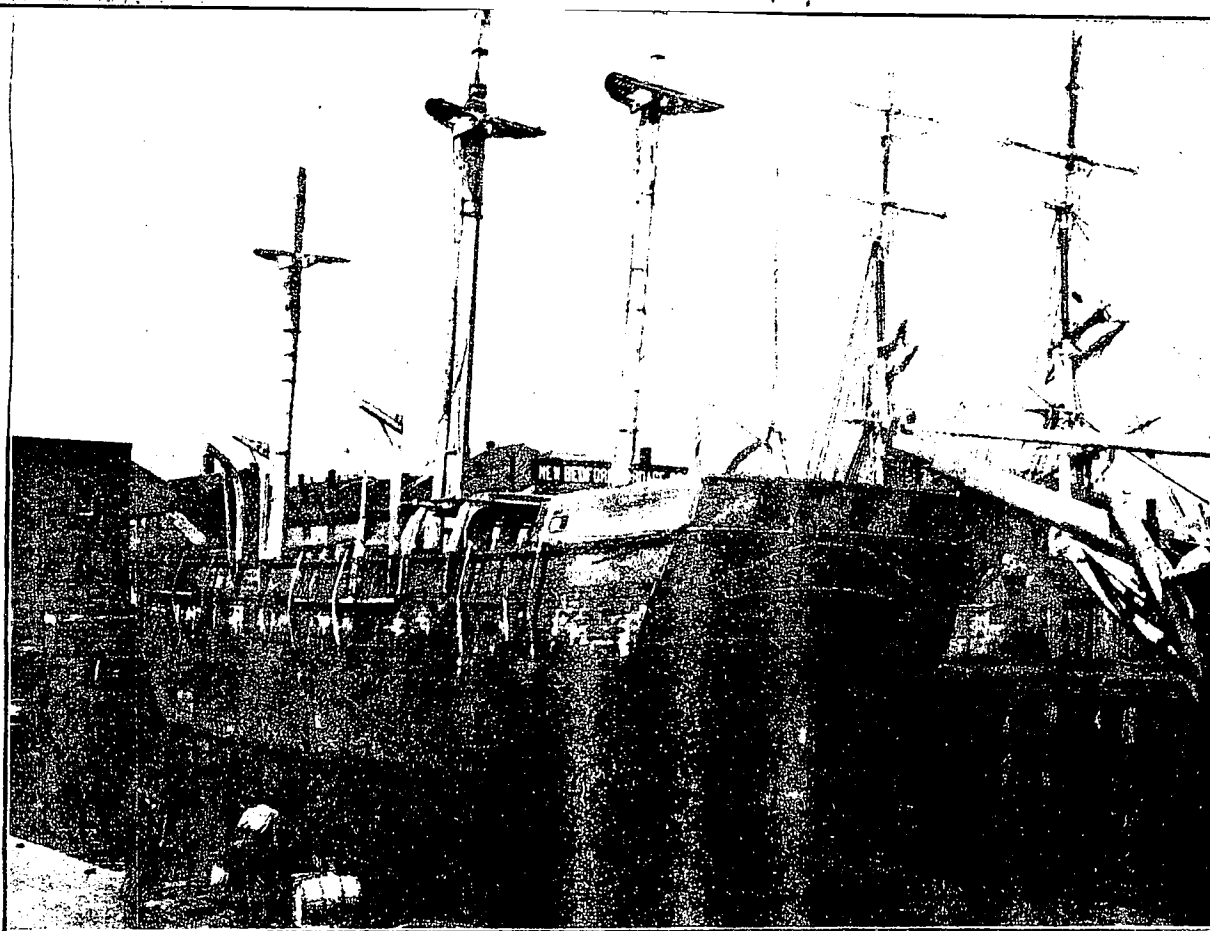
Monday February 7th

First part breeze from NNW standing in for Ocean [Banaba] Island. At 3 p.m. the wind shifted to the westward suddenly with heavy squalls, double reefed the topsails. **S. America** in company. At dark worked up to the land, but found it too rough to land, veered ship off shore, took in sail. Mid part very heavy squalls, close reefed the topsail. At daylight more pleasant, set the courses & topsails close reefed. Latter [part] the wind still continues to the westward, not a chance to land on the island, therefore, think best to stand to the North and abandon the idea of landing at all. So ends.

So mote it be!

...
Saturday February 19th

First part Wellington's [Mokil] Island, light breeze from the E steering W, Mid part calm. Latter [part] breeze from the S steering to SW by the wind, **S. America** in company. So ends.



Ship Eliza Adams. *Built in Fairhaven by Atkins Adams, named for his wife; arrived from her last voyage in 1887, sold at auction in 1895 and broken up soon after that.*

Lat. 7.7 N.

Sunday February 20th

First [part] light breeze from the S & squally, heading to SW by the wind. At dark, shortened sail, steered to W. Mid part saw the Island of "Ascension" [Pohnpei] bearing W distant of 40 miles. Latter [part] steering for the Land all sail set, **S. America** in company. So ends.

Monday February 21

First part light wind & calms, steering for the Land. Mid part squally, shortened sail, luffed to aback. At daylight more pleasant, kept off, made all sail set, steering in. So ends.

Tuesday February 22

First part light breeze, steering for the land. At 2 p.m. several canoes came off. At 3 sent a boat on shore to trade for Pigs. Mid part squally, lying off & on. Latter more pleasant, spoke the **Potomac** of Nantucket, 1600 bbls of sperm. At 12 the boat came off, run down for the lee port of the Island. So ends.

Wednesday February 23rd

First part light breeze. At 5 p.m. luffed to abreast of the Lee Harbour, heading off shore. Mid part lying off & on. At daylight stood in for the harbour. Latter [part] pleasant, sent the boat on shore. So ends.

Thursday February 24th

First part lying off & on. At 5 p.m. the boat returned with 50 iron [-wood] poles, 1 pig and a few fowls, made all sail, stood to sea. Mid part strong breeze, set the topsails, working out between Ascension and the Island of Augustine [Oroluk]. Latter more moderate, made all sail, steered off NW by W, wind from NE. So ends.

Lat. 7°47 N. Long. 157°01 E.

Friday February 25

First part strong trades, steering NW by W. Mid part squally. Latter more pleasant. So ends.

Lat. 9°39 Long. 154°40 E.

Ship Eliza Adams of Fairhaven towards "Guam" Ladrone Islands

Saturday February 26

First part strong trades from NE, steering NW by W, **S.A.** in company. Mid part the same. Latter stowed down 50 bbls of sperm oil in the main hatch.

Lat. 11°14 Long. 152°13

Sunday February 27

First part strong trades. Mid part the same. Latter strong trades, steering to SW. So ends.

Lat. 14°35 [Long.] 149°35

Monday February 28

First part strong trades, steering WSW. Mid part the same. Latter more moderate. So ends.

Lat. 14°32 Long. 147°05

Tuesday February 29

First part pleasant breeze from ENE, steering to SW, **S.A.** in company. Mid part the same. At daylight saw the Island of "Saypan" one of the "Ladrone" Isles. Latter steering to the SW along the land. So ends.

Lat. 15°03 N.

Wednesday March 1, 1848

First part stood in for the Land. At 3 p.m. sent a boat on shore to trade. At dark returned, could not get anything, stood for the Isle of "Rota." Mid part light breeze. At daylight abreast of the village. Latter fine weather, boat on shore trading. So ends.

Thursday March 2nd

First part ship lying off & on. At 4 p.m. boat came off with some Hogs, yams & Fowls &c. Mid part lying off & on. Latter the same, sent the boat on shore. So ends.

Friday March 3rd

First part light breeze. At 2 p.m. the boat came off with coconuts, Hogs, Fowls, Potatoes. Kept off SSW for "Guam" for wood & water. Mid part lying off & on the port. At daylight stood in. Latter strong trades. At 8 a.m. took a Pilot. At 10 came to anchor in Port Apra "Guam" 21 fathoms of water, furlled the sails. So ends.

From the 3rd to the 25th of March

Lying in port for wood & water.

Saturday March 25th 1848

Latter part of these 24 hours strong trades, everything on board. So ends.

Sunday March 26

First part strong trades. At 2 p.m. the pilot came on board, got under way & stood to sea. At 3 the Pilot left, steered NW [by] N, unbent chains, lashed anchors &c. Mid part the same. Latter strong winds. So ends.

Lat. 15°19 N. Long 142°46 E.

...

[The ship then went to the Japan Sea, the Hawaiian Islands, then home.]

Notes 1847AB

Chronicle of the Mariana Islands, from 1847 to 1899

Part 1: The diary kept by Father Vicente Acosta, 1847-1854

Published sources: As a series of articles, Fr. Ibañez' Diary, as published in the Guam Recorder, in 1926 and 1937; as a booklet, Chronicle of the Mariana Islands (Guam, MARC, 1976; te-edited in 1998).

Some historical notes.

The diary of Fr. Acosta, Rector of the College of Agaña from 1846 to 1854, and a member of the Parish of Agaña until his departure from Guam in 1857, was thought to have been a good idea by his successors, Fathers Aniceto Ibañez and Francisco Resano. So, they continued to maintain this chronicle, albeit on an irregular basis.

According to Fr. García,¹ an official copy of (at least part of) the original document is supposedly to be found **within** the "*Libro de defunciones*" in the convent of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers at Intramuros, Manila, and is entitled: "*Libro de cosas notables de la parroquia de Agaña*" [List of notable events of the Parish of Agaña], by Father Resano. The unabridged original is said to be in the archives of the Recollect Fathers at their mother house in Spain, located at Marcilla, south of Pamplona, in Navarra Province, as Carpeta [File] 48.

Be that as it may, as stated by the editors of the (English) translation of the (abridged) diaries, a short version of these combined journals was made by Father Juan Pons, Jesuit, living in Saipan, and sent to a Spanish priest, a Franciscan then working at Agaña, Fr. Pastor de Arrayoz, in 1936. Other people made copies for themselves, e.g. Mrs. Higgins. Finally, this version was also used for translation and publication in the Guam Recorder before World War II. It was also used to make the above-noted Chronicle published by MARC.

As for the last author, Fr. Resano, he had been forced to leave Guam and move to Saipan in 1899, and he had no doubt brought along the important original document. Fr. Resano left Saipan for good in 1907 to go to Manila, and then Spain. One of his catechists, Gregorio Sablan-Díaz, must have had access to the document, before 1907,

¹ In an article published in the Bulletin of the Province of San Nicolás, in 1964.

or to yet another copy left at Saipan by Fr. Resano, for two reasons: in 1936, he made his copy available to Father Pons, and in 1937, he translated a summary of this set of it into Chamorro, under the title: "*Kadada na historian Marianas*" [A short history of the Marianas]. The Japanese anthropologist, Mr. Izui, saw this ms. book and quoted from it. Now then, Mr. Sablan became the first Mayor of Saipan after the war, but died the following year, 1945, according to yet another historian of Saipan, U.S. Army Lieut. Taylor. The Sablan 'book' was soon lost and cannot possibly have been the direct source for the present work, which I will summarize into a five-part document, as follows:

- Part I: The diary kept by Fr. Acosta (Doc. 1847AB);
- Part II: The diary kept by Fr. Ibañez, 1855-77 (Doc. 1855AK);
- Part III: The diary kept by Fr. Resano, 1877-86 (Doc. 1877E);
- Part IV: The diary kept by Fr. Ibañez, 1887-92 (Doc. 1887AK);
- Part V: The diary kept by Fr. Resano, 1893-99 (Doc. 1893W).

Extracts from the diary of Father Acosta.

—On 23 May 1847, a severe typhoon hit Guam, damaging most of the trees and many crops.

—On 29 June 1848, a severe rain storm hit the island and caused extensive floods and destruction.

—On 2 January 1849, a severe influenza epidemic was brought to Guam by a ship which had come from Hawaii. Over 200 people perished as a result, and were buried in a special plot at Adelup Point.

—On 24 January 1849, there was a terrible earthquake which toppled the bell tower of the church of Agaña and cracked the walls of all the stone buildings on the island, including the College of Guam which lost all its tiles. Between that fateful date and March 11th, there were 150 aftershocks felt at Agaña.

—The Manila Government sent a chartered ship, the **Union**, with relief supplies, including money from donations, rice, corn, mongo beans, and 100,000 tiles.

—In 1851, Fr. Acosta travelled to Manila on business.

—On 15 May 1855, the brigantine **Consuelo** brought Governor Felipe María de la Corte.¹

1 Ed. note: For Part II, see Doc. 1855P.

Documents 1848E

Correspondence of Governor Perez for 1848

Sources: Safford's Papers, N° 3, in LC Mss. Div.; his notes, pp. 236-259.

E1. Index of his correspondence for the 1848-1855 period

Original text in Spanish.

Yndice de la correspondencia que se remite al Exmo. Sr. Gobernador y Capitan Gral. de las Yslas Filipinas por el bergantin Goleta Sumbilla procedente de Manila.

Fechas

8 Sept. 1848 Participando la toma de posesion del Gobierno Militar y Politico de estas Yslas Don Pablo Perez y remicion del testimonio.

8 Sept. 1848 Otro de la toma de posecion de su destino al Teniente Gobernador de las mismas Don Juan Ruis Roda.

28 Sept. 1848 Yd. por la elevacion al Sumo Pontificio de Nuestro Santo Padre Pio 9°

28 Sept. 1848 De haberse publicado un bando para la Circulacion por 1ª vez de los Cuartos benidos de la Peninsula con el valor de 20 en cada real y remitiendo una acta de Junta celebrada para que los cuartos circulen tambien de à diez y siete en real.

28 Sept. 1848 Haverse celebrado los regios enlaces de S.M. la Reyna y su Augusta hermana.

30 Sept. 1848 Remitiendo Duplicados estados del numero de la Poblacion para la formacion de la guia de Forasteros.

30 Sept. 1848 Remitiendo el estado de los buques que han fondeado en estos Puertos desde Enero à la fecha.

20 Oct. 1848 Dando parte de Baguio del dia 10 de Agosto refiriendose à los tres del año proximo pasado y que de sus consecuencias hay en el dia escaseo de todos los articulos de 1ª necesidad y pidiendo su remedio .

20 Oct. 1848 Sobre las clases de maderas que produce esta Ysla de Guajan dando à cada una su aplicacion del uso que de ella se hace.

24 Oct. 1848 Remitiendo una solicitud de Don Juan Anderson pidiendo se le señale algun sueldo.

*10 Nov. 1848 Dando parte de la llegada de las Bancas de la Ysla de Tinian que conduce las cargas de la Hazienda y cinco hombres Yngleses salvados de un naufragio en dicha Ysla y se suplica para que en semejantes casos se socorra con lo preciso para su subsistencia à los naufragos que lleguen à esta Ysla por la Fragata Francesa **Mancha**.*

1º Enero 1849 Yncluye el acta de Elecciones de ministros de Justicia de esta Ciudad y relacion de los que han sido elegidos en los pueblos restantes y se hace presente se suprimen en los cinco pueblos inmediatos el Gobernadorcillo, Alguacil y Juez, que en aumentar dos la Ciudad estará bien servido el termino de todos.

1º Enero 1849 Se suplica la remision para esta Isla de algun nº de presidiarios de oficios incluso el de labradores. Puentes y Caminos destruidos por los frecuentes baquios.

31 Enero 1849 Dando parte de una enfermedad catarral que atacó à un gran numero de personas en estas Islas, y acompaña una acta celebrada en la que se acordó se alimentan à las personas que carecian de todo recurso.

31 Enero 1849 Dando parte del fallecimiento del presbitero Don Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo Cura Párroco que era de la isla de Rota.

12 Marzo 1849 Otro sobre un temblor de tierra ó terremoto que hubo en el dia 25 de Enero último con inclusion de dos relaciones, una de los daños causados y otra de los temblores havidos en los dias y oras que en el se espresan.

12 Marzo 1849 Dando parte de no haber ocurrido ninguna novedad en la tranquilidad pública de estas Islas, que las enfermedades ya cesaron como tambien el alimentar à los enfermos necesitados.

12 Marzo 1849 Remision de un estado general de la poblacion y de la riqueza territorial correspondiente al año 1848.

20 Abril 1849 Otro sobre la llegada de las Bancas de los Carolinos de la Ysla de Satawal y Lamursec suplicando en la Ysla de Saypan por efecto de un gran terremoto, y en seguida una inundacion que hizo desaparecer à dichas Islas la mar por algunas horas.

10 Mayo 1849 De no haber ocurrido novedad esta; y que los temblores siguen repitiendose casi diariamente aunque pequeños.

10 Mayo 1849 Acompaña con informe una solicitud de William E. George Cirujano Yrlandes para establecerse en esta Isla.

3 Dec. 1849 Acompaña un Estado que comprende la Escuela que hay en estas Yslas, sus Maestros y Dotaciones y Arvitrios que las costean.

9 Nov. 1850 Referente à la intervencion de los curas sobre los trabajos comunales.

*20 Enero 1851 Acompaña con informe el escrito presentado por Don Serapio San Juan y Compª en el que solicita se conceda navegar en este archipiélago la Goleta **Secret**.*

6 Marzo 1851 Remitiendo sobre el reconocimiento de la referida Barca su condena y venta judicial pedida por su Capitan.

*5 Abril 1851 Otro sobre las dos sumarias formadas, la 1ª en averiguacion de la falta de varios marineros de los barcos fondeados en este Puerto; y fundadas sospechas de haberlos llebado el Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera Anglo Americana **Arma-ta** y la 2ª sobre disgustos que hubo en la Fragata **Boy** de la misma procedencia.*

29 Abril 1851 Otro sobre las diligencias formadas à consecuencia de la fuga de dos mugeres y sus consecuencias.

*17 Oct. 1851 Dando parte de la llegada en este Puerto del Bergantin **Clavileño** conduciendo 65 confinados que desembarcaron y dos que murieron en el viage con dos otros puntos referentes à lo mismo.*

30 Nov. 1851 Dando parte de la Sublebacion de los confinados ocurrida la noche del 8 al 9 de este mes contra el Gobierno de quererse acometer à la fuerza armada.

30 Nov. 1851 Remitiendo el acta de lo acordado en Junta el dia 10 de este mes conteniendo 7 articulos de precauciones y determinaciones tomadas a consecuenciaq de la sublevacion.

*13 Enero 1852 Que pidio voluntariamente al Teniente Don José Martinez la conduccion de los 63 confinados reos en el Bergantin Goleta **Clavileño** llevando à sus órdenes 2 Cabos y 12 soldados con otras proposiciones que en él se espresan.*

*13 Enero 1852 Remitiendo las actas originales de lo acordado en Junta para la remision à Manila y copias legalizadas de los oficios que han mediado entre el Gobierno el consignatorio del Bergantin **Clavileño**.*

*13 Enero 1852 Remitiendo en el Bergantin **Clavileño** los 63 confinados à disposicion del Exmo. Sor. Capitan General con relacion de sus nombres y patrias y la sumaria formada aqui.*

13 Enero 1852 Que el confinado Feliciano Granado dio parte à este Gobierno del plan que tenian formado sus compañeros que estaban en el pueblo de Agat para apoderarse de las armas y se suplica su entera libertad por el grande servicio que hizo à estas Yslas.

13 Enero 1852 Que el Teniente Don José Martinez Comandante de la escolta que conduce à los confinados solo disfruta diez pesos mensuales y que no es suficiente para cubrir sus primeras necesidades mientras esta en esa Capital esperando le designe alguna gratificacion anexa à esta Comision y el plus de la tropa.

6 Mayo 1852 Dando parte no haber ocurrido ninguna novedad en la salud y tranquilidad pública de estas Islas pero en uno de los dias de Abril hubo una dilacion en el confesionario de que se formaba en el pueblo una conspiracion por los efectos à los confinados y por igual causa se remitieron à la superioridad.

18 Oct. 1852 Remitiendo con informe las instancias presentadas por los RR.PP. Cura Fr. Modesto Lesma y Fr. Juan Fernandez.

20 Oct. 1852 De haberse celebrado en los dias 11 y 12 el natalicio de la Augusta Princesa heredera del Trono D166 Maria Ysabel.

29 Nov. 1852 De haber puesto al Ayudante Mayor Don José Martinez, à descuento de 3 pesos mensuales de su haber, por no haber hecho ninguna diligencia para traer las muchas prisiones con que fueron asegurados los confinados que cono-

dujo à Manila en el Bergantin Clavileño acompañando relacion de ellas y sus precios.

21 Dec. 1853 Dando parte de haberse hecho 14 puentes de madera y 8 alcantarillas de piedra.

7 Abril 1854 Consulta sobre obras públicas.

7 Abril 1854 Remitiendo las diligencias sobre los bailes y comedias representadas en la noche de los tres Reyes y à su final [sic] los oficios originales recibidos del Rdo. Pe. Cura y copias legalizadas de sus contestaciones.

*15 Abril 1854 Dando parte de haber llegado 29 pasajeros naufragos en dos buques Balleneros en 28 de Marzo y salen para Manila en la Goleta **Secret**.*

7 Dic. 1854 Sobre la llegada à esta Isla con superior pasaporte el Agente Comercial de los Estados Unidos de America Mr. Samuel J. Masters y su Secretario D. G. S. Van Ingen.

7 Dic. 1854 Transcribiendo al Rdo. Pe. Cura de esta Ciudad Fr. Vicente Acosta las superiores comunicaciones de 2 de Enero, 18 de Mayo y 6 de Octubre. La 1ª por haber sido admitido la renuncia que hizo de este curato. La 2ª espediendo titulo para servirle del curato de esta Ciudad en favor de Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, y la 3ª por haber sido relevado del Vicariato por el Excmo. Ylmo. Señor Obispo de Cebú dicho Fr. Acosta.

15 Enero 1855 Consulta sobre derechos de Yglesia en fiestas del pueblo acompañando dos acuerdos y un oficio del Rd. Cura de esta Ciudad.

16 Enero 1855 Remitiendo una Sumaria de 154 folios justificando haberse excedido este Rdo Cura en cobrar mas derechos Parroquiales que los prevenidos por el Arancel y creados otros por solo su voluntad.

Translation.

Index of the correspondence being forwarded to His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the PHilippine Islands aboard the brigantine Sumbilla that came from Manila.

Dates

8 Sept. 1848 Document regarding the transfer of command of the Military and Political Government of these Islands to Pablo Perez and transmittal of the record of proceedings. [See E2 below]

8 Sept. 1848 Another record regarding the transfer of command of the post of Lieutenant-Governor to Juan Ruiz Roda. [E3 below]

28 Sept. 1848 Another record regarding the assumption of power by His Holiness Pope Pius IX.¹

28 Sept. 1848 Regarding the publication of a proclamation for the circulation for the first time of the quarters that came from Spain that have a value of 20 [ma-

1 Ed. note: A *Te Deum* mass was celebrated in the church of Agaña on 18 September.

ravedis] for each real and forwarding a decision made by the meeting that took place to let the quarters circulate also with a value of 17 per real. [E4 below]

28 Sept. 1848 Regarding the royal nuptials of H.M. the Queen and her august sister.¹

30 Sept. 1848 Forwarding census reports for inclusion in the Guide for Foreigners, in duplicate.

30 Sept. 1848 Forwarding the list of the ships that have anchored in these ports since January to date. [E5 below]

20 Oct. 1848 Reporting the typhoon of 10 August, with mention of last year's typhoon, the lack of all products of first necessity that resulted as a consequence of them, and requesting assistance. [E6 below]

20 Oct. 1848 Regarding the types of wood produced by this island of Guam, with mention of the use made of each. [E7 below]

24 Oct. 1848 Forwarding a request of John Anderson for a salary.

10 Nov. 1848 Reporting the arrival of canoes from the Island of Tinian with a load for the Administration and with five Englishmen who survived a shipwreck in said Island and a request is made for a specific fund to assist shipwreck survivors in similar cases and those coming to this island aboard the French whaler **La France**. [E8 below]

1 Jan. 1849 Enclosing the record of the Elections of the ministers of justice of this City and the list of those who have been elected in the other villages, with mention of the abolition of the posts of mayor, constable and judge in the five immediate villages, and the addition of two more for the City, in the interest of a better service for all. [See Doc. 1849..]

1 Jan. 1849 Request for the shipment to this island of a number of convicts with a knowledge of some trade, including farmers. Bridges and roads destroyed by the frequent typhoons.

21 Jan. 1849 Reporting a catarrh ailment that attacked a large number of persons in these islands, enclosing the decision taken by a meeting to the effect that food is to be given to those in extreme need.

31 Jan. 1849 Reporting the death of the priest, Fr. Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, the former Curate of the Island of Rota.

12 March 1849 Report about an earthquake that occurred on 25 January last, enclosing two accounts, one about the resulting damages, the other about the tremors that occurred on dates and times mentioned therein.

12 March 1849 Reporting the fact that nothing remarkable occurred regarding public order in these Islands, that the illnesses have now stopped, as well as the emergency food supplies given to needy patients.

1 Ed. note: The marriage of Queen Isabel II to her cousin Francisco de Asissi, and that of her sister to Louis Philippe's son, the Duke of Montpensier were celebrated at Agaña with great rejoicing and the illumination of the streets.

12 March 1849 Forwarding a general census of the population and of the territorial wealth for the year 1848.

20 April 1849 Another report regarding the arrival of Carolinian canoes from the Island of Satawal and Lamotrek, with their request to go to the Island of Saipan, resulting from the strong earthquake that was followed by a rise of the sea that made said islands disappear under water for a few hours.

10 May 1849 Reporting the lack of news, except for the almost daily occurrence of small earth tremors.

10 May 1849 Report enclosing the request of William E. George, Irish surgeon, for residence in this Island.

3 Dec. 1849 Forwarding a report regarding the school that exists in these Islands, its teachers and the excise taxes that support them.

9 Nov. 1850 Referring to the intervention of the curates in community projects.

20 Jan. 1851 Report enclosing the petition presented by Serapio San Juan and Co. for the granting of a licence for the schooner **Secreta** to sail in this archipelago.

6 March 1851 Forwarding the report of inspection of the above-mentioned vessel, her condemnation and official sale by her captain.

5 April 1851 Another report about two legal investigations: firstly, into the lack of various sailors aboard the ships anchored in this port, and reasonable suspicions about the Captain the Anglo-American whaler named **Armata** having carried them off; secondly, into disturbances aboard the whaler **Boy** of the same nationality.

29 April 1851 Another report concerning the proceedings undertaken as a result of two women having run away, and consequences thereof.

17 Oct. 1851 Reporting the arrival at this port of the brigantine **Clavileño** bringing 65 prisoners who disembarked and two who died during the voyage, with two other points regarding this matter.

30 Nov. 1851 Reporting the uprising of the prisoners that occurred during the night of the 8th to the 9th of this month against the Government, with the intention of taking it over by violent means.

30 Nov. 1851 Forwarding the record of proceedings of a meeting that took place on the 10th of this month, containing 7 articles of precautions and decisions taken as a result of the uprising.

13 Jan. 1852 Regarding Lieutenant José Martinez having volunteered to escort the 63 prisoners aboard the brigantine **Clavileño**, and having under his orders 2 Corporals and 12 soldiers, with other proposals that are mentioned therein.

13 Jan. 1852 Forwarding the original records of proceedings of the decisions taken in a meeting for the remittal to Manila and certified copies of the letters that have passed between the government and the supercargo of the brigantine **Clavileño**.

13 Jan. 1852 Forwarding aboard the brigantine **Clavileño** the 63 prisoners and placing them at the disposition of His Excellency the Gaptain General, with a list of their names and hometowns, and the summary investigation that took place here.

13 Jan. 1852 Reporting the fact that one of the prisoners, Feliciano Granado, warned this Government of the plot by his companions living at Agat to take up arms, and a request is made for him to be set free, on account of the great service he did for these islands.

13 Jan. 1852 Reporting that Lieutenant José Martinez, Commander of the escort that accompanies the prisoners is paid only 12 pesos per month and this is not sufficient for him to look after his basic needs when he will be in that capital, hoping that he be allotted some extra allowance to go with his Commission, and extra allowances for the troop.

6 May 1852 Reporting the lack of news regarding public health and order in these Islands, except that some time in April there was a declaration made in the confessional to the effect that a conspiracy was being planned in the village on account of the effects of the prisoners and for this reason they were turned over to the authorities.

18 Oct. 1852 Forwarding a report about the request made by the Rev. Fathers Modesto Lesma and Juan Fernandez.

20 Oct. 1852 Reportinting the celebration that took place on the 11th and 12th on the occasion of the birthday of Her Highness María Isabel, heir to the Throne.

29 Nov. 1852 Reporting that Senior Adjutant José Martinez had 3 pesos per month taken from his pay credits, for having taken no measures for the recuperation of the many shackles which the prisoners had used during their transport to Manila aboard the brigantine **Clavileño**, enclosing a list of them and their prices.

21 Dec. 1853 Reporting the construction of 14 wooden bridges and 8 stone culverts.

7 Apr. 1854 Consultation regarding public works.

7 April 1854 Forwarding the record of proceedings regarding the dances and stage presentations that took place on the night of the [feast of the] Three Kings and at the end the original messages received from the Rev. Fr. Curate and certified copies of answers made to them.

15 April 1854 Reporting the arrival of 29 passengers, the survivors of the shipwrecks of two whalers on 29 March, and their departure for Manila aboard the schooner **Secret**.

7 Dec. 1854 Regarding the arrival at this Island, with a passport issued by the superior government, of the Commercial Agent for the United States of America, Mr. Samuel J. Masters and his Secretary, D. G. S. Van Ingen.

7 Dec. 1854 Forwarding to the Rev. Fr. Curate of this City, Fr. Vicente Acosta, the superior orders dated 2 January, 18 May and 6 October. The first order is the acceptance of his renunciation of the post of curate; the second granting the title of curate of this City to Fr. Aniceto Ibañez; and the third recording the order of His Excellency the Bishop of Cebu for the replacement of Fr. Acosta as Vicar [forane].

15 Jan. 1855 Consultation held regarding the rights of the Church regarding popular entertainments, enclosing two agreements and a letter from the Rev. Curate of this City.

16 Jan. 1855 Forwarding a case file of 154 folios proving that this Rev. Curate had imposed excessive parish fees, beyond those provided by the Tariffs and had created others on his own will.

E2. First letter dated 8 September 1848

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Doy parte á V.E. que en esta fecha he tomado posesion del Gobierno M. y P. de estas Islas como verá V.E. por el adjunto testimonio que devidamente acompaño, hallandolas en la mayor tranquilidad y órden, manifestando sus pacificos havitantes el mejor sentido de obediencia y adhesion á S.M. y muy satisfechos de la disposicion, celo é integridad del Gobernador interino Don Felix Calvo Administrador en ellas de la Real Hacienda.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 8 de Septiembre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

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

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I report to Y.E. that on this date I have taken possession of the Military and Political Government of these Islands, as Y.E. will see in the record of proceedings that I duly enclose. The Islands are now quiet and orderly, and their inhabitants show themselves to be peaceful and ready to obey and show their affection to H.M. They have been very satisfied with the disposition, zeal and integrity of the interim Governor Felix Calvo, the local Administrator of Finance.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 8 September 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

E3. Second letter dated 8 September 1848

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

En esta fecha he puesto en posesion de su destino al Teniente Gobernador de estas Islas Don Juan R. Roda haciendolo entrega de las Causas Civiles y Criminales que existian en el Archivo de este Gobierno, todas terminadas tambien otros documentos que deben pertenecer desde ahora al juzgado que queda á su cargo, todo por inventario en forma.

Para señalar las funciones correspondientes á este destino de nueva creacion creí hallar en este Gobierno algun reglamento ó Providencia que las marcára, pero no habiendolo, suplico á V.E. se sirva remitirme uno para que nos evite las dudas que puedan ocurrir y que por la grande distancia y poca proporcion de buques haran tardias las resoluciones, aunque por mi parte y lo mismo espero por la del Teniente Gobernador allanaremos entre si cualquiera duda que ocurra, pero siempre es combeniente el que cada uno sepa cual es la parte á que debe atender.

Lo que pongo en conocimiento de V.E. para los efectos que estime combeniente.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 8 de Septiembre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

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

Translation.

Your Excellency:

On this date I have installed Juan Ruiz Roda in his post as Lieutenant-Governor of these Islands and turned over to him the civil and criminal cases that existed in the archive of this government, all completed, and also other documents that must belong to the justice portfolio from now on; all of these files were listed under a proper inventory.

In order to comply with the terms of reference of this newly- created post, I thought I would find some regulation or measure about the matter here, but there is not any. I beg Y.E. to please send me one, so as to avoid any doubt that might occur and that the great distance and few opportunity of ships would create delays in making decisions, although on my part and on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, I hope, we will resolve any doubt between ourselves, but it would be better for each one of us to know what his responsibilities are.

This is what I have to report to Y.E. for purposes that you may find appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 8 September 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

E4. Letter dated 20 September 1848

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El día 18 del corriente se publicó en esta Ciudad y pueblos de su comprension un bando por la circulacion por primera vez de los cuartos venidos de la Peninsula y continuacion de los antiguos faltos remitidos por ese Superior Gobierno en 16 de Agosto de 1821 formando para el efecto la junta que previos en la que se acordo lo que V.E. verá por la adjunta acta que con respecto acompaño en la que se refieren los anteriores determinaciones por iguales juntas para que los espresados cuartos antiguos sigan circulando como hasta aqui con el valor de 17 en real mientras que V.E. determine lo que halle mas conveniente.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 20 de Septiembre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

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

Translation.

Your Excellency:

On the 18th instant, there was published in this City and the villages in its vicinity a proclamation regarding the circulation for the first time of the quarters that came from Spain, and the validity of the old short coins that had been sent by that Superior Government on 16 August 1821. A meeting was held to that effect, in which it was agreed what Y.E. will see in the record of proceedings, which I respectfully enclose, what previous decisions were referred to by other meetings. to allow the old quarters to continue to circulate, as they have until now, with the value of 17 [maravedis] per real, until Y.E. should decide what you may find appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 20 September 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

E5. Ships that visited Guam (list not included)—Letter dated 30 September 1848

Note: This list could possibly be found, with the original file, in PNA.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Acompaño á V.E. una relacion de los buques que han fondeado en los Puertos de esta Isla, desde 1º de Enero del presente año hasta la fecha, con expresion de su procedencia, cargamento, tripulacion y nombres de los Capitanes y demas circunstancias que se manifiestan.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 30 de Septiembre de 1848.

Exmo Sor.

P. Perez

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

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I forward to Y.E. a list of the ships that have anchored in the ports of this Islands, between 1 January of this year and this date, with mention of their origin, load, crew and the names of the captains and other circumstances mentioned therein.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 30 September 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. Perez

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

E6. First letter dated 20 October 1848—Typhoons

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

A los daños causados por los tres Baguios el año proximo pasado sufrieron estas Yslas y la grande inundacion de 28 de Junio del presente como V.E. habria visto por los partes de 17 de Octubre del año pasado y 8 de Agosto último se agrega otro fuerte baguio que duró toda la noche del 10 de Agosto que derribo la mayor parte de las casas, Yglesias y arbolados de todas clases respetados por los anteriores, de cuyas resultas las siembras de Maiz y de Palay se han remplazado en lo posible pero la multitud de cocos y platanos, rimas y otros arboles frutales que derrivó, dejan un hueco irreparable para estos habitantes á lo menos por 2 ó 3 años. Los edificios se estan levantando con la actividad que permite la escases de comestibles, pues que faltandoles las raices de camote, dago y gabe de que usan mucho destruidas por la inundacion referida temen que recurrir á buscar en los montes las pocas frutas que quedaron, que aunque nocivas usan de ellas por último recurso. La que llaman federico preparandola para hacerla desprender la parte venenosa que tiene es la que mas abundan y de corriente de la que mas uso hacen, y á pesar de sus precauciones todos son de opinion de que perjudica á la salud.

Por estas repetidas desgracias se hallan estas Yslas en tal escases que si Dios no favorece las nuevas siembras de palay, maiz y raices referidas nuevamente sembradas es de temer perezieran muchos de hambre.

Ya que la Real Hacienda no tubo por combeniente remitir con el situado que llevo conmigo los 1,500 cavanos de palay que en 23 de Abril último pidio el Administrador Gobernador interino como necesario para racionar y salvar de la indigencia à estos naturales, sirvase V.E. invitar al comercio para que si alguno le conviene hacer un viaje con dicho grano que yo he comprado à tres pesos cavan y conmuevo que haciendonos con ello una caridad puede de seguro contra con(?) la utilidad que le ofresca especulacion dirigida à otro punto.

Ademas del referido grano puede tambien con utilidad traer otros articulos de comestibles y telas, pues haviendose debuelto à esa Capital por orden de la Superintendencia toda la existencia que havia en la tienda que hace muchos años tenia aqui la Real Hacienda es otra calamidad para estas Islas, por carecer de repuesto con que remplazar lo que en el dia usan. Por esta falta se verán en la dura necesidad de tomar de los buques Balleneros que arrivan aqui, sus pocas y ordinarias telas, y tal vez hacerselas pagar à mayor precio que si fuesen finas. Esto mismo preveyo un antecesor al hacerlo presente à V.E. en su comunicacion de 17 de Diciembre de 1846. Si el comercio nacional no se anima à extender sus especulaciones à estas Yslas se las obliga de hecho à ser tributantes de los extrangeros en la parte que dejo dicho por falta de capitales y buques en estos naturales para hacer por si viages à Manila y proporcionarselo mas preciso para vivir. El Gobernador les verá con sumo dolor perecer de hambre y desnudez sin poderlos remediar ni socorrer, porque tambien à le alcanzarán y V.E. no mirará esto con indiferencia. La Real Hacienda al mandar retirar los efectos de la tienda lo habrá hecho con justas razones y careciendo estas Yslas de todo recurso à V.E. le corresponde tomar el partido mas conveniente.

No quisiera proponer à V.E. el único que veo por ahora si el comercio no se anima à extender à esta sus viages, ni la Real Hacienda la conviene volver à establecer la tienda porque no se tome por mira de especulacion mia de lo que estoy lejos; pues como Militar desde mi juventud, el sueldo desde la ultima clase de Milicias hasta con el de la que hoy obtengo me ha sido suficiente para vivir y dar decoro à mis empleos y persona, pero Exmo. Sor. conozco las necesidades de estas Yslas y faltandolas los recursos que antes tenia en la tienda no queda medio de remplazarles despues de los dos propuestos, sino el de exceptuar al Gobernador de Marianas de los efectos de la Real orden de 23 de Junio de 1847 publicada en el superior bando de 15 de Octubre del mismo año que como debe suponerse, es la persona mas relacionada en Manila, para pedir los recursos de primera necesidad; pues el haverla incluido en la regla general de prohibicion de comercio seria en el concepto de tener estos naturales en la tienda cuanto les hacia falta, de lo contrario no hubieran tal vez sido estas Yslas comparadas con ninguna Provincia del Archipiélago Filipino, que si al Alcalde ó Gobernador se le prohíbe, hay muchisimos particulares que les surtan de cuanto desean. V.E. con sus altas facultades podrá por este ú otro cualquiera medio librar à estas Yslas de caer en la total miseria, protextando por mi parte no moverme el interes personal, y es el bien del pais que V.E. en nombre de S.M. (q.D.g.) confio á mi cuidado.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 20 de Octubre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

[A1] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

To the damages caused by the three typhoons that these Islands suffered last year, and the great flood of 28 June of this year, that Y.E. would have read about in the reports of 17 October last and 8 August last, must be added another strong typhoon that lasted the whole night of 10 August which demolished most of the houses, churches and trees of all types which the previous typhoons had not been touched by the previous storms. As a result the corn and rice crops have been replaced by the large number of coconuts and bananas, breadfruits and fruits from other trees that were toppled, but there will be an irreparable gap over the next 2 or 3 years. The buildings are being rebuilt slowly, on account of the lack of food; indeed, as the root crops (sweet potatoes, *dago, gabe*) which they use a lot, have been destroyed by the above-mentioned flood, they fear that they might have to go out into the bush for the few fruits, though harmful, that have been left, which they use as a last resort. I am referring to what they call *federico*, which they prepare by removing the poisonous part; it is the fruit they use that is most available and which they normally use the most and, in spite of their precautions, they are all of the opinion that it harms their health.¹

On account of these repeated tragedies, these Islands are now in such need that, unless God does not favor the newly-planted rice, corn, and roots, they will surely perish of hunger.

Given that the Royal Treasury did not find it appropriate to send with the subsidy that arrived with me the 1,500 cavans of rice that the Administrator and interim Governor had requested on 23 April last, as being necessary to provide rations and save these natives from poverty, Y.E. should please issue an invitation to the traders, in case one of them should find it convenient to make a voyage with said cereal which I have bought at 3 pesos per cavan, and my contention is that he would not only do us a favor but also find a way to make some profit that he would not otherwise make by making a speculative trip somewhere else.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereal, he could also profitably bring other articles, such as food items and clothing; indeed, since all the supplies that were in the store kept by the Royal Treasury here a few years ago have been sent back by order of the Superintendent's office, this is another calamity for these Islands, as they lack the spare supplies to replace what they use today. On account of this shortage, they will

1 Ed. note: In modern times, it was proven that the fruits of the *federico* palm, or *Cycas circinalis*, are indeed poisonous and cause an illness of the nervous system, similar to Parkinson's disease, and premature death.

find themselves in the hard necessity of taking from the whaling ships that visit here, their scarce but ordinary cloth, and perhaps charge them a greater price than fine cloth would fetch. This very problem had been predicted by a predecessor of mine, who did so in a letter to Y.E. dated 17 December 1846. If our national traders cannot decide to extend their especulations to these Islands, they force them to become tributories to foreigners, in matter of trade, for lack of capital and ships belonging to these natives in order to make voyages to Manila and acquire for themselves the necessities of life. The Governor would then feel very sorry watching them perish of hunger and nudity, without being able to remedy the situation nor provide help, because he too would suffer shortages, and Y.E. would not be left unmoved. When the Royal Treasury ordered the effects withdrawn from the store, it would have done so with good reasons, but since these Islands lack any recourse Y.E. has to intervene and take the best course of action.

I hesitate to propose to Y.E. the only means that I would then see, should the traders not extend their voyages to this Island, that is, that the Royal Treasury could be convinced to re-establish the store, because I may be accused of doing so out of speculation on my part. God forbid! I have been a military man since my youth, and my salary, that began at the bottom of those paid to militiamen and is now that corresponding to my new post, has always been sufficient for me to live comfortably in accordance with my class and person; however, YOur Excellency, I know the needs of these Islands and, since they lack the resources that they previously found in the store, there remain no other proposal to make, after the two mentioned earlier, except to exempt the Governor of the Marianas from the effects of the Royal order dated 23 June 1847, published in the superior proclamation dated 15 October that that year, because as can be supposed, he is the person with more contacts in Manila, to request the articles of first necessity. Indeed, by including him in the general rule prohibiting commerce,¹ it would have been in the assumption that these natives would find what they need in any store; otherwise, these Islands would have been made comparable to any other Province of the Philippine Archipelago; indeed, if a Province Mayor or Governor [there] is prohibited [from trading], there are many other individuals who will provide what they wish. Y.E. with your high faculties will be able, by this or any other means, prevent these Islands from falling into a total misery. For my part, I swear that I am not

moved by personal interest, but by the welfare of the country which Y.E. on behalf of H.M. (may God save her) has entrusted to my care.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 20 October 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

1 Ed. note: That is, prohibiting governors to act as traders on their own account.

E7. Second letter dated 20 October 1848—Woods of Guam

Note: See also Doc. 1832H. The footnotes accompanying this letter have been inspired by Safford's Notes. This U.S.N. officer, who was Guam first U.S. Lieutenant-Governor, was also an amateur botanist.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

En cumplimiento de la circular de V.E. de 6 de Marzo del año proximo pasado aprovechando el corto tiempo que hace me hice cargo de este Gobierno reuní a los Gobernadorcillos y hombres de experiencia y conocimiento en las maderas de todas clases que produce esta Ysla de Guajan, pues de las del N. aun no hé tomado comunicacion de cuyos informes y en cumplimiento de dicha circular he formado la relacion siguiente:

Nombres de las maderas

Agao *Es la que en Filipinas se conoce con el nombre de molave; solo hay de una clase y con escasas en el sitio llamado Santa Rosa; es de calidad dura, se aplica para construccion de edificios y embarcaciones por su duracion, tarda de 15 à 20 años en el incremento de su vejetacion, la buena sazon para su corte es en los menguantes de las Lunas indestintamente, su valor siendo de tres varas de largo que es lo regular y de 8 à 10 puntos en cuadro es el de cinco pesos por su mucho trabajo en el arastre por la desigualdad del terreno, malos caminos y faltas de rios y lagunas navegables.*

Ifil *Es de mucha duracion, lo usan en arrigues y en todo el maderamen de los edificios, en muebles que por ser su color encarnado salen muy decentes si se trabajan con cuidado; tiempo de incremento en su vejetacion es como el anterior, pero mas corpulento, y para su corte las mismas estaciones, su valor de 8 à 10 varas de largo y 12 à 14 puntos de ancho es el de diez pesos por las dificultades de su arrastre.*

Daug *Es de mucha duracion y se emplea en la construccion de embarcaciones, tiempo de incremento en su vejetacion, lo mismo que los dos primeros y igual la estacion de su corte, su valor de 6 à 7 varas de largo y de 10 à 12 puntos en cuadro, 8 pesos por las mismas dificultades para su transporte.*

Ninayag *Es de calidad blanda y se usa para muebles, tiempo de incremento en su vejetacion de 4 à 5 años en igual sazon para su corte y criandose cerca de las playas, su valor de 6 à 8 varas de largo y de 4 à 5 puntos en cuadro es de dos pesos por su facil conduccion.*

Yoga *Se emplea en barotos y remos, de regular duracion, tarde 4 años en su vejetacion, se corta en iguales estaciones y en valor de 12 à 14 varas con una en cuadro es de 8 pesos.*

Lemay *Ygual en circunstancias en un todo y uso que el anterior.*

Talisay *Se emplea en la construccion de carros y muebles de labranza, es de corta duracion, crece en 4 años y su valor de 5 à 6 varas de largo y 6 à 8 puntos en cuadro es el de 3 pesos, sazon de su corte como los anteriores.*

Puting *Se emplea en muebles y otros pequeños usos por ser de floxa calidad, crece en 4 años, se corta en la misma estacion y su valor de 5 varas de largo y hasta 3 cuartas de diametro valen un peso porque generalmente se crian en las playas.*

Dogdog *Se usa en pangas, barotos y remos, crece en cuatro años, se corta en iguales estaciones y su valor de 16 varas de largo y una en cuadro es de 8 pesos por lo difícil de su transporte y seria muy util aunque costoso abrir caminos para estos arrastres.*

Estas son, Excmo. Sor, las maderas de mejor calidad que hay en los montes de esta Ysla y aunque hay otras varias clases no las incluyo en esta relacion por ser de inferior calidad y solo se emplean en servicios de poca duracion.

De las referidas maderas remito con esta fecha dos trozos de cada una al Excmo. Director de la Sociedad Economica de los Amigos del Pais y en cumplimiento de la circular de V.E. de 29 de Enero último con la que se sirvió V.E. acompañarme la relacion de Excmo. Señor Director de 31 de Diciembre del año proximo pasado.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 20 de Octubre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filiipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

To comply with the circular of Y.E. dated 6 March of last year, I took advantage of the short time since I became Governor to call a meeting of village mayors and men of experience and knowled in the woods of all sorts produced by this Island of Guam; indeed, as far as the northern islands are concerned, I did not have time to make contact with them as yet. Based on their reports and in compliance with said circular, I have made the following list:

[Local] **Names of the woods.**

Agao¹ This wood is the same as the one known as *Molave* in the Philippines. There exists only one species, and it can scarcely be found at a place called Santa Rosa. It is a hard wood, suitable for the construction of buildings and vessels. It takes from 15 to 20 years to reach maturity. The good season for harvesting it is when the moon in on the wane without distinction. Its value, for boards 3 yards in length—the normal length—and from 8 to 10 points square, is 5 pesos, on account of the great amount of labor involved in the transport, because the interior is mountainous, the roads bad and the lack of navigable rivers or lakes.

1 Ed. note: Safford classifies it as *Premna integrifolia*, but Doc. 1836H has it as *Premna odorata*, etc.. It is also known as *Aggab*.

Ifil¹ It is very durable and used for house posts and for all types of boards for house construction, and the making of furniture which, on account of its red color, comes out very nice if care is taken with it. Time taken for it to become mature is the same as for the previous wood, but it reaches a larger diameter; it has the same cutting season. A board measuring from 8 to 10 yards by 12 to 24 points in width is worth 10 pesos, on account of the transport difficulties.

Daug² It is very durable and is used in the construction of boats. It reaches maturity in the same time as the two previous types, and so too is its cutting season. The value of a board measuring from 6 to 7 yards in length by from 10 to 12 points square is 8 pesos, on account of the same transport difficulties.

Ninayag It has a soft texture and is used to make furniture. It takes from 4 to 5 years to reach maturity, is cut in the same season as the previous types. Since it grows near the beaches, a beam measuring from 6 to 8 yards in length by from 4 to 5 points square is worth 2 pesos, because of the ease in transporting it.

Yoga³ It is used in dugouts and oars. It has average durability, takes 4 years to grow to maturity, is cut in the same seasons and a beam measuring from 12 to 14 yards by one square yard is worth 8 pesos.

Lemay⁴ It has the same exact definition, use, etc. as the preceding wood.

Talisay⁵ It is used in the construction of carts and farm implements, is not durable, takes 4 years to grow, the cutting season is the same as for the others, and a beam of from 5 to 6 yards in length by 6 to 8 points square is worth 3 pesos.

Puting⁶ It is used for furniture and other small jobs, as it is a soft-wood, which grows rapidly, is cut during the same season as the others, and the value of a log 5

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- 1 Ed. note: *Azelia bijuga*, Gray. Doc. 1832 H says *Intsia bijuga*. This is the same wood that is called Ipil in the Philippines, and Ifil-ele in Samoa.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is also called Daog, now spelled Daok, or by the Spanish name of Palo-maria. It corresponds to the well-known *Calophyllum inophyllum*. It is tough, cross-grained wood which was used by the natives to make cart-wheels. The tree produces an aromatic resin that can be used in varnishes, incense, and ointments.
 - 3 Ed. note: Also called Dyoga, and pronounced like the English Joga. Now spelled yogga. It is *Elæocarpus joga*.
 - 4 Ed. note: Also called Rima, or Rimay, in other parts of Oceania, it is now spelled *lemmai* by Chamorros. It is the common *Artocarpus incisa*; its fruit is the seedless bread-fruit. It is durable if kept dry. Generally used for woodwork inside native houses. The tree produces a milky gum used in sizing and sometimes chewed by the natives.
 - 5 Ed. note: *Terminalia catappa*, or *Terminalia moluccana*, the Indian almond tree.
 - 6 Ed. note: Now spelled *puteng*, it is the *Barringtonia speciosa*, or *B. asiatica*. The natives use its fruit is used to stupefy fish.

yards in length and up to 3/4 yard in diameter is 1 peso, because these trees generally grow on the beaches.

Dogdog¹ It is used for canoes, dugouts and oars, it grows in 4 years, is cut in the same seasons as the others. The value of a squared log measuring 16 yards by one yard square is 8 pesos, on account of the difficulty in transport. It would be very useful, though costly, to make roads to haul them out.

Such are, Your Excellency, the woods of better quality that exist in the interior of this island, and although there are many other types of wood, I do not include them in this list, as they are of inferior quality and are only used when durability is not important.²

I am sending two pieces from each one of the above woods to His Excellency the Director of the Economic Society of the Friends of the Country, to comply with the circular of Y.E. dated 29 January last, in which Y.E. was pleased to enclose for me the list of His Excellency the Director dated 31 December of last year.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 20 October 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

E8. Letter dated 10 November 1848

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El día 1º de este mes llegaron tres Bancas de los Carolinos establecidos en la Ysla de Saipan conduciendo la carne seca que se vende à beneficio de los Hospitales de Lazarinos que hay, el de hombres en aquella Ysla y en esta el de mugeres. Por ellas recibí por primera vez desde que me hice cargo de este Gobierno el parte de los Alcaldes de Tinian y Rota de no haber ninguna novedad en su tranquilidad y orden, igualmente en esta de Guajan.

*El Alcalde de la Ysla de Tinian me remitió cinco hombres Yngleses salvado de un naufragio; y por las declaraciones que los he tomado resulta: que à las cuatro de la mañana del día dos de Octubre último se rompió en la costa de dicha Ysla de Tinian la Fragata Ynglesa Mercante llamada **Canton**, que desde Sidney hacia viage para Hong Kong, habiendo perecido el Capitan y diez y nueve individuos mas de su tripulacion, salvandose unicamente los cinco que con las diligencias formadas los remito con esta*

1 Ed. note: Also spelled *dugdug*. It is a variety of bread-fruit with edible seeds, *Artocarpus marianensis*, Tréc. It is a soft-wood that resembles the North American poplar.

2 Ed. note: Safford has expanded his list to contain some of those, e.g. Lemoncito (*Triphasia auranteola*); Aabang, a species of Eugenia; 2 species of mangrove; a small tree called 'Lalahag'; 'lajo', 'pago', 'chusgo', etc.

*fecha à la Comandancia General de Marina, a cargo de Mr. Armando Gilles, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera Francesa **La Manche**. Estos naufragos me han manifestado su agradecimiento por la buena acogida que tubieron del Alcalde y havitantes de Tinian. A su llegada à esta los aloje en casas particulares para que los alimentaran, y con algunas limosnas de ropa han cubierto sus cuerpos, pues nada sacaron mas que desperada la que tenian vestida, y en consideracion à que habiendo oy preguntado al Administrador de Hacienda si havia alguna disposicion para socorrer à estos desgraciados, me dijo que no haya ninguna. En su vista, Excmo. Sor, sirvase V.E. disponer lo que estime conveniente para que en semejantes casos se socorra con lo preciso para su subsistencia à los naufragos que lleguen à estas Yslas sea por la Real Hacienda, ó por el fondo de Marina de lo que producen los derechos de estos puertos y esta en poder de este Administrador ó sea con cargo al Consul de la nacion à que pertenezcan, pues si estos han tenido la casualidad de que à los 12 dias de su llegada han sido embarcados para conducirlos à esa en la expresada Fragata Francesa, otros no lo tendran ni en 12 meses, y se verán sin otro auxilio que la caridad pública.*

Lo que participo à V.E. para su superior conocimiento y efectos que estime conveniente.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 10 de Noviembre de 1848.

Excmo. Sor.

P.P.

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

Translation.

Your Excellency:

On the 1st of this month, three canoes belonging to Carolinians settled in the island of Saipan arrived, bringing in the dried meat that was sold for the benefit of the Hospitals for Lepers, that for men which is overthere, and that for women which is in this island. Through them I received, for the first time since I have become governor, the report of the Mayors of Tinian and Rota, in which they say that everything is fine and orderly, and the sama comment applies to Guam.

The Mayor of Tinian sent me five Englishmen, the survivors of a shipwreck. According to their declarations before me, it turns out that: at 4 a.m. of 2 October last, the English merchant ship named **Canton** broke up on the coast of said Island of Tinian, as it was making a passage from Sydney to Hong Kong; the captain and 17 individuals belonging to her crew perished in the accident; only the five persons in question were saved. I am sending them today to the Commanding General of the Navy, along with the record of proceedings, in the care of Mr. Armand Gilles, the Captain of the French whaling ship **La Manche**.¹ These castaways have expressed their gratitude to me for the good treatment they received from the Mayor and inhabitants of Tinian. At this ar-

¹ Ed. note: Named after the English Channel, which the French call thus, meaning 'The Sleeve'.

rival here, I lodged them in private homes where they were fed and, thanks to some generous donations they were given some clothes to cover their bodies; indeed, they salvaged nothing except the clothes they had on their backs. Today when I asked the Administrator of Finance if there were some fund reserved for the assistance of shipwrecked people, he answered in the negative. In this respect, would Your Excellency please arrange for a solution to this problem, so that any future shipwrecked persons be given the help they need for their subsistence while they are in these islands, from either the Royal Treasury, or from the Navy funds produced by fees collected in these ports and that are in the care of the Administrator, or else, through claims that could be made against the Consul of the nation to which they belong; indeed, if the men in question have had the chance of staying here only 12 days before their embarkation for that capital aboard the above- mentioned French ship, others may not have such an opportunity in 12 months, and they would be without recourse except to rely on public charity.

This is what I have to report to Y.E. for your superior information and the effects that you may find appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 10 November 1848.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

Document 1848F

A sketch of Guam in 1848

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, Vol. 7, N° 1, January 1, 1849.

Note: The author of this piece, submitted to The Friend for publication, is anonymous. He must have been in Guam in 1848. This was his second visit. His initials, L.A.B., have led me to the discovery that he was Dr. L. A. Baker, surgeon aboard the Canadian whaler James Stewart, that visited Guam in 1844 and 1848 (see also 1844B, 1847J).

Polynesian [sic] Sketches

A Sketch of Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands. By L. A. B.

Harbor.—Scenery.—Capital.—Churches.—College.—Government.—Taxes.—Customs.—Religion.—Products.—New Governor.—&c.

After spending two days at Rota, or Taopane [sic]—for the island is known by either name—¹we proceeded to Guam, distant only a few hours sail in a S.S.W. direction.

The harbor of Guam is in lat. 13°32' N. and long. 144°16' E. It is a safe harbor but not very convenient, there being many shoals about the shores which make it bad landing for boats, and it is destitute of water, which ships have to go to another anchorage at Umata to procure. The ship proceeded direct to the last named place, and going on shore there, I accompanied the harbor master, Capt. Roberts [sic = Roberto], back to Sumay, his residence at Port Apra. The country through which we passed presents much variety of surface, and is picturesque in its general character, and by no means destitute of fertility in the valleys, which are well watered, and the hills clothed with a fine herbage. Indeed, the general character of Guam is that of exuberant fertility, and under an enlightened and energetic government it is capable of becoming a very valuable appendage to any country, but Spain merely holds without in any way improving it.

The chief town, called Agaña, is situated about five miles from the harbor, on the sea coast, in a tract of richer fertility and more plentifully supplied with water than is to be found directly in the neighborhood of the bay. The generality of the houses are such as I found at Rota, viz: slight structures of bamboo, elevated a few feet from the

¹ Ed. note: Taopane must be a misprint for Zarpana, but this name had not been used for centuries.

ground on supporting posts, and roofed with thatch, though there are a few built of coral stone, in a clumsy and dungeon-looking style, and mostly without glazed windows. The government buildings consist of a church, college, plaza, guard-house, jail, commissariat, two depots of artillery, and two ruined forts, all of which are in a most miserable style and condition, and plainly bespeak the utter imbecility of the government. The first [i.e. the church] had lately received some repairs, and on entering a visitor is surprised at the extent of its decorations, not however arising from their real worth, for it is in truth but a miserable, tinsel attempt at splendor, but the absence of all architectural ornament without, and the utter poverty of every thing else about the town leads you to form cor- ... [a few words missing] ... -mented; four or five tall plated candlesticks, (at least they have once been plated, but much of the silver is worn off) of a very pitiful appearance, and a number of images, dressed in colored glazed calicoes and decked with tawdry worthless trinkets. The roof of the building is supported by two rows of wooden pillars, dividing the body of the church into a wide centre and two narrow side aisles; these pillars are just the rounded trunks of trees, some of them not even quite straight, and none finished off with any degree of neatness. They are whitewashed, and ornamented above and below with colored figures and scrolls in distemper, with which the tie beams of the roof are colored to correspond. There are two long wooden benches, or settees with backs, placed facing each other on either side of the centre aisle, which are the only seats in the church. On the right hand, and immediately over one of these seats, stands the pulpit, ornamented in a style to correspond with the pillar against which it is placed; and from this, sound moral discourses, as I am informed by Capt. Roberts, are generally delivered to the people.

The other buildings which I have enumerated are undeserving of a more extended notice, unless the college, and this certainly not for the building itself, which occupies three sides of a square, but that I may mention the *very superior education* imparted to the pupils within its walls. These number about fifty boys, who receive a gratuitous education in the Spanish language, in reading, writing, a very little arithmetic, and church music. The establishment is under the direction of a native-born teacher, and the principal object which appears to be aimed at is to ensure a supply of persons capable of undertaking the office of deputy governor or alcalde in the different islands and villages, for which purpose two boys (from five to seven years old) are chosen from each village in rotation as vacancies occur in the college.

In front of the commissariat store, is a large open space, devoted to the purposes of a cockpit, and where every *Sunday* afternoon this cruel sport is regularly engaged in; the head priest himself being one of the principal supporters and encouragers. Gambling, as a necessary consequence, is a constant attendant, and is practiced to a considerable extent, the priest in this also enjoying a bad preeminence. This man has often as many as forty or fifty game cocks at one time in training for this sport. The government of the Ladrone or Marianna's [sic] Islands, of which Guam and Rota only are in-

habited,¹ is a mild despotism, in the hands of a governor, who is himself responsible to the supreme authority of Manila, ... [a few words missing].

Looks after this, its not very distant dependency, once in three years, at which periods a ship is sent down with the necessary supplies. The commissariat officer is also appointed from Manila, and like the governor, for a period of six years. These gentlemen, with the priests, are the only Spaniards on the islands. The several deputy governors of the different islands and villages, are natives, and receive their appointment from the governor. Rota and Tinian, which last is used only as a place of banishment, and to that extent only inhabited, each have a governor sent from Guam; and each village has its own alcalde, a native generally of the place over which he presides, assisted by a deputy and constabulary force.

The government exacts no taxes of any description from the people, who are in fact generally too poor to pay any, but, in lieu thereof, a personal service of 40 days in a year is required from every adult male on the island, for the purpose of keeping the roads and public works in repair; those however who hold, or have ever held any office under government are exempt from this service. At other times, also, whenever the government may require their services, everyone is necessitated to render it, unless incapacitated by sickness, no other excuse being allowed; but on these occasions they receive pay at the rate of one shilling [sic] a day for an ordinary laborer, and one and six pence a day for a mechanic, which sum being fixed by law for the government, has become by custom the standard for all other parties. The hire of a bullock and dray, together with its driver, has also become fixed by the same means at one dollar (four shillings) a day.

The customs of the people have nothing very peculiar about them. Their marriages are generally the result of inclination rather than interest, and a daughter is seldom thwarted in her choice, unless the character of her favored suitor should be objectionable. Primogeniture is not much regarded among them, but at the death of the head of a family the property is commonly divided among the children. If these happen to consist of one son and one daughter only, the former by custom inherits the land and stock, and the latter the house and household chattels of their deceased parents. But land is not here a permanent and saleable possession, but is considered the property of him who clears it, and is held during occupation; and the uncleared land, or such as has been suffered to relapse into a state of nature by its former occupant, is open to be taken possession of by any one who chooses to go to the labor of clearing it, without any cost, let or hindrance whatever.

The people are very attentive to the forms and observances of their religion, and having never heard of a purer creed may charitably be supposed to be sincere in that which they profess. They are told by their priests that the English and Americans who annually visit them, are not good Christians, and their conduct unhappily, but too gener-

1 Ed. note: There were other islands inhabited at that time (see below).

ally authorizes and confirms the descriptions, while the real differences of the Protestant and Romish [sic] worship they of course know nothing of.

Alas! is the conversion of our seamen a hopeless task? Would not a part of the labor and part of the funds (if other cannot be obtained) which is at present devoted to Missionary enterprizes among the heathen, be better employed, even as regards the heathen themselves, if it were diverted to urgent endeavors towards evangelizing our own seamen? I say it would be better as regards the heathen themselves, whom the reception of the gospel is fearfully retarded, and the exertions of the Missionaries paralyzed by the immoral and unchristian character and conduct of men, who, as a class, (though there are a few bright and happy exceptions) disgrace and profane the sacred name by which they call themselves.

The natives of these islands cannot be praised for possessing too much industry or forethought, yet show sufficient quickness and ingenuity to warrant the expectation, if under a more liberal and enlightened government, to develop their energies and encourage their exertions, they would make rapid progress in the scale of advancement. The islands possess in themselves, a fertile soil and luxuriant climate, every requisite to encourage and reward the exertions of an industrious people. Sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and many medicinal plants, might be cultivated here to great advantage; some are already known upon the islands, and those which are not might readily be obtained from places at no great distance, as Singapore and the neighboring countries.

Since the preceding pages were written I have again visited the Marianna's Islands, and find considerable changes.¹ The old governor is gone away and his place supplied by another, an active and stirring man of business, who is laboring diligently to infuse a spirit of industry punctuality and activity into every department.

The roads and bridges, utterly neglected by the late governor, are now undergoing repairs, and he is about to commence collecting *beche le mer* at the islands, a department of industry which was formerly carried on here to some extent. He has also established a school in every village, and strictly enforces upon all families the attendance of their children at these seminaries, where they receive the same instruction as at the so-called college, except the church music. The masters are supported by the government, and several of them are transports from Manila, having been engaged in the insurrection, or patriotic movements of the native population of that island, and though not themselves possessed of much learning are yet greatly superior to the people of Guam generally.

Runaway seamen are now more harshly dealt with than formerly, being kept at work on the public roads instead of sending them to enjoy a life of idleness at Tinian. The governor had also brought with him very strict orders from Manila, not only against receiving any foreigners to reside in the country, but even to send away those who were now resident there, many of whom had in consequence been compelled to leave, and a

1 Ed. note: His first visit was also aboard the James Stewart (see Doc. 1844B).

few of the more respectable had petitioned to remain on account of their families and in faith of the permission which they had formerly received. The object of these orders, which were direct from the home government in Europe, was ostensibly to preserve the people from heresy, but in part also most probably, to guard them from the introduction of liberal principles, which might be detrimental to the safety of Spanish interests. Thus cautious are they to preserve the people as much as possible in ignorance. And this leads me to mention a circumstance which, though it occurred at the period of my former visit, has only recently come to my knowledge, and is a lamentable instance of the despotic rule which is still dominant in the lands of the Romish priesthood in places where they are free from the controlling force of external causes.

A Spanish seaman, José, a native of Guayaquil, arrived here in an American whale ship and left her at the island; he was possessed of a New Testament in the Spanish language, and lending it to the people of the house where he boarded, it excited much curiosity to see the word of God "in their own language, wherein they were born." The book passed from one to another, and at length came into the possession of the priest, who sent for José, and gave him very strict orders that if ever he came to Guam again he should bring no more SUCH BOOKS with him! nor would he return to José the copy he was then possessed of. José afterwards joined the ship in which I left Guam myself, and thus I became acquainted with the fact; but he was obliged to sail without his bible, which the priest refused to restore! Oh that protestants would rightly prize and duly improve the unspeakable privilege of freely possessing the scriptures of salvation.

Document 1848G

A sketch of Kosrae in 1848

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1 February 1849, pages 1-2.

Note: The whaler Inez of New Bedford, departed in October 1845, made only one whaling voyage, shipped oil to London and went into the California trade.

Polynesian [sic] Sketches.

Sketch of Strong's Island. By William L. Jackson, Master of American whale ship "Inez."

Ship Harvest ashore.—Crew disorderly.—Capt. Lakey's management.—Ruins on the Island.—King and Royal Family.—Religion.—Deity.—Annnuto.—Number of inhabitants.—Their knowledge, idea of the English language, &c., &c.

January 7, 1848.

This day I anchored in the N.E. harbor of Strong's Island, finding the entrance easy and harbor good.

Two English whalers, and the American bark **Harvest**, Lakey, Master, were lying at anchor.¹ Captain Lakey, in entering the S.W. harbor, in consequence of not having a good pilot on board, got his ship on the reef and injured her bows so that it was with difficulty he kept her afloat until he could get her ashore on the beach, where at low water he was to batten the leaks with boards, so as to be able, with the assistance of the natives, to work her around to the N.E. harbor.

I learned from Captain L. and other sources, that at the time his vessel was in the lee harbor and in danger of being lost, a part of the crew refused to work, unless he would pay them daily wages. Capt. L. represented to them the impossibility of complying with their demands, as he had no money on board, and there was none to be got at the Island. He informed them however, if they would work, and succeeded in getting the ship off, that they should be paid when they arrived at some port where an investigation could take place, and it should be judged proper and right that they ought to be paid for their work. This, however, did not satisfy their minds! Capt. L. then stated the case to the King. (At this time there was no vessel but the **harvest** in port.) The King replied

1 Ed. note: Harvest of Fairhaven, voyage 1846-50.

that if the sailors would not work, he would furnish some of his own people that would, and that he would "tie up" Capt. L.'s men until the vessel was ready for sea, when they should be put on board. Capt. L., however much against his will, [was] compelled to resort to *force*, and deal with his men according to their natures! All then went to their duty.

There being no conveniences for heaving a ship out at the lee harbor, he brought her around to the weather harbor, although leaking badly. The natives rendered him important assistance. The King furnished houses for the storing of the cargo, and as many natives as he wanted to assist in discharging the same, also guaranteeing (so far as the natives were concerned) for the safety of every thing landed.

Jan. 26.

Capt. L. has got his ship repaired to his entire satisfaction, but he has had a great deal of trouble with his crew. Last Sunday evening seven of them took a boat and left for the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei], and the probability is they will all be lost, and if they are, I cannot think otherwise but that it will be their just desert for their ingratitude.¹ Being intimately acquainted with Capt. L., I know him to be a man who abhors ill-treatment to seamen, and that he sailed from home on the present voyage with a determination of governing and treating his men as reasonable and rational beings. He publicly declared that it was his opinion, seamen could be better governed by addressing the *rational* than the *brute*.—He made it his personal duty to look after their comforts and physical wants. Among other duties, he imposed upon himself the duty of going three times each day to the galley, to see that their food was served out to them in proper order and in "generous quantity." I heard one of his men say, that they always had enough and that which was good and wholesome. He, however, had not been long at sea, before he discovered that there were some among his crew who could not bear to be treated as rational beings, and their influence over the others was such as to frustrate all his ideas of reasoning with them.

Feb. 5.

Capt. Lakey has got his vessel nearly ready for sea. The **Rowena**, of Fall River, came in to-day, so we now have five vessels in port, more than the natives ever saw here at one time. Since I have been here, I have endeavored to learn a little about the Island and its inhabitants. The natives are of the Caroline Island origin. The Island appears at a remote period, to have been the stronghold of the Buccaneers, or else the present generation have wonderfully degenerated; for the fortifications, walls and stone works

¹ If the reader would [like to] learn the fate of that boat's crew, we would refer him to the Friend for October 1, 1848. Only one of the seven now survives, and his preservation was quite miraculous.—[Ed. Friend.]

at present to be seen, could not have been built by the present race. Large blocks of stone, 10 or 12 feet in length, with one end fixed in the ground, and opposite openings in the walls, as if expressly intended for mooring ships. The present generation of people can furnish no information how they came there. These are sacred to their deity, Annuto. [Not Snate [sic], as stated in the Friend.]¹

The King is about fifty years of age, as I could judge, but the Queen is younger, a very small but good featured woman—the mother of eight children, six of whom are living. The eldest, Prince Royal nad heir to the throne, is a low, designing scoundrel, and I believe none too good to commit any crime, so eager is he for the throne. Elixah, the next, is a noble and amiable youth, about fifteen years of age. The other two that I saw were Princesses, one about six, and the other three years of age. The King is a man of good sense and sound judgment, possessing a large share of *Indian* cunning, and craftiness; for instance, when I talked with him about their religion, and smiled at some of their superstitious customs, he winked and said it was the fashion of Strong's Island, giving me to understand that he knew better! They believe in a future state and the immortality of the soul—that the spirit is buried with the body, but that during the following night Annuto comes, which is known by certain noises, such as rattling the bushes, and breaking of small sticks. It is their belief that the soul of the departed is taken to another island, there embodied and made to serve its time, according to the pleasure of Annuto, afterwards it passes into another body, and still another, and so on to eternity.²

As near as I could learn there are 12 or 1500 inhabitants upon both Islands,³ though I had no opportunity to ascertain correctly. They are in a deplorable condition. There is a general sickness prevailing, a species of fever. They also have a *foul* disease raging among them, together with their other maladies. Some were dying daily, and I think unless they have some relief, all the inhabitants must in a few years be swept away. The King told me that he did not want sailors to stop on the Island, and to prevent it he will deliver up all runaways, free of expense, and insists that masters of ships shall take them off. He wishes, and so do many of his subjects, that a missionary would come and live with them. He told me that if a good man would come, and teach his children and people to read and understand as white people did, he would build for the missionary a house, and furnish him with as good food as the Island afforded. Nearly all I talked with upon the subject expressed the same opinion.—They have learned upon the improvement of the people of the Sandwich Islands, and feel anxious to be enlightened themselves. Near-

1 See article on Strong's Island, in Vol. III, No. 9. Ed. comment: Snate, rather Snute, was a misprint for Annute (see Doc. 1844B). It is now spelled *inut*, but it has a clear Malay origin, *aniti*, as in Chamorro, Filipino, etc.

2 Ed. note: Such belief in reincarnation was soon to be suppressed by the Methodist missionaries who arrived in 1852.

3 Ed. note: Lele and the larger Ualan Island.

ly all can now speak the English language¹ very distinctly, which singular circumstance, I think is owing to their dialect. I employed two boys to row my boat about the harbor, as is the custom at Honolulu, and in a few evenings I taught one of them the whole English alphabet, every letter of which he pronounced, clear and distinct, except v, which he called *we*. There would be no necessity for a missionary to learn their language. I could not learn as they worshipped but one deity, and that one invisible. They viewed him as not always favorably disposed towards them, but when he is *sulky*, (as they express it in English) the King propitiates his favor with various delicacies. I saw no appearance of idolatry, though many things are viewed as sacred to the deity, and the people would on no consideration touch them.

1 The fact that the inhabitants of Strong's Island can speak the English language with tolerable correctness, we have heard stated by numerous visitors. It is certainly very remarkable, and quite anomalous.—[Ed. of F.]

Document 1848I

The ship Erie, Captain Ishabod Norton

Sources: Log 382 in NBWhM; PMB 266; Log Inv. 1631.

Extract from the log

...
[The ship first went to Hawaii, then to the Coast of Kamchatka, back to Hawaii in September 1848, then towards the Equator.]

...
Wednesday Nov. 1st 1848.

... At 9 a.m. spoke the barque **North America** of New London 13 months with 28 hundred bbls of Whale Oil, bound home.

North Lat. by Obs. 9°02, West Long. by Chron. [blank]¹

...
Saturday Dec. 9th 1848.

These 24 hours comes in with a light breeze & fine weather, steering SSE. At 1 p.m. saw Rotches Island ahead. At 6 o'clock the Natives came off to us. It being so late we did not trade with them. At 7 o'clock wore ship and stood off from the land. At dark the middle of the island bore by compass South distant about 10 miles. Saw that the ship to leeward was a-boiling. Middle part most calm. Latter part light variable winds. At 8 a.m. spoke ship **Adeline**, Jernegan Commander, New Bedford, 28 months out with 600 bbls Sperm Oil and 1300 Whale Oil. Gammed with them, Land a short distance off.

South Lat. by Obs. 2°29 [S]

...
Monday Dec. 11th, 1848

... At 5 a.m. saw Hope Island. Ran down the south side of it. At 10 a.m. saw 2 sail to the SE of us. Latter part calm. The Natives came off to us, brought but little trade. Lat. 2°42 South.

...

1 Ed. note: The ship was then north of Fanning Island but was heading for the Gilberts.

Tuesday Dec. 12th, 1848

... At 4 p.m. spoke & gammed with 3 ships, viz. **Triton** of New Bedford, 40 bbls this season, **Rosalie** of Warren, nothing this season, **Adeline** of New Bedford, 125 bbls this season... At 2 o'clock came up abreast of Hope Island on the NE side.

Lat. 2°36.

...

Friday Dec. 15th 1848

... At 3 p.m. saw Clarks Island right ahead. At sundown luffed the ship to the wind heading SE. At 6 p.m. the SE end of Clarks Island bore by compass W by N distance about 14 miles... At daylight steered in for the land. At 10 a.m. the Natives came off to the ship, brought off a lot of mats. Latter part fine weather.

South Lat. by Obs. 2°08, East Long. by Lunar 176°29

...

Sunday Dec. 17th 1848

... At 11 a.m. saw Drummonds Island on the weather beam about 10 miles off...
South Lat. by Obs. 1°16, East Long. by Chron. 174°35

...

Friday Dec. 22nd 1848

... At 9 p.m. spoke ship **Milton**, Smith, of New Bedford, 15-1/2 months with 850 bbls of Sperm Oil. Capt Smith came on board and stopped a few hours, saw a school of Blackfish, did not lower.

South Lat. by Obs. 00°49, East Long. by Chron. 173°20.

...

Tuesday Dec. 26th 1848

... At 8 a.m. spoke ship **Hamilton** of Bridgeport, 28 months out with 900 bbls of oil, 250 of it sperm...

North Lat. by Obs. 00°15, East Long. by Chron. [blank]

...

Sunday Dec. 31st 1848

... At 6 p.m. spoke ship **Hamilton**, Wade, of Bridgeport, 27 months out with 900 bbls of oil, gammed a few hours, then parted...

North Lat. by Obs. 02°52, East Long. 170°54, by Lunar 170°30

...

Remarks on board ship Erie bound to Guam

...

Friday Jan. 12th 1849

.. At 10:30 a.m. saw Rota Island bearing NW distance about 25 miles, also saw Guam to the SW of us. Luffed the ship up and headed in for Rota...

North Lat. by Obs. 13°51, East Long. by Chron. 14°31

Saturday Jan. 13th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a strong breeze from the ENE and fair weather. Ship

heading in for the land. At 5 p.m. Capt. Norton took a boat & hauled in to the land, it being so late did not land. At 7 p.m. returned to the ship, standing off & on for the night with intention of landing on the morrow. Through the night squally. At 7 a.m. sent in another boat. Did not trade but little. Latter part heavy squalls of rain and rain; a strong current setting to the eastward. Layed off & on under double reefed topsails. Saw Guam Island to leeward.

Sunday Jan. 14th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with heavy winds accompanied with frequent squalls of wind and rain. Laying off and on on the South side of Rota. At 5 p.m. Capt. Norton returned to the ship. Purchased six Pigs. At dark stood off shore heading N by E through the heavy squalls of rain. At 1 a.m. wore ship, headed in for the island. At daylight found that we could not fetch the island. At 7 o'clock kept to SSW bound to Guam. Soon saw the island, ran down the NE side. Latter part much the same.

Monday Jan. 15th 1849

These 24 hours comes with heavy squalls of wind and rain, running the NE side of Guam Island. At 2 p.m. headed the ship off shore with the head sails to the mast, abreast the Port of Apra. At 2:30 o'clock took a Pilot. At 3 p.m. came to anchor at Port Apra, in 22 fathoms of water. Found laying at anchor 19 sail of shipping. Through the night, fair weather. At 10 a.m. Capt. Norton set out to go to the town. Latter part fine weather, found that the head of our fore topmast was decayed; repaired it, in good order. Ship **Triton** arrived.

Tuesday Jan. 16th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with pleasant weather & a moderate breeze. Capt. Norton is up to the town. Middle & latter parts much the same as the first. At dark, Capt. Norton returned from the town. 3 ships sailed and one arrived.

Wednesday Jan. 17th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with pleasant weather & a brisk breeze. Employed in getting wood, got off a little. 4 ships arrived.

Thursday Jan. 18th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a fresh breeze & fair weather. In the forenoon went on shore a-chopping wood, a heavy swell heaving in towards the shore, the breaker being so high, could not land in the afternoon. Capt. Norton went up to the town.

Friday Jan. 19th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Starboard Watch on shore on liberty. Ship **Morea** arrived.

Saturday Jan. 20th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with pleasant weather. No work going on. One ship arrived. Middle & latter parts much the same as the first.

Sunday Jan. 21st 1849

These 24 hours continues with pleasant weather. Employed in boating off wood. Got off 7 boatloads.

Monday Jan. 22nd 1849

These 24 hours continues with pleasant weather and a brisk breeze. Starboard Watch returned from the town. Larboard Watch on liberty. Several ships sailed.

Tuesday Jan. 23rd 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a light breeze and pleasant weather. Employed in small jobs. Took on board a few potatoes. 9 ships sailed and one arrived. Larboard Watch on liberty.

Wednesday Jan. 24th 1849

These 24 hours comes in pleasant with a brisk breeze. Painted one side of the ship's bends. In the afternoon went off for and got off a lot of iron[-wood] poles. This day felt a heavy shock of an earthquake; it was felt on the land very sensibly. One ship sailed, one arrived.

Thursday Jan. 25th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a fresh breeze and fair weather. Middle part much the same. Latter part more moderate. Employed in small jobs. The most of the Larboard Watch returned from the town.

Friday Jan. 26th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a brisk breeze and pleasant weather. Starboard Watch on liberty. Barque **Fortune** arrived, one ship sailed. This day had five men run away, viz. John Burke, Edward Dunn, John J. Westervelt, [blank] Bailey.

Saturday Jan. 27th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a brisk breeze and pleasant weather. Got about 15 bbls of water from the ship **Braganza**. This day had one man run away, Joseph [blank].

Sunday Jan. 28th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a brisk breeze and pleasant weather. Larboard Watch on liberty. Employed in small jobs. Painted one side of the ship's bends.

Monday Jan. 29th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and pleasant weather. Painted the Starboard. The Starboard Watch on liberty. Saw 3 sail pass the harbor bound to the leeward. Capt. Norton went up to the town.

Tuesday Jan. 30th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with moderate breeze and fair weather. Middle & latter parts a strong breeze and frequent squalls of rain.

Wednesday Jan. 31st 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a strong breeze and cloudy weather. Employed in small jobs. Ship **Adeline** arrived, saw two ships outside.

Thursday Feb. 1st

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and frequent squalls of rain. Employed in coopering flour.

Friday Feb. 2nd 1849

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and frequent squalls of rain. Got off a raft of water also. Employed in other small jobs. Purchased three hundred pounds of potatoes.

Saturday Feb. 3rd 1849

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and squally weather. Capt. Norton went on shore to purchase potatoes. hard getting recruits. Capt. Norton went up to the town.

Sunday Feb. 4th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and fair weather. Sold one hundred lbs of beef in exchange for potatoes. Four ships sailed.

Monday Feb. 5th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a light breeze and pleasant weather. Employed in various jobs. 3 ships sailed. Middle & latter parts much the same as the first.

Tuesday Feb. 6th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a light breeze and pleasant weather. Middle and latter parts much the same as the first. This day discharged [blank] Bailey, sick. Took Joseph [blank] out of Prison after being absent for several days. Capt. Norton delivered to [blank] Bayley one bbl of beef, and other small articles.

Wednesday Feb. 7th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a moderate breeze and pleasant weather. At 8 a.m. weighed anchor, made sail and steered for the port Umata. At 12 M, came to anchor in 7 fathoms of water. In the afternoon employed getting off water. Got off 30 bbls and filed about 30 bbls of cask & left them on shore for the night. This day shipped a hand, Barbely. Capt. Norton inquired of him if he belonged to any ship that layed in this port. His answer was No. Capt. Norton agreed to let him join the ship.

Thursday Feb. 8th 1849

These 24 hours commences with a strong breeze and fair weather. Laying at Port Umata employed in getting off water. Got off 200 bbls and struck [sic] it below. Middle & latter parts much the same as the first.

Friday Feb. 9th 1849

These 24 hours continues with a strong breeze and fair weather. Got off a raft of water which made us up 340 bbls. Cleared up the deck and this day got the Lat. Made the Lat. 13°18 Long. by Chron. 144°16

Saturday Feb. 10th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a moderate breeze and frequent squalls of rain. At 6 a.m. weighed anchor, stood off shore until 10 o'clock then tacked in shore. Stowed the anchors and coiled the chains below deck.

Lat. 13°31

Sunday Feb. 11th 1849

These 24 hours comes in with a strong breeze and pleasant weather. Laying off and on at Port Apra. At 1 p.m. Capt. Norton and a boat's crew went into the harbor. At 4:30 p.m. they returned to the ship. Through the night much the same as the first. At 8 a.m. Capt. Norton & a boat's [crew] went ashore to the town. Latter part a brisk breeze. Laying off and on.

Ship Erie bound to Japan Sea to cruise for whales

Monday Feb. 12th 1849

These 24 hours comes with a strong breeze from the NE and frequent squalls of rain, ship laying off and on at Guam Town. This day shipped one man. Spoke the ship **Chandler Price**, Taber, seven months out with 300 bbls of Whale oil, bound to the Japan Sea. Through the night very squally. Capt. Norton & a boat's crew landed on shore for the purpose of getting 5 or 6 men. At 7:30 a.m. they returned to the ship. Brought off two Spanish boys. At 8 a.m. shaped our course for the Japan Sea, in company with the above mentioned ship. Last 4 hours steered NW by N.

North Lat. by Obs. 13°48, East Long. by Chron. 145°31

...

- Document 1848J

Merchant ships that visited Honolulu in 1848

Source: The Friend, Honolulu, February 1849, page 15.

Note: The ships that were on their way to Hong Kong and Manila may have crossed Micronesia. Many ships dealt with San Francisco on account of the gold rush fever then affecting California.

Arrivals and Departures of Merchant Vessels at and from the Port of Honolulu, for the year 1848.

Entered.	Class. Name.	Masters.	Tons.	Where from.	Cleared.	Where for.
Nov. 26	Bark Cowlitz ¹	Alex. J. Weynton	391	Vancouver	Jan. 13	Vancouver
Dec. 16	Bark Toulon	Nath'l Crosby	272	Portland	Jan. 8	Hong Kong
Dec. 31	Brig Troubadour	Ralva	140	Mazatlan	Jan 3	Hong Kong
Jan. 1/48	Brig Enriqueta	Benj. Haskins	200	Marquesas, sold at auction and broken up.		
Jan. 3	Sch. Currency Lass	Geo. McLean	90	Monterey	Jan. 17	Tahiti
Jan. 3	Sch. S.S.	F. Molteno	87	Coastwise	Jan 6	Monterey
Jan. 19	Brigte. Flecha	J. A. Vasquez	200	Manila	Mar. 2	S. Francisco
Jan. 24	Sch. Malomo	James Parker	62	Tahiti	Mar. 25	Tahiti
Jan. 24	Brigte. Laura Ann	L. H. Thomas	146	Monterey	Jan. 31	Shanghae
Jan. 27	Sch. Starling	Geo. Belcham	169	Hong Kong	Feb. 3	West Coast
Jan. 28	Brigte. Argo	J. Jumoovisch	97	Mazatlan	Feb. 29	Mazatlan
Jan. 28	Brigte. Wilhelmina	J. Russom	165	Coastwise	Feb. 1	Calif. & Mex.
Feb. 8	Sch. Honolulu	F. A. Newell	156	Boston	Feb. 19	Manila
Feb. 12	Bark Don Quixote	F. Lindsay	260	Valparaiso	May 4	Bordeaux
Feb 19	Sch. Providence	W. C. Hinckley	57	Raiatea	Feb. 26	S. Francisco
Feb. 19	Sch. Mary	Geo. Belcham	56	Coastwise	Feb. 24	Portland
Feb. 23	Bark Vancouver ²	Alex. C. Mott	304	London	Mar. 18	Victoria
Feb. 25	Ship Charles	Thos. Andres	486	San Pedro	Mar. 16	Hong Kong
Feb. 25	Bark Samoset	Lewis G. Hollis	734	Boston	Mar. 10	Hong Kong
Feb. 26	Sch. Haalileo	F. P. Jameson	75	Coastwise	Mar. 2	Christmas I.
Mar. 7	Bark Alexander	M. Klinkoffsrom	300	Sitka	Apr. 8	Sitka
Mar. 11	Bark Angola	Samuel Vaarney	273	San José	Apr. 8	Sitka
Apr. 1	Brig Wuphemia	J. J. Voigt	133	Monterey	May 10	S. Francisco
Apr. 3	Brig Correo de Cobija	Thos. McGrath	120	Lahaina	Apr. 15	Valparaiso

1 Ed. note: Ship belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, of London.

2 Ed. note: Ditto.

Entered.	Class.	Name.	Masters.	Tons.	Where from.	Cleared.	Where for.
Apr. 11	Sch.	Haalileo	F.A. Jameson	75	Christmas I.	May 10	Coastwise
Apr. 10	Sch.	Courier Valparaiso	J. Arnaud	110	Coastwise	Apr. 12	Tahiti
Apr. 13	Sch.	Julian	Carl Moran	110	Hong Kong	Apr. 20	Hong Kong
Apr. 28	Sch.	Adelaide	Jules Charon	86	Marquesas	Apr. 9	S. Francisco
May 1	Ship	Isabella	George Briggs	250?	Mazatlan	May 4	Hong Kong
May 8	Bark	Cowlitz	Alex. J. Weynton	391	Vancouver	May 23	Vancouver
May 8	Brigte.	Seis de Junio	H. Rene	124	Valparaiso	May 24	S. Francisco
May 8	Sch.	Mary Ann	Alex Ragsdale	59	Coastwise	May 8	Mazatlan
May 16	Brig	Tepic	Geo. H. Luce	173	Liverpool	May 30	Sitka
May 26	Sch.	Honolulu	F.A. Newell	156	Manila	June 10	S. Francisco
May 27	Brig	Eveline	S.T. Goodwin	196	Columbia R.	June 8	Columbia R.
June 3	Sch.	Starling	J.F. Hinckley	109	San Blas	Aug. 10	Columbia R.
June 3	Sch.	Ariel	Wm. Jeffrey	25	Tahiti	June 7	Coastwise
June 8	Sch.	Louis Perry	H.F. Eastham	64	Galapagos Is.	June 17	S. Francisco
June 9	Sch.	S.S.	F. Molteno	87	Punta Arenas	June 12	Coastwise
June 14	Bark	Prince Inerishikoff	John Lindenberg	273	Sitka	June 19	Sitka
June 17	Sch.	Louise	J. Menzies	71	S. Francisco	June 19	Coastwise
June 17	Bark	Mary	J.S.B. Knox	268	Boston	July 5	Kamchatka
June 19	Sch.	Mary	Geo. Belcham	56	S. Francisco	July 11	S. Francisco
June 19	Brig	Eagle	P. Lovett Jr.	328	Guayaquil	June 20	Manila
June 20	Brigte.	Courier Valparaiso	John Hall	110	Christmas I.	July 16	S. Francisco
June 23	Bark	Paramatta	Wm. M. Bloomfield	400	Valparaiso	Aug. 17	Tahiti
June 28	Ship	Matilda	Theo. Lewis	689	Monterey	Aug. 4	Macao
July 1	Brig	Mary Dare	J.O. Scarborough	145	Vancouver	July 15	Columbia R.
July 4	Brig	Correo Talcahuana	M. Margot	177	Tahiti	July 15	S. Francisco
July 9	Bark	Flecha	J.A. Vasquez	200	Sta. Barbara	July 28	Manila
July 9	Brig	Euphemia	J.J. Voigt	133	S. Francisco	Aug. 3	California
July 11	Bark	Georgian	E. Libbey	279	Tahiti	Aug. 1	California
July 15	Sch.	S.S.	Wm. Taylor	87	Coastwise	July 15	S. Francisco
July 18	Ship	Rhone	Benj. Hill	471	Callao	July 29	S. Francisco
July 22	Sch.	Indiana	Elisha Crosby	87	Punta Arenas	July 27	Hong Kong
July 26	Brig	New Perseverance	Boyer	150	Tahiti	Aug. 24	S. Francisco
July 30	Brig	Sabine	Chatfield	175	California	Aug. 7	California
Aug. 6	Brig	Moctezuma	Pfaunkuche	99	Mazatlan	Aug. 29	Manila
Aug. 13	Brigte.	Penco	M. Olio	686	Valparaiso	Sep. 21	Valparaiso
Aug. 14	Brig	Tepic	Geo. H. Luce	173	S. Francisco	Aug. 21	S. Francisco
Aug. 14	Brig	Eveline	S.T. Goodwin	196	Columbia R.	Sep. 14	Oregon
Aug. 17	Brig	Carlotta	J. Jurnovisch	97	Guaymas	Sep. 14	Guaymas

Entered.	Class.	Name.	Masters.	Tons.	Where from.	Cleared.	Where for.
Aug. 23	Sch.	Julian	Carl Moran	133	Hong Kong	Sep. 2	S. Francisco
Sep. 5	Sch.	Sri Singapura	Chas. Campbell	85	Hong Kong	Nov. 7	Coastwise
Sep. 19	Ship	Tsar	Samuel Kennedy Jr.	470	Tahiti	Nov. 10	Boston
Sep. 28	Sch.	Honolulu	F.A. Newell	156	S. Francisco	Oct. 10	S. Francisco
Sep. 30	Sch.	Kamehameha III	J.O. Carter	116	Coastwise	Sep. 30	S. Francisco
Oct. 3	Sch.	S.S.	Wm. Taylor	87	Lahaina	Oct. 4	S. Francisco
Oct. 11	Sch.	Haalileo	James Smith	75	Coastwise	Oct. 11	S. Francisco
Oct. 12	Sch.	Sagadahock	George Barmore	129	Tahiti	Oct. 28	S. Francisco
Oct. 13	Brig	Correo de Cobija	Thos. McGrath	120	Valparaiso	Oct. 30	S. Francisco
Oct. 13	Sch.	Amelia	Lindsay	149	Mazatlan	Nov. 20	H.K. [see Doc. 1848K]
Oct. 23	Sch.	Hope	Thos. Kong [sic]	---	Coastwise	Oct. 23	S. Francisco
Oct. 23	Bark	Mary Frances	John Paty	280	S. Francisco	Nov. 18	S. Francisco
Oct. 31	Sloop	Waiahao	J. Potts	17 [sic]	Coastwise	Oct. 31	S. Francisco
Nov. 3	Brig	Tepic	Geo. H. Luce	173	S. Francisco		
Nov. 7	Bark	Mary	Alonzo Parker	268	Kamchatka		
Nov. 7	Sch.	Plymouth	Geo. H. Gould	85	Coastwise	Nov. 7	Sydney
Nov. 7	Brig	Pacifico	H. Hooper	177	S. Francisco	Nov. 25	S. Francisco
Nov. 12	Sch.	Julian	Carl Moran	133	S. Francisco	Nov. 24	S. Francisco
Nov. 20	Sch.	Kamehameha III	J.O. Carter	116	S. Francisco	Dec. 1	Coastwise
Nov. 24	Sch.	Honolulu	F.A. Newell	156	S. Francisco	Dec. 5	S. Francisco
Nov. 29	Brig	Spencer	Christopher Bell	222	Liverpool		
Dec. 3	Sch.	Mary Ann	Jethro Hussey	59	S. Francisco		
Dec. 9	Sch.	Correo Valparaiso	J. Arnaud	110	S. Francisco		
Dec. 9	Sch.	Haalilio	James Smith	75	S. Francisco		
De. 10	Bark	Atka	A.W. Rudell	458	Sitka	Dec. 23	St. Petersburg
Dec. 20	Sch.	Catherine	P.T. Treadway	41 [sic]	(built here)	Dec. 20	S. Francisco
Dec. 20	Sch.	S.S.	Wm. Taylor	87	S. Francisco	Dec. 21	Coastwise

Note: Among the warships that visited Honolulu in 1848, there were the French corvette **Sarcelle**, Captain Leborgne, and **HMS Constance**, Captain Courtenay.

Document 1848K

Supposed discovery of an island in Micronesia

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, 2 April 1849, p. 31; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Fais 2.

Schooner "Amelia." Discovery of an Island. Gold fever at China. Typhoon, &c.

We are glad to announce the arrival in China of the British schooner **Amelia**; U.S.S. **Preble**; Hawaiian Brig **Moctezuma**; American merchant ship **Sea Witch**; hence 25 days. It will be recollected the **Amelia** put into Honolulu in consequence of a horrible mutiny occurring on board. She was to undergo some repairs in China, and would thence proceed with her cargo to Mazatlan. Capt. Lindsey still retains command, and reports to the British Consul General as follows:—

"On the 25th of December, 1848, during a calm I discovered an island or rock in Lat. 19°20' N.L., 141°15'30" E.L. It appeared about 49 feet high, and 4 miles in length; very barren, and of a dark brown colour. I feel confident of its position, as I proved the rate of my chronometer only two days previously at the islands of Gregan, and Asumption."

It appears by a private letter, and the *Friend of China*, of January 13, that matters there were in a tranquil state, except the gold fever broke out furiously in Hong Kong upon the **Amelia's** arrival. She took a considerable quantity of gold dust from Honolulu. The "fever" was extending to the other free ports, and parts of China.

...

1 Ed. note: Ward wrongly identified the island as Fais, because of a typographical error in the latitude: 9° instead of 19°. The given position corresponds to the location of Stingray Shoal, but there may be another error in the numbers given.

Document 1848L

**The barque Maria, Captain Sproule, visited
Wake Island**

Source: Nautical Magazine, 17 (1848): 240-247.

**Observations in the North Pacific, on a Voyage from Lima
to Canton.**

Barque **Maria**, Whampoa.

Sir,—

Should you think the following remarks worthy a page in your widely circulated journal (which, I conceive, the best channel through which we can communicate to each other any information we may acquire, tending to facilitate our trackless wanderings), you are perfectly welcome to them.

It may be my ignorance, but I have never seen any work written generally on the innumerable dangers which spot the chart of this mighty Pacific Ocean, making it rather frightful to look at; many, no doubt, having no existence, and numbers existing that have never been seen. I have traversed these seas much, and spent many anxious nights that might have been saved me, would every one contribute to a work like yours, and let the world know what they do see; for even should their remarks have been anticipated (which may very probably be the case with mine), the more numerous the authorities, the more confidence in the result.

On the 4th of March last [1848], I was, at noon, in lat. 19°14' N., long. 167°11' E., on my way from Lima to Canton; at 30m. past 5h. p.m. the look-out on the fore-top-gallant-yard saw low land on the starboard bow. I went aloft, and saw from the top-sail-yard a very low island, apparently about 3 miles in length, and not more than 6 or 7 from us; it lay in an E.N.E. and W.S.W. direction, was covered with low bushes, rather higher in the centre than at the ends. Unfortunately it was dark before we approached it sufficiently near to make any farther observations. Since noon I had made a due W. course and 29 miles difference of longitude; this would place the island in lat. 19°18' N., long. 166°42' E., the last was confirmed by the north star and a meridian altitude of Si-

rius, allowing the ship to be 4 miles south of it. This agrees nearly with an island called Helsing [Halcyon] on the chart (N.B. my chart is 1835), of which no mention is made in "Nories' Epitome, of 1844," and this is the only register I know of for these places.¹

This is a very dangerous spot, laying, as it does, immediately in the track of vessels from Peru, Central America, and the Sandwich Islands, and in a part of the ocean where vessels are generally running fast before the wind. I am confident it would not be seen more than 5 miles off deck, in the day-time; and in a dark night, never in time to avoid it if right ahead.

On a previous voyage, I passed this meridian in lat. 19°9' N. or right over the site of Wakes' Island, but saw nothing from the royal-yard, though at mid-day. Proceeding westward, I passed the meridian of Halcyon Island, in lat. 19°13', and that meridian now, on the present voyage, in 19°30', and saw no sign of land on either occasion. Norie gives it in 19°23'; from this I am inclined to think that they are all one and the same, seen by different people, and had different positions assigned it.²

There are two islands on the chart in 18°17' N. and respectively in 179°15' and 178°12' E., called Maurelle's. I passed over the site of each between 4h. a.m. and noon, but saw nothing; yet, from the number of birds, I feel confident we were near land somewhere.³ All these places are so very low, that even from the mast-head they are visible no distance.

I passed through the chain of Marian Islands, between Grigan and Assumption, and it may be well to remark that this channel is perfectly clear, and no islands exist between them. The channel is 50 miles wide, and when clear, both islands may be seen 15 or 16 leagues. Assumption is a very remarkable object, being a perfect volcanic cone rising abruptly from the ocean, to an altitude of 1700 feet, its whole circumference, at the base, not being more than 3 miles; three small islands bear about N.N.W. 4 or 5 leagues from it. Grigan is larger, but also volcanic, having a few trees on the N. and E. ends, which descend gradually from what appears to be the crater, having at some period deposited streams of lava, or black ashes, a considerable distance down its sides.

From these islands I steered a course to endeavour to fall in with the Bishop's Rock...

...

My dear Sir, I will not try your patience any longer, but subscribe myself,

Yours very Obediently,

Benjamin Sproule.

1 Has our correspondent consulted "Raper's Navigation," the best authority we know of, in these and some other matters.—Ed.

2 Ed. note: He was correct.

3 Ed. note: That position is too far away from Johnston Island to be confused with it, but it is the only one in the area.

Document 1848M

The ship Liverpool II, Captain Charles West

Sources: Ms. log in Providence Public Library; PMB 875; Log Inv. 2889.

Extract from the log kept by Captain West

...

[In April 1848 this ship was working her way northwestward through the Gilberts and Marshalls to get to the Japan Ground.]

...

Thursday 13th [April 1848]

Commences with strong wind from the WSW and heavy squalls with rain steering NW with single reefs in the topsails top gallant sails set over them. Mid part strong wind and squally. Latter part more moderate ship with all sail out. at 8 AM Haweis(?) [Kuria?] Island bearing NE dist 12 miles. S e [= So ends].

Lat. 00°50 N Long 172°57 [E]

Friday 14th

Commences with strong wind from the NE and fine weather. at 3 PM lying off the North part a canoe came off with some coconuts. Knox [Tarawa] in site[,] heading NNE. Mid part light airs from the NNW and fine weather. Latter much the same.

L. P. Lat. 1°52 N Long 173°02

...

Sunday April 16th 1848

Commences with calm and close weather. Mid part gusty wind from the NE and squally. at 10 AM saw the Island of Pitts [Makin] bearing West kept off and run down past the Island. So ends.

...

Friday April 21st 1848

Commences with light air from the SE and squally with rain steering West per compass. Mid part light airs and pleasant. Latter calm[,] a small Island in site[,] Could [be] Hunter [Kili] Island 10 miles off it [, it] is laid down 15 miles to far to the Westward on the Chart.

Lat 5°37 [N] Long 169°05 [E]

Document 1848N

The Champion of New Bedford, Captain A. F. Parker

Sources: Log 85 in NBWhM; PMB 253 (or 239); Log Inv. 883.

Extracts from the log

...
 [By April 1848 this ship was working towards the Japan Sea. The following October, they were in Lahaina, where most of the officers were discharged. The ship dropped toward Christmas Island, then towards the Gilberts.]

...
 Saturday November 25th 1848

These 24 hours commences with light winds from the NNW, ship staning WSW. The middle part the same, the latter part ship standing W by S. At 8 a.m. rose Clark's Island 20 miles dist. ahead.

Lat. 01.59 Long. [blank]

Sunday November 26th 1848

These 24 hours commences with strong winds from the N, ship hove to and standing along with the natives. Two English men came on board with the natives, Collins one of the seamen run away with two boats but did not succeed in getting him. Middle part ship NW the land bearing N, the latter part ship standing NNE, Clarks Island in sight. At 8 a.m. bore away NW. At 10 a.m. rose Drummonds Island.

Lat. 1°39 S. Long. [blank]

...
 Tuesday November 28th 1848

... Lang a foremast hand off duty with the ladies favor...

...
 [They slowly moved eastward (or westward, as longitudes badly recorded), met the ship **Atlantic** of Nantucket, then seemed to head for the Marianas without encountering any island along the way.]

...

Monday Dec. 25th 1848

These 24 hours commences with light winds from the NE, ship standing W by N. The middle part the same, the latter part at 9 a.m. rose Land. Employed in getting up casks.

Lat. 14°26 [N]

Tuesday Dec. 26th 1848

These 24 hours commences with strong winds from the NE, ship lying off and on at Rota, the Capt. on shore trading. The middle part on board, lying off and on. The latter part getting off coconuts and yams, lying off and on with the Ship Hound [rather Howard?] of Nantucket. So ends these 24 hours.

Wednesday Dec. 27th 1848

These 24 hours commences with strong winds from the NE, ship lying off and on getting hogs and coconuts. At 5 p.m. stands away for Guam, ship standing SW by S the Hound [rather Howard?] likewise. The middle part strong winds from the NE, ship standing SW. The latter part at 9 a.m. took the Pilot, at 11:30 came to an anchor in 22 fathoms, ship in port, Guam.

Thursday Dec. 28th 1848

These 12 hours commences with all hands employed setting up pipes for watches and getting a small raft ready for the same.

All hands employed but a boat crew got off the cutters and them is gone to town with the Capt. got the watch and hoisted it in. So ends these 12 hours.

Friday Dec. 29th 1848

These 12 hours commences with one watch on liberty and the caulker is employed on board. The Capt. on shore.

Saturday Dec. 30th 1848

These 12 hours one watch on liberty and the other employed in various things too numerous to mention. The Ship **Mancha** [rather Marcia] of New Bedford arrived, nothing this season.

Lat. and Long. of the Bay of Guam.

Sunday Dec. 31st 1848

These 12 hours employed fitting rigging, the Capt. on shore.

Monday January 1st 1849

These 12 hours employed on ships duty, the larboard watch on liberty.

Tuesday Jan. 2nd 1849

These 12 hours employed in getting off wood, the larboard watch on liberty.

Wednesday Jan. 3rd 1849

These 12 hours employed in getting off wood, the larboard watch on liberty.

Thursday Jan. 4th 1849

These 12 hours employed in getting off wood, the Capt. on shore.

Friday Jan. 5th 1849

These 12 hours employed in getting off wood with all hands, the **Levant** of Sag Harbor arrived today.

Saturday Jan. 6th 1849

These 12 hours employed in ship duty getting off wood, sent down the main topsail and mended it.

Sunday Jan. 7th 1849

These 12 hours employed in keeping the day as holy as possible.

Monday Jan. 8th 1849

These 12 hours employed in getting off wood and getting the ship ready for sea. At 5 o'clock a.m. one man run away.

Tuesday Jan. 9th 1849

These 24 hours commences with getting under way. At 6 a.m. took the anchor at Guam Bay and made sail. At 12 a.m. came to in Umatac Bay and got off 145 bbls of water. The middle part light airs from NNE. The latter part all hands employed in getting off water and stowing it down. Got in 300 bbls.

Wednesday Jan. 10th 1849

These 24 hours commences with all hands employed in stowing water. At 3 finished. At 2 p.m. the same, took the anchor and made sail. The middle part half watch, ship standing NW, strong winds from the NE, the latter part the same.

...

Friday [Jan.] 12th 1849

... Two men found in the foc'sle that did not belong to the ship which we enrolled at once...

Lat. 16°18 Long. 141°45

...

Documents 18480

Visit made to Guam by the French ship Bayonnaise, Captain Jurien de la Gravière

O1. Extract from Captain Jurien's book

Source: Jurien de la Gravière. Voyage en Chine et dans les mers et archipels de cet empire... (Paris, Charpentier, 1854), Vol. I.

Notes: The Bayonnaise was the French Navy ship on station in Macao. She carried 28 guns and was manned by 240 men. For her next voyage to Micronesia, see Doc. 1850A. An English translation has previously been made by Douglas Haynes, which was published in the Islander magazine, Pacific Daily News [Guam], 3 June 1990, pp. 4-7; however, it is not available to me.

Voyage to China and to the seas and archipelagos of that empire during the years 1847-1848-1849-1850.

By Captain [Jean-Pierre-Edmond] Jurien de la Gravière, commander of the corvette **La Bayonnaise**, sent by the French Government to that part of the world.

...

CHAPTER IX

...

[From Manila to Guam]

...

Entered the Strait of San Bernardino on 13 May [1848], and came out only on the 19th. There were 400 leagues to go before we reached Guam Island. This would have been nothing if the southwest monsoon had indeed extended, as we had been told, as far as the Marianas, but it is only during the months of August, September and October that the course of the [easterly] tradewinds are interrupted in the Pacific Ocean. During the month of June, we found the easterlies to be as constant and as unvariable as in any other period of the year. It was only after forty days of struggle that, ceaselessly pushed by the currents, opposed either by calms or by strong breezes or violent storms, we were finally able to arrive before the port of San Luis of Apra, at the entrance of which the **Bayonnaise** let go her anchor on 26 June 1848.

The port of San Luis is protected against the western winds by a long chain of reefs that, beginning near Cabras Island, extend their foaming barrier and indestructible dike towards Orote Point. It was in the lee of this first rampart that the **Bayonnaise** had anchored. From this already safe harbor, we would see the vast bay of Apra open up towards the East; it is almost entirely covered with huge coral banks. If, by some calm morning, before the sun darted its rays upon the transparent waters of the bay, one were to study these submerged dangers from the top masts, he could easily distinguish a network of blue lines that criss-cross in all directions in the middle of calcareous masses raised from the sea bottom by untold numbers of zoophytes. This array of narrow and deep channels ended up in a series of basins in which the biggest of ships could find shelter. The easternmost basin, known as "Caldera Chica" [Small Basin], frequently receives the whaling ships which, after having pursued the giant cetaceans of the Pacific Ocean off the coasts of Japan or those of Kamchatka, come to Guam during the months of October and November. There they find a healthy climate, a peaceful port and some refreshments for their crews. This anchorage, situated in the same direction from which the wind blows during most of the year, is however hard of access for sailing ships. It is by placing kedge anchors upon the reefs and towing the ship with boats that it becomes possible to reach this natural dock whose quays, covered by two to three feet of water at high tide, enclose with almost vertical walls a semi-circular basin. Once settled in the middle of the Caldera Chica, moored fore and aft across the pass, and exposing all her guns and a fearsome slantwise fire to an enemy who would dare, in spite of the wind and reefs, to get to her, the **Bayonnaise** could have no doubt faced the attacks of an entire fleet. In this regard, no other anchorage in the world offered such advantages as those of the bay of Apra. One could brave the assaults that would come from outside, and not have to worry about those that might be suscitated in the island itself by the news of a European coalition. If Spain had indeed turned against us in a general war, neither the garrison nor the forts of San Luis of Apra could have seriously threatened a corvette with 28 guns and a crew of 240 men.

The very next day after our arrival, we thought about occupying a place that would allow us to await in the most complete safety the news that Mr. Forbes was supposed to send to us.¹ When we had reached the spot where the very narrow passes did not allow us to use our sails, we resorted to the mooring cables and the anchors. Already we thought we neared the goal of our efforts. A few hundred meters separated us from the entrance of the last narrows, marked off by two buoys, when a violent squall came to force us to let go the anchor in the middle of numerous coral patches. Our situation was designed to inspire rather vivid worries. The sinister aspect of the sky, the sudden drop of the mercury in the tubes of the barometer warned of a hurricane. Incapable of going out of the winding labyrinth into which we had ventured with the strong breeze that was already blowing, we could only do one thing, that of consolidating ourselves as best we could in the middle of the reefs that surrounded us in all directions. During

1 Ed. note: Mr. Forbes was the American consul at Macao (see below).

the night, the predicted hurricane hit. The rain fell in torrents and the violence of the gusts seemed to increase from one hour to the next. The deep darkness did not allow us to distinguish whether we maintained our position or were slowly creeping towards the reefs. Thus, we were awaiting daylight impatiently. However, when daylight came, some curtains of water, resembling not so much a rain shower as pieces of sky that fell upon our heads, still stretched themselves around the corvette and hid everything from view. It was 10 o'clock by the time the weather cleared and we were able to gauge the full seriousness of our position. Thanks to the solidity of the bottom, our anchors had not yielded one inch to the redoubled fury of the gusts, but the sea, when going down, had exposed the coral heads that it had hidden on the previous day, and everywhere could be seen some threatening danger or some submerged reef. We were enclosed inside a real pool in the center of which we hardly had enough space to swing around. Fortunately, we had taken care to drop two anchors, one to the south, the other to the north. This precaution saved us. The wind which, during the night, had not stopped blowing from E and SE, jumped suddenly to the NW at about noon. The corvette's stern obeyed the new impulse and, turning upon her northern anchor, described with the speed of an arrow a semi-circle that let the heel of the rudder pass a few meters from a bank with hardly ten feet of water on top of it. This jump in the wind was the last effort of the storm. The clouds that swathed the peaks of the mountains began to dissipate. The breeze gradually eased to SW, then SE and soon the tradewinds, that had come out the winners of this long contest, resumed their regular and peaceful westward course.

The hurricane of June 30th¹ caused no shipwreck because the only ship that had been exposed to its fury, the **Bayonnaise**, could have, thanks to her chain-cables, defied the efforts of the most violent storms. However, this storm played terrible havoc on the island of Guam. The corn and yam fields were devastated by the wind and the flood. Twenty-four hours after this awful storm, we could still see white cascades falling through the bushes from the top of the mountains which turned ravines into torrents and discharged themselves as muddy streams across the plain. The bay was covered with dead fishes that the fresh water flood had surprised within the salt water pools in the harbor. The roads were gutted, and three stone bridges, recent masterpieces of Mariana engineering, littered the beach with their ruins. Some new coconut tree trunks had to be thrown over the ravines and some bamboo poles placed on the bridges to replace the arches that had fallen down; only after these works were carried out could communication be re-established between the various coastal points. Thus, after having moored the **Bayonnaise** upon her two bower anchors at the bottom of Caldera Chica, when we wished to pay a visit to the governor of the Mariana Islands, it was

1 Ed. note: Fr. Acosta (Doc. 1847AB) has it as occurring on June 29th, only because he had not yet adjusted his dates to take the 180° meridian into account, which was done at Manila officially, as of 1845.

by sea that we had to think of transporting ourselves to the capital of Guam, the town of Agaña.

CHAPTER X

The inhabitants of Guam Island and the amusements of the Port of San Luis of Apra.

The sea which, in most of the Pacific islands is subject to irregular and little noticeable tides, had reached its highest level when we left the corvette to go to Agaña. This condition allowed us to cross without any problem the shallows that extend from the anchorage of the **Bayonnaise** as far as the extreme limits of the bay of Apra. While our whale-boat could thus avoid a long circuitous route that a heavier boat would have needed to take to the Agaña landing place and was moving in straight line towards the eastern point of Cabras Island, it was a curious spectacle to contemplate through transparent blue waters the extensive coral flats above which we glided. Here, upon a background of white sand were unfolded some branches no less delicate than those of the heather in bloom; there were spread out the brain-corals and the big coral wreaths. Shapeless plants also flourished their viscous fascicles and their fleshy lobes amid the scintillating sprays of these submarine gardens, and the roses and the fragile spikes of these crystal fields. Nowhere is the flora of Oceania more varied and complete than on the coasts of Guam Island. One can, without leaving the bay of Apra, study the successive transformations that go from inert matter to vegetal life to organic life, from the apathetic existence of the sponges to the ceaseless activity of the corals and madrepores. These zoophytes, found all over the tropical seas, are surely admirable architects. Every day, they push out of the depths of the ocean ever more awe-inspiring and more durable than the pyramids of Egypt or the walls of Thebes. They are the ones that have created these archipelagos at sea level so feared by the navigator. They are the ones that have wrapped with a protective reef the volcanic cones that another era had seen emerge from the depths. At the base of these coral boulevards, the billow is jerked back powerless, the long waves of the swell come to die upon them. An inside channel, similar to the moat of a dungeon, often separates the shore washed by the placated waters from the sinuous barrier that copies its contours.

It was in one of those quiet channels that, after having rounded Cabras Island, we went into in order to reach, by staying close to the beach, the landing place at Agaña. The weather could not have been better for this trip; a light breeze slowly swayed the palm trees, the sky was a diaphanous blue, and nature, still shaken by the terrible crisis it had just suffered, seemed to soak in with sensuous delight the first rays of the rising sun.

At the beginning of our voyage, such a tepid tropical morning would have enraptured us but after eighteen months of cruising we were somewhat *blasé* about such sceneries and we just took in the comforts in silence. One would have had to resort to the vocabulary of the tourists from beyond the English Channel to express in a few words this calm and sensual bliss that slowly penetrated our whole beings. "I feel very

comfortable," an Englishman would have said, if he had been admitted to share our pleasure. "Very comfortable, indeed!" would have been our answer in chorus.

Indeed, I felt and enjoyed a perfect well-being; I was neither warm nor cold; my eyes were not bothered by the glare of too bright a sun, nor saddened by the paleness of a sky too grey; there was no inharmonious sound. Nothing hurt my senses; rather, everything caressed them. I felt a vague sensation of being still part of this muddy world, but I did, so to speak, float off it on the top of my tiptoes. However, at the least quick movement of one of my companions, at the least bump of the boat that carried me, I was brought back into the real world, fell flat upon the Earth, to find once more this mixture of good and evil that they call life. Until then, thank you very much, "I feel very comfortable, indeed!"

One had to have ploughed the sea during 53 days, have felt the anxiety of long stormy nights, have spent whole hours in the fore-castle or sat on a watch bench, tried to pierce the darkness that hid a coast from view, strained his ears to hear the faraway simmering of a squall or the muffled roar of the reefs, searched with a worried eye the horizon that darkened, the sky that threatened, the tired masts that bent... One must have known the night watches and the responsibility of the sailor to understand all the charms of these instants of rest during which, carried by the soft breath of the breeze, we were following effortlessly some green shores and letting our heart float away to a place 5,000 leagues from the Marianas.

However, here we are, in front of a forest of crooked and rough house posts which support the town of Agaña, its roofs covered with the branches of the wild palm tree and its houses of boards and bamboo. We lower the sail and a few tugs with the oar take us to the landing place. The whole staff was waiting for us. Destined to lead the island militia and to act as the retinue of the governor on important occasions, these officers, native or half-breed, wore the Spanish uniform with the imperturbable gravity and ludicrous majesty of negro kings. They led us, without the least smile, to the modest palace door where we found the acting governor of the Mariana Islands, Don José Calvo, who had succeeded a few months before our arrival to Lieutenant-Colonel José Casillas [rather Santa María] whose sudden death had deprived the government of the colony. This government, that would be a real exile for a young and active officer is generally entrusted to some fortuneless veteran. One cannot imagine, for a man disillusioned by ambitious dreams, a sweeter and quieter retreat. If Sancho Panza had known about Guam Island, he would have wanted to finish his days here.

It is well known that the archipelago, of which Guam is a part, was discovered by Magellan. Seen again in 1565 by Miguel de Legaspi who took possession of them in the name of his sovereign, definitely conquered to catholicism by the Jesuit Fathers, the Mariana Islands have known Spanish dominion for 150 years.¹ Once subsidized by the Mexican Government, they fell back on the burden of the Manila treasury after the

1 These islands, to which Magellan imposed the severe name of Islands of Thieves, received, in 1668, the name of Maria Ana of Austria, wife of Philip IV.

emancipation of the New World. In spite of the extreme reduction in expenditures, this useless annex nevertheless costs between 60,000 and 80,000 francs per year to run.

Situated at about 400 leagues from the Philippines, the Mariana Archipelago is composed of 17 islands and islets and extend from the 13th to the 20th degree of latitude. One could be tempted to recognize in these islands, thus spaced out northward, as so many natural steps by which Japanese migrations or Mongolian migrations from the northern shores of Asia could have come down to the western groups of Oceania.¹ It is certainly true that the normal winds found in the Pacific Ocean make the Mariana Islands close to the coasts of Japan, whereas the same winds tend, so to speak, to keep them beyond the reach of the Malaysian natives. If one accepts this hypothesis about colonization, he could easily explain how, in 1668, when the Spanish came to raise their flag upon the Mariana Islands, the institutions, the customs, the language itself of the inhabitants still held unquestionable traces of Asian origin.

[Footnote:] There was much discussion a few years ago regarding the origin of the first emigrants who formed the nucleus of the native populations of Oceania. Diametrically-opposed theories were at play. The most natural idea was to look for the departure point of these colonists to **windward** of the islands they were supposed to have reached. Therefore, it was assumed that, having left the coasts of the American continent, they had been carried from island to island successively by the tradewinds as far as the faraway shores of the Philippines. However, various considerations arising out of a more exact examination of the customs, language—considerations that Mr. Dunmore-Lang had presented with much ability—have caused the definitive abandonment of this hypothesis. Basing himself upon a few sentences taken from LaPérouse and on the disturbances affecting the tradewinds in the vicinity of the equator, Mr. Dunmore-Lang tried to establish the possibility of a colonization that would have advanced gradually from west to east, from the shores of Malaysia to the coasts of America. Speaking as a sailor, I cannot accept a hypothesis based no doubt upon very expert and ingenious reasons, but against which my professional experience protests. Five times during the course of our cruise and in very different seasons, I have sailed near the equator, between 110° and 160° of longitude. I can state that this navigation would have been completely impractical for primitive navigators who, according to Mr. Dunmore-Lang, would a long time ago have done it in their frail canoes. It seems to me that, if the Polynesian Islands have not been as first thought populated by fortuitous emigrations through the tropic seas from east to west, they must have been done aboard isolated boats or small fleets that the storms of the boreal seas had carried away eastward or southward, because it is, according to me, quite impossible for this movement of colonization to have taken place below the equator from west to east. By the way, one cannot forget that Japanese boats have been many times carried far away from the coasts by the hurricanes that devastate the shores of Matsuma, Nippon or Kurile Islands and have ended up either at the Philippine Islands or at Kamchatka, sometimes even at the Sandwich Islands. I tend to believe that the peoples of Oceania, like those of the American continent share common ancestors among the lost members of the

1 Ed. note: Modern archaeology has proven that the original inhabitants of the Marianas came from the south, southwest, or west from the Philippines, as their origin is Malay. They did not migrate from the north.

Mongolian family, and it is in the fertile steppes of Central Asia, rather than in the plains of Hindustan, that I would be tempted to place their origin.

The population of the archipelago then reached 73,000 [sic] inhabitants. Over half a century, this number kept decreasing so that 23 years after the submission of the last rebel who had sought refuge on Aguijan Island, the indigenous population had almost completely disappeared. Guam Island, in which the conquerors had judged fit to concentrate the remains of this nation decimated by war, by emigration and specially by abuse of alcoholic drinks, did not contain, in 1722, as many as 2,000 inhabitants. One must be fair to the religious who followed the Spanish soldiers to the Marianas. Heirs to the zeal of Las Casas, they made noble efforts to soften the blow of military occupation, but they were powerless to save the people vanquished by the fatal contact with European civilization.¹ It was only in 1786 that the decrease in population was checked. A few families were then transported from the Philippine Islands to this desolate soil and, in 1818, when Captain Freycinet took his corvette **Uranie** into the port of Apra, the Mariana Archipelago already counted almost 3,000 colonists and about 2,000 natives. Thirty years later, when we passed through, these numbers had almost doubled. At that time, Guam Island had 7,930 inhabitants, Rota 382, and Saypan 267.

The population growth in the Mariana Islands before 1668 seems to indicate that long periods of peace had taken place in this archipelago before the Spanish conquest. The surface area of all these islands, the biggest ones included, was indeed too limited to feed so many inhabitants unless an intelligent cultivation took advantage of its natural fertility and a regular government protected this cultivation. Guam Island, which is a class by itself, is only 76 miles in circumference; Saypan, only 32; Rota, 31; Tinian, 27. The other islands, to the north of this first group, which formed an entirely separate confederation,² offered their inhabitants an even more limited territory. Mountainous and uneven, the four islands of the southern group have no peak higher than 500 meters. These islands are watered during the rainy season, by numerous streams that are always ready to change themselves into torrents; at other times of the year they have to fear terrible droughts. Some earthquakes³ have often shaken them down to their foundations, and awful storms devastate their shores every year. Thus the Mariana Islands would not have interested the Spanish if they had not been lying along the route of the Philippine galleon which, for over one [sic] century,⁴ never missed, either coming from Manila, or coming back from Acapuco, to call at some point of this archipelago.

1 Ed. note: Epidemics were mostly responsible for the population decrease. It is true that the missionaries were saddened by the disappearance of their converts, but they could do nothing to stop nature from taking its course.

2 Ed. note: Known as the Gani Islands.

3 A few months after our departure, Guam suffered one of those earthquakes. The shocks were so violent and so repeated that the scared inhabitants wanted to abandon the island and seek refuge aboard the sixteen whaling ships then anchored in the bay of Apra.

4 Ed. note: More like 383 years, and it never stopped on the way eastward, except in three shipwrecks.

One cannot reproach Spain for too much severity in the exploitation of her colonial possessions. In this regard, her government has pushed moderation to the point of indifference. It is above all in the Mariana Islands that one can notice these apathetic tendencies. No effort whatever is made toward improving the finances or developing the resources of the colony. Never has a faraway colony felt itself so completely forgotten by the mother country as this archipelago has. On the other hand, never has such a light burden weighed upon a population. The Mariano Indians, the Chamorro Indians if one uses the name given to them by the conquerors, are not subject to any taxes. They owe the State forty days of work [per year] for road maintenance. Their obligations toward the Crown of Spain are limited to these personal chores. The administration of such a colony has to be noteworthy for the simplicity of its operations. The governor, invested with huge prerogatives, renders justice like Sancho in the Island of Baratarra. In most cases, this high functionary pronounces without possible appeal sentences that are carried out immediately; if the seriousness of the offence seems to indicate a punishment more severe than the corporal punishment normally inflicted upon the delinquents, the consultation of the main authorities of Guam Island becomes necessary. The administrator in charge of the expenditure of the funds sent every two years by the Manila treasury, the commander of the 200 Indians who make up the garrison, the five or six officers in charge of this indolent militia, the mayors who are in charge of the districts of Humata and Merizo, are then convoked and consulted by the governor. There are other occasions when the highest official of the colony must have recourse to the wisdom of this superior *junta*. However, when dealings are not related to justice matters, the Governor of the Marianas is not at all obligated by the resolutions that he had provoked and he alone can decide.

If an absolute and uncontrolled power is in the hands of the delegate of the Crown of Spain, the municipal institutions do nevertheless play a significant role in Guam. A sort of two-tiered voting system appoints, at the governor's choice and by the ballots of the notables of the island, some *gobernadorcillos* [village mayors], some *tenientes de justicia* [justices of the peace], and some *alguaciles* [constables], all native magistrates who receive as a mark of their authority the gold- or the silver-pommeled cane—known as "*el bastón*" ["the staff"] and the rattan cane venerated by the Indians like the fasces of the lictors [of ancient Rome]—known as "*el bejuco*" ["the cane"]. It is through these municipal officials that the police regulations and the various orders from superior authorities are executed, with noteworthy punctuality.

Such is the official government of the Mariana Islands, the only one whose uncomplicated arrangement is obvious from the first look. However, besides this visible government, there exists an occult and uppermost influence to which each Indian has vowed voluntary obedience since infancy. The discalced Augustinians, who succeeded the Jesuits in 1767, have not lost the moral authority of the first missionaries. For the inhabitants of the Marianas, these members of the Spanish clergy have never ceased to be God's representatives on Earth, and the only protectors whom the Indians may invoke against the abuses of the secular authorities. It is only as a result of this sacred

prestige, and above all these relationships of kind patronage, that one can explain the incredible authority that the curates of Agaña and Agat still exercise upon the minds of the people. As for the two other pastors to whom is entrusted the leadership of this fervent and docile flock, one, the curate of Merizo, seems struck with mental illness; the second is an infirm Indian, almost 80 years old, who can no longer leave the town of Agaña.¹ One would imagine with difficulty the sharp contrast presented by the curate of Agaña, Padre Vicente [Acosta] and that of Agat, Padre Manuel [Serantes], both members of the same order, both equally respected by their parishioners. Zealous Carlist and political exile, Padre Vicente had forgotten everything, the great plains of La Mancha that had seen him be born, the blue and serene skies of Spain, the friends whose hands he had shaken at his departure, even the flag under which he had so long fought by his wishes and his prayers, in order to think only of his dear Indians, of their salvation and spiritual progress. The face of Padre Vicente, his forehead furrowed by precocious wrinkles, his features shrunk by ascetism and apostolic work, deserve to remain fresh in my memory. I can still see his austere figure, his sunken eyes, this look burning with a dim fire whose ardor was hardly moderated by his evangelic charity. There was a monk from the Middle Ages lurking inside the curate of Agaña. His figure, framed by the white cassock of the Augustinians, reminded me of a close resemblance of the types made famous by Ribeira or Velasquez.

Padre Manuel, with his beaming face and his triple chin, could not awaken similar poetic ideas. He was one of those happy specimens from the Spanish clergy against whom our Gallican prejudices so quickly deliver unmerciful verdicts. A sincere faith, a serious attachment to all the duties of his profession compensated sufficiently the Andalusian zest and lovable lack of sophistication of Padre Manuel. The tireless curate busied himself with the same vigor about the spiritual interests as well as the temporal interests of his flock. It was he who had taught them how to choose the proper lands for cultivating corn and taro, who had advised them to use their half-wild bulls as beasts of burden, and to acclimatize in their island the Sydney horses. He too ceaselessly recommended to them the seeding of their land and the fattening of their animals so as to attract to Guam these whaling ships whose presence alone can today revive the islands of Oceania. The village of Agat shows the effects of the active and beneficial influence of its curate. It was the best aligned and cleanest village in the island. The road that cut through it was always free of potholes; the bridges, when they were carried away by a hurricane, were instantly repaired. The church, built and maintained by the piety of the faithful, had no competition in any other village. When, in the light of the candles burning on the altar, the madonna appeared clothed with her holiday attire, one could notice on the holy image enough pearls and golden things to arouse the envy of all the inhabitants of Agaña.

So were the two religious we found gathered at the home of the acting governor of the Mariana Islands. They, together with Don José Calvo, one of the kindest man I

1 Ed. note: He refers to Fr. Ciriaco, a Filipino native. He died the following year.

have ever met, were probably the only company that could cheer us up during our stay at the island of Guam. With the exception of these three personalities, the European race was scarcely represented in the Marianas by one infantry lieutenant, Lieutenant Martinez, and by two English sailors who had settled in Guam years ago, the pilot Roberts¹ and Captain Anderson. Roberts was a mild and modest man, not wasteful with words, as accommodating as Alcibiade and quite ready to accept the saying: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." He would have worshipped the Dalai Lama in Tibet, the god Fo in Peking, Brama or Vishnu in India. In Guam, he had embraced Catholicism and regularly did his Easter duties. Anderson was the only heretic in the whole island. With his herculean size, his forehead as haughty as that of Ajax or Lucifer, his masked features, his rubicund face, this red hair that time had turned grey but that still betrayed a Scottish origin, the port captain jeered at the weakness of his countrymen and trampled underfoot with scorn the prejudices of the Papists. It was a curious story that could be unravelled about Anderson out of all his braggings. Engaged as a midshipman on an English brig, he had served during part of the war in the Mediterranean. In 1815, he was dismissed and took the command of a trade ship that he lost in the Bay of Bengal. He was waiting at Mauritius Island for an opportunity to go back to England, when the corvette **Uranie**, commanded by Captain Freycinet, came to anchor in Port Louis. Anderson had, according to his story, rendered a few services to one of the lieutenants aboard the **Uranie**, Lieutenant Labiche, who had been detained as a prisoner in Scotland during the war. The French corvette was then in need of a boatswain. Lieutenant Labiche offered this position to Anderson who accepted it in the interest of science, and fulfilled the functions until the arrival of the **Uranie** at Guam. There, during the stay of the corvette in Apra Harbor, he conceived the plan to pitch his tent upon the calm shores of Oceania, obtained permission from Captain Freycinet and from Governor José Medinilla. Soon he was married to a Spanish woman—a woman of pure Gothic blood he said with pride, without any mixture of Jewish or Moorish blood. He soon became one of the most important citizens of Guam, captain of the port of Agaña and *factotum* of the colony.² The Anderson breed had prospered upon the foreign soil; the sons, robust and active, could form the crew of the paternal whale-boat. His two or three big daughters, with blond hair, blue eyes, and pale faces, were the true daughters of Fingal or Ossian; they towered above the heads of the brown children of the Oceanian race.

One must do justice to Captain Anderson. He had been able to make himself loved by the inhabitants of Agaña and make himself indispensable to the Governor. Full of fire and intelligence, he could, when required, display a rare activity. However, the unfortunate weakness that probably had stopped the rise of the midshipman still kept this strange adventurer in limbo from which only the examples of good companions could have extricated him. Anderson could possibly have forgotten his home country and ac-

1 Ed. note: Known as Roberto locally.

2 Ed. note: This Latin word means handyman, jack-of-all trades.

cepted to live far from its mountains, but he never did forget grog. Alcohol had a magnetic attraction for him. It was when the first vapors from the brandy began to affect his brain that the memory of his first campaign came back to him, ever closer and more glorious, that he had routed entire fleets under the guns of Leghorn or Syracuse, and inspired like the pythoness, he mixed with his war stories some scraps from Shakespeare, evoking the gracious profile of Mrs. Freycinet and mixing it with the narrative of the death of Julius Cesar.

The voyage of Captain Freycinet has made famous the hospitality of the governors of Guam. Don José Calvo showed himself to be the worthy successor of the ostentatious official who had welcomed the officers of the *Uranie*. Twice in one day, a homeric banquet was laid out in the long hall of the palace. Such feasts, if renewed too often, would have sufficed to create famine in the island, because the resources of Guam are very limited. The very day that the *Bayonnaise* had anchored in the port of San Luis of Apra, our first concern had been to send our servants ashore to find some provisions. Our cruise which, according to our friends in Macao, should have taken from 14 to 20 days, had taken 53, and we had already been deprived of fresh food for one month. However, once again we had suffered a sad disappointment. The pigs that were being fed in expectation of the whaling ships would not be ready for market before October at least; before this period, the Indians did not wish to part with them at any price. The chickens, which usually roost upon the roofs of the houses in Guam, had to be treacherously surprised at sunset; they had to be netted with a butterfly net. The bananas were not ripe. The pineapples were almost green. There was only breadfruit, the delicious *rima*, and sweet potatoes, *camotes*, to replace our stock of potatoes exhausted long before. One should easily understand how our long privations made the sumptuous hospitality of Don José Calvo so welcome. By the way, it must be mentioned that the Spanish [olive] oil, with its fetid and rancid smell that give such a bad odor to the streets of Cadiz and Barcelona, has fortunately not penetrated as far as these faraway countries; there is not one village in the Philippines, however poor, not one humble village in the Marianas either, where one cannot find a more appetizing meal than in the best inns of Spain.

The pleasure of the table then occupied a large part of the first day that we spent at the governor's home in Agaña. However, a curious episode, by awakening some interesting memories, took place and offered us less mundane entertainment.

A small tribe from the Caroline Islands had seen their native soil, the sea-level island upon which their ancestors had lived for centuries, be swallowed up by the waters that suddenly hit from the sea. These unfortunate islanders had sought refuge in coconut trees after having tied their canoes at the foot of these same providential trees. Many of them died from cold or perished, tortured by famine. Those who survived threw themselves into their canoes as soon as the hurricane had passed and came to Guam to implore the mercy of the Governor of the Marianas. Don José Casillas, who was still

alive then,¹ welcomed them with kindness and allowed them to settle on the Island of Saypan, where a schoomaster was sent to prepare them to receive baptism. Intrepid navigators that they were, these Carolians then served as a link between the various islands of the archipelago, and their active canoes were ceaselessly busy carrying to Guam the pigs fattened in Rota or the sun-dried meat of the wild cattle bred on Tinian.

A happy coincidence had brought two of these canoes before Agaña that very morning. Pressed with questions regarding the Saypan immigrants, Don José Calvo decided to give us the pleasure of seeing them with our own eyes and to question them ourselves. The Carolinians were therefore given the order to come immediately to the palace. This unexpected episode, this unforeseen sample of the peoples of Oceania made us forget, for that day at least, the study of the pale civilization for whose benefits the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands had fulfilled for more than one century the poetic ideas of the 'noble savage.' Very different from the shy offsprings of Agaña, who show themselves always covered with a big hat made of plaited pandanus leaves or with a detestable hat made of boiled heather, clothed with pants of blue cotton and a shirt of pineapple fiber, always carrying rosaries and scapularies around their necks, the Carolinians we now saw, five in number, four men and one woman, were real savages whose daring nakedness put up with our looks with perfect indifference. Nevertheless, the men wore only the indispensable *maro* [loin-cloth] and the waist of the young woman was the only thing hidden by a yellowish skirt that covered the thighs but not the knees.

With their backs to the wall, motionless like statues that had just come out of the founder's mold, these living caryatids let us examine their wide chests, a pronounced muscular system, a torso whose effect was not spoiled by frail limbs such as those of the natives of Timor or those of the Papuans of New Guinea who had so offended us. Their jet-black hair fell upon their shoulders in two bunches of shiny curls, or stood on end above their forehead like a thorny bush at the edge of a field it protects. Their skin of a solid and clear complexion, their features less flat than those of the Malays but bolder than those of the Chinese, gave an overall impression that did not lack charm nor nobility. One could have seen in them the beautiful Nubian type turned red. The young woman, though hardly out of childhood, had already been introduced to the joys and sufferings of motherhood. Her tired features, her withered breast told rather well how fleeting grace and beauty are when delicate and constant care is not taken to repair the ravages of time.

The Saypan immigrants belonged to this Caroline Island group whose inhabitants, long before the Spanish conquest, had learned the way to Guam. Every year, there can still be seen in their red canoes with the huge outrigger bringing to the port of Merizo or spreading their loads of shells and mother-of-pearl on the Plaza de España.² This island group is situated in the western sector of the huge archipelago that covers from

1 Ed. note: The author has confused him with Governor Santa María.

2 Ed. note: The official name for the public square in front of the palace of Agaña.

the Pelew [Palau] Islands to Ualan [Kosrae] Island. The islands whose names the Carolinians mentioned to us are indicated on the French navy charts roughly in the following sequence: Ulie [Woleai], Elat and Satawal. It was in the middle of this group that existed before, like a coral cup, the island they had been forced to abandon. "A big hole appeared in our island," repeated with sorrow these Trojans of Oceania, while they tried to satisfy as best they could our insatiable curiosity. "The sea came through this gap and we had to take refuge at the top of the coconut trees." Would this submerged island, this lost pleiad have collapsed upon itself after one of those earthquakes that so often shake the archipelagos of Polynesia? Or else, as the Carolinians say, has a piece of the barrier reef that surrounds the sort of basin, located below sea level, indeed have fallen off? That, we were unable to find out, but it is certain that this island, once submerged by the sea, even if only by a hurricane, the corruption of its fresh water springs must have sufficed to make it uninhabitable and to force the Carolinians to look northward for a more solid soil and a less precarious refuge.

The western part of the Carolines, the only one with some communications with the Marianas and the one the emigrants in our presence had come from, is inhabited by a peaceful and harmless race ignoring the use of weapons, but very advanced in the art of navigation. On the other hand, farther east, there can be found ferocious and revengeful savages, to the corruption of whom the convicts who have escaped from Sydney have contributed, by getting weapons from whaling ships; they would be formidable neighbors for the western Carolinians, if the tradewinds, by their constancy and regularity, did not keep each tribe of this archipelago on its own island. Between the Carolines and the Marianas, these same winds make navigation easy. Every year, around the month of April, the Carolinians leave and find a cross-wind, equally suitable to travel in either direction, to reach the point of Merizo, or to get back to their archipelago. These brave seamen know the celestial sphere very well. When a passing storm darkens the sky, the very constant direction of the breeze can compensate for some time for the momentary absence of the constellations that guide them; but if this clue itself happens to fail them, if the regular breeze is disturbed by the storm, the Carolinians take pride in still being able to recognize the way the canoes are following by the various shapes of the swells, depending on the wind that blows. "The swell from the east," they say, "is long and not much noisy; the swell coming from the directions where the sun sets, bumps into the general currents and sounds like the noise of breakers; the waves from the southeast or northwest are equally short and jerky, andt could be confused, but the southeasterly wind always brings more squalls and storms." It generally takes five or six days for the canoes from Elat or Ulie to cross the 100 leagues that separate the two archipelagos and reach the southern point of Guam Island. Some of these canoes do perish, others lose their way and are often pushed as far as the coasts of Luzon, of Samar, or of Mindanao. However, whatever the chances of navigation, there exist incredible resources among these marine demi-gods, among these men similar to the mermen of Scandinavia, who roll themselves in the waves like children on prairie grass, and for whom it is as easy and as simple to swim as it is to walk.

When one compares these beautiful, free, naked, supple and intrepid savages to the puny population of the Marianas, one is amazed at the rapid ravages that contact with our civilization can produce among primitive races. The natives of Guam live nevertheless under one of the healthiest and most favored climates in the world. The temperature in the Marianas rarely exceeds 30 degrees centigrade in the hottest part of the summer; cold is unknown there. Miasmatic affections, common to all tropical regions, exist. Dysentery is the only one that causes a few ravages in Guam; still this terrible disease generally attacks only children.

The resources of the soil are inexhaustible: scratch the earth, you will soon harvest corn, taro, yams or sweet potatoes. Does this work seem excessive to you? Stay stretched upon your mat, under the shade of the casuarinas [ironwood trees] or orange trees, and let nature take care of providing for your subsistence. The root of the manioc and the nut of the *Cycas* [federico] palm, whose corrosive sap is removed by soaking, will allow you to wait for the breadfruit tree branches to be loaded with their starchy fruits, around the end of May. The coconut tree, productive as of its fifth year, will provide the nut that feeds the fowls, fattens the pigs, fills with a limpid oil the lamp of the Chamorro or perfumes with its oily liquid the black hair of the Indian woman. If, however, renouncing the promises of the cluster already in bloom, you divert the sap that flows towards the top of the palm tree, if you thus make sterile this young giant of the beach, the bamboo tubes into which you would have inserted the tip of the peduncles trimmed each morning will give you for five or six months, without any apparent harm to the tree, a liquor which is at first clear and sweet to the taste and which fermentation will quickly convert into vinegar, unless you hasten to extract the alcoholic content from it by the process of distillation.

The inhabitant of Guam, freed from work by the clemency of Heaven and by the easy-going government that Providence had reserved for him, lets his days go by in an apathetic idleness. He is a simple being, limited, without needs, without passions, happy in his fashion but happy nevertheless. Blindly subjugated to the Church, if he accumulates a few pesos, it is to have some masses celebrated. The exterior pomp of the Roman liturgy acts forcefully upon his imagination, but it is doubtful that he might have tried to understand the mysterious meaning of the ceremonies that fascinate him. When one sees his piety accomodate itself so easily with that of human frailties against which the Catholic religion has directed its most rigorous pronouncements, one would be tempted to believe that this edifying Christian has not very correctly understood the duties that the Padre has taught him, and that he has been used since infancy to render to God an automatic cult. These poor Indians do not occupy in the scale of beings a very high rank. Let us not dream of too rapid a progress for them. Our first attempts at propaganda have almost destroyed their race. Let them live first; let them pass upon the earth, if necessary to grow there, multiply themselves, and expire just like those tropical plants whose stem grows uselessly and rises only to be swayed by the wind or to smile at the scorching sun-beams. Let them remain for a long time still an inert cog-wheel in this great universe! Perhaps one day it will be possible, without violating the designs of

Providence, to call them to a nobler destiny, but today let us refrain from bringing them new sufferings, let us not scare away their naive faith, let us respect their calm felicity and, prudent physicians that we are, let us spare their eyes, easily dazzled, from often painful lights.

The sun had already set when we left the governor of Agaña but our whale-boat had gone ahead and crossed the only difficult pass found within the interior channel that was to lead us back to the bay of Apra. Some Indians, bearing torches of dry reeds before us, served us as guides as far as the low point near which our boatmen were waiting and, in less than one hour, we had reached the narrow pass of Cabras Island. We then lifted our sail and the land breeze which had just started, pushed us quickly towards the corvette, where we arrived pleased with our excursion and ready to repeat a similar foray if Heaven decided to reserve another day for us as beautiful as today and similar interesting episodes.

It was not the only time we visited the capital of the Mariana Islands. The gracious urbanity of the governor and of Padre Vicente did bring us back often. Padre Manuel also wished to show us his picturesque parish, to dazzle us with its fireworks, to enrapture us by the harmony of his Indian orchestra. By the way, we had to limit our outings to Agat and Agaña. Although the vegetation of the Marianas is far from displaying a vigor comparable to the wild profusion of the Malaysian forests, we had not found anywhere else more impenetrable thickets than those offered by the shores of Guam Island. A shrub, imported from Manila in 1780, the "*Iecmoncito*", a sort of lemon tree with red berries, that the birds have taken charge of propagating, has invaded the smallest clearings and filled the spaces between the tall trees with its thorny branches. The trip to the Sumay farm, that was located in front of our anchorage at Orote Point, upon which we had set up a lookout, offered difficulties we could not have overcome without a guide. The sagacity of Uncas, or of Chingagook, was indispensable in order to find our way through these woods in which, if one left the existing path, he met with an inextricable maze. Not daring to venture amid such labyrinths, the time we did not spend at Don José Calvo's place or with Padre Manuel, we spent wandering upon the reefs at low tide. A few hours were sufficient for us to load a boat full of shells or mollusks. The taste for natural history had become almost general on board and we vied with one another to discover the imperial cone or the flaming cone, the papal miters or the Ethiopian crown, and specially the famous golden yellow cowrie; however, this object of envy of all the amateurs,

*"Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cycno,"*¹

frustrated the most obstinate searches, and only one of us was able to carry away from Guam, one such rare specimen among Polynesian shells, thanks to the munificence of Don José Calvo.

It was amid these entertainments and numerous fire drills meant as a prelude to our next cruise, that we saw the month of July go by. Padre Manuel, the governor of Agaña

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning "Rare bird in the world, like a black swan."

and Padre Vicente no longer received my visits, because I did not want to lose sight of Orote Point upon which the signal that would announce the arrival of the ship promised by Mr. Forbes would come from. I did not doubt for one moment that this devoted friend was to be faithful to the pledge that he had voluntarily contracted with me; but a typhoon could have engulfed or dismasted the vessel sent from Macao, and I resolved not to wait at San Luis beyond the 10th of August for the news that I was surprised not to have yet received. If no ship had reached us before that time, I had decided to set sail without further delay for Manila.

On 8 August, at sunrise, I was happily relieved of my worries. A schooner, flying the United States flag on her gaff, was tacking offshore, making for the bay of Apra. She was the **Anglona** which, after having unloaded a shipload of opium at Wossung, had been pushed by the southwest monsoon that prevailed then on the coasts of China and had gone through the Strait of Van Diemen and had just reached the Pacific Ocean and the Mariana Islands by a new route. This schooner had left Macao only at the end of June. The news brought by the mail ship that had arrived at Hong Kong on 17 May had not seemed to Mr. Forbes or to Mr. Forth-Rouen of a nature worthy enough to provide a reason to send the **Anglona** to the Marianas. Before sending the **Anglona**, Mr. Forbes had therefore waited until this ship could bring us the letters and newspapers that had left Paris on 24 April. The political horizon was then far from being completely clear, but it was already easy to predict that the first enemies that the new Republic would have to fight would unfortunately not be foreigners.

Thus vanished a plan for a cruise about which it would be useless today to expose in detail or to discuss its possible outcomes. Suggested by one of those men of resource who have a seaman's instinct without ever having been at sea and for whom the experience of vast commercial operations has given the understanding of daring ideas and ingenious combinations, this project was feasible only with the man who had conceived and inspired it. Mr. Forbes did for me, on this occasion, what he would hardly have thought of doing for his countrymen. It was impossible to persuade him that the voyage of the **Anglona** would result in a compensation that would easily be granted by the French Government. The American consul wished that the service rendered to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and that of the Navy fortunately took upon themselves a few months later to discharge by official thanks a debt that the officers of the **Bayonnaise** could not have paid off completely by their own gratitude.

...

O2. Extract from the officers' logbook

Source: ANP Marine 4JJ365 (1) Cahier n° 7.

Note: The Bayonnaise left Macao to visit Guam, by way of Manila. She arrived at Apra Harbor on 26 June 1848. The shandwriting is for the most part nonchalant and hard to decipher.

Original text in French.

...

Le Lundi 26 Juin 1848.

De minuit à 4 heures.

Tems nuageux, quelques petits grains, jolie petite brise. La mer belle. Haute surveillance.

De 4h à 8h

Tems à grains, jolie brise, la mer belle; à 5h remplacé le petit foc par le grand. Etatilé(?) les basses voiles; et viré de bord; à 5h1/2 branlebas, largué le ris de chasse, déjeuner. Gréé en etatilé(?) les cacatois, à 7h1/4 hissé les couleurs à 8h1/4 largué portes sur la pointe San Luis.

De 8h à midi.

Bons tems, jolie brise, la mer belle. Gouverné pour gagner la baie de S. Luis. A 9h aperçu le pilote gouverné dessus. Mis en panne pour le prendre à bord; fait servir immédiatement, gouverné selon ses indications. A 9h55 mouillé par 25 brasses en filant 65 brasses de la chaine de T[ribord.] Serré les voiles, dégréer les cacatois, Mis les Tangons en place. A midi, diner.

Au mouillage d'Apra. Relèvement du 1er mouillage: Ile Orote S. 71°O. Ile aux chèvres pointe O. N.44°E. Fort Sta. Cruz S.45°E. Brisants du large pointe O. N.62°O.

De Midi à 4 heures.

Beau tems, jolie brise d'ENE. Débarqué le Youyou. Vers 2h un grain touche à bord, pluie pendant le grain. à 4h le canot du Commandant à ses ordres.

De 4h à 8 heures.

Beau tems, jolie brise d'ENE. à 5h souper, Le canot major aux ordres des officiers, à 6h embarqué le canot du Commandant, à 6h30' amené les couleurs, dégréé les perroquets; hissé le canot major; appel aux postes de combat, On aménage la batterie, l'Equipage prend la tenue de nuit.

De 8 heures à Minuit.

Beau tems, petite brise d'ENE, Pluie de nouveau.

Le Mardi 27 Juin 1848.

De Minuit à 4 heures.

Assez beau tems, deux petits grains de pluie; faible brise d'ENE. à 4 heures branlebas.

De 4h à 8 heures.

Beau tems, faible brise d'ENE. Déjeuner. L'Equipage a lavé le linge; lavage haut et bas, fourbissage, la baleinière aux ordres du Commandant. à 7h débarqué les embarcations. à 8h hissé les couleurs.

De 8h à Midi.

Tems à grains, jolie brise de N.E. Nettoyage des armes. L'Equipage prend la tenue de jour. à 10h inspection. Mis une ancre de galère dans la chaloupe, garni la chaîne au cabestan, on chasspons(?) à changer de mouillage. à Midi Diner.

Relèvement du 2e mouillage: Ile Orote N.84°O. Fort Sta. Cruz S.77°E. Ile aux chèvres pointe E. N.52°E. Ile aux chèvres pointe O. N.20°E. Extrémité des brisants N.39°O.

De Midi à 4 heures.

Beau tems, jolie brise de NE. à 1h serré les tentens(?) à 1h10' commencé à virer, largué les voiles, Appareillé sous les huniers, le grand foc et la brigantine, à 8h35' dérapé; gouverné selon les indications du pilote[,] à 1h45' mouillé l'ancre de babord par 22 brasses d'eau, fond de corail, filé 60 brasses de chaîne, serré les voiles, caponné(?) l'ancre de tribord, expédié la chaloupe[,] le grand canot mouiller l'ancre de galère, le petit canot au salier [sablier? balises?].

De 4h à 8 heures.

Beau tems, jolie brise de NE. La chaloupe va mouiller une autre ancre de galère. A 5 heures souper, hissé les embarcations, à 6h20' dégagé mats de perroquets en amenant les couleurs. Appel aux postes de combat, branlebas, changé les hamacks.

De 8h à Minuit.

Beau tems, petite brise d'Est variable. Les gens de quart lavent leurs hamacks.

Le Mercredi 28 Juin 1848.

De Minuit à 4 heures.

Assez beau tems, petite brise d'E.S.E. Les hommes de quart lavent leurs hamacks, à 4h branlebas.

De 4 à 8 heures.

Tems couvert et à grains, pluie dans les grains. Déjeuner, Garni la chaîne au cabestan, levé l'ancre de babord, Un fer de gaffe du grand canot tombé à la mer, perdu. At- raqué les grelins pour nous touer, la chaloupe et le grand canot vont mouiller des ancres à get pour nous touer, à 6h20' les grains empêchent de continuer à nous touer, mouillé l'ancre de tribord, par 19 brasses d'eau, lavage haut et bas; à 8h hissé les couleurs.

De 8h à midi.

Tems à grains, la brise par raffales et pluie, pendant les grains, on continue à se halier, à 9h l'Equipage prend la tenue de jour, Vers 9h20' de fortes raffales viennent du S.E. et pluie, l'Equipage envoyé dans la batterie et suspendu le travail [à] cause de grandes pluies. à 11h50' diner de l'Equipage. 9h une double ration donnée à l'Equipage.

Relèvement du 3e mouillage: Ile Oroté S87°O, Fort Sta Cruz S59°E, Ile aux chèvres pointe E N52°E, id. pointe O N11°E, Extrémité des brisants N49°O.

De Midi à 4 heures.

Pluie continuelle, la brise variable du SE au Sud, Dégarni le cabestan, filé jusqu'à 60 brasses la chaîne de tribord, et mouillé l'ancre de babord en filant 30 brasses. hissé les embarcations; le grand canot va mouiller la chaloupe [sic].

De 4h à 8h.

Pluie continuelle, la brise du S.E. et par raffales. à 5h souper de l'Equipage, 6h appelé aux postes de combat, à 6h10' branlebas et réglé le service, filé l'ancre de B. jusqu'à 54 brasses[.] Surveillance très active, un homme continuellement au plomb de sonde.

De 8h à Minuit.

Pluie continuelle, grand frais par raffales, le vent varie du S.E. au Sud. Eclairs dans l'Ouest[.] Grande surveillance aux chaînes, au plomb de sonde, mis les chaînes de paratonnerre à la mer.

...

Le Jeudi 29 Juin 1848.

2e relèvement du 3e mouillage à 9h30': Pointe Auroté N.89°O, Ile aux chèvres pointe O N.13°E, Id. pointe O N.56°E., balises St. C. fort S.51°E., 2e balises S.25°E, bouée du plateau S.10°E.

...

Le Lundi 10 Juillet 1848.

A 10h20' aperçu un Brig à l'entrée de la baie[.] hissé le pavillon du grand canot pour faire rentrer le monde à bord. Les Permissionnaires sont renvoyés à terre. Le canot du Commandant armé aux ordres d'un officier pour aller à bord du brig...

Retour du canot du commandant..

...

Le Lundi 7 Août 1848.

A 6h vigie de la pointe signale une goëlette. Armé la baleinière aux ordres du Commandant, hissé les couleurs. A 7h la goëlette est au ras du bord.

De 8h à midi. Tems à grains, petite brise d'E. variable. à 9h les canots, major et petit canot, canot du Commandant et grand canot sont envoyés pour remorquer la goëlette (américaine). Embarqué un boeuf.

De Midi à 4 heures. Le canot envoyé porté des vivres frais [sic] à bord de la goëlette. Le youyou va chercher les 7 timoniers qui étaient à terre en vigie.

...

Le Jeudi 10 août 1848.

... A 7h le pilote monte à bord. à 7h1/4 viré jusqu'à pic. 7h30 largué les voiles et pris le ris de chasse. à 8h dérapé[.] La brise fraîchait beaucoup. Gouverné selon les indications du pilote.

A 8h1/2

Pointe Facpi & pointe Merizo S.25°E.

Mont Tinkio S.81°E.

Pointe Oroté N. 81°E.
Ile aux chèvres pointe O. N. 71°E.
Pointe de Nigo N. 50°E.
Point de départ à 8h1/2:
Lat. N. 13°26'02"
Long. E. 142°27'47"

...

Translation.

...

Monday 26 June 1848

From midnight to 4 a.m.

Cloudy weather, a few small squalls, nice light breeze. The sea beautiful. State of alert high.

From 4 a.m. to 8 a.m.

Squally weather, nice breeze, the sea beautiful. At 5, replaced the small jib by the big one. Set the low sails and tacked. At 5:30, decks cleared, etc., removed the top reef, breakfast. Rigged and set the royals. At 7:14, raised the flag. At 8:15, heading towards San Luis Point.

From 8 a.m. to noon.

Nice weather, beautiful breeze, the sea nice. Steered for the entrance of the Bay of San Luis. At 9, sighted the pilot and steered for him. Hove to, to pick him up. Made sail immediately, steering by his instructions. At 9:55 anchored in 25 fathoms with 65 fathoms of starboard cable. Furled sails, brought down royal yards, foresail booms in place. At noon, dinner.

At anchor in Apra. Position of the first anchorage: Orote I. bore S71°W; W. point of Cabras I. bore N44°E; Fort Santa Cruz bore S45°E; outside breakers at the W point bore N62°W.

From noon to 4 p.m.

Nice weather, nice breeze from ENE. Lowered the dinghy. At about 2 p.m., a wind squall hit the ship, it was accompanied with rain. At 4 p.m., the commander's boat made ready for him.

From 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Nice weather, beautiful breeze from ENE. At 5, supper. The big boat made ready for the officers. At 7, loaded the commander's boat. At 3:30, lowered the flag, brought down the top-gallant yards, loaded the big boat, call to action stations. The guns are made ready, the crew changed to night dress.

From 8 p.m. to midnight.

Nice weather, light breeze from ENE. Rain again.

Tuesday 27 June 1848

From midnight to 4 a.m.

Rather nice weather, two small rain squalls, light breeze from ENE. At 4 a.m., decks cleared, etc.

From 4 a.m. to 8 a.m.

Nice weather, light breeze from ENE. Breakfast. The crew has washed the clothing. Washed both decks, and polished them. Whale-boat made ready for the commander. At 7, lowered the boats. At 8, raised the flag.

From 8 a.m. to noon.

Squally weather, nice breeze from NE. Cleaned the weapons. The crew changed to daytime dress. At 10, inspection. Placed a kedge anchor aboard the small boat, fastened the cable to the capstan. Warped to change anchorage. At noon, dinner.

Position of the second anchorage: Orote I. bore N84°W; Fort Santa Cruz S77°E; E point of Cabras I. N52°E; W point of Cabras I. N20°E; end of breakers N39°W.

From noon to 4 p.m.

Nice weather, good breeze from NE. At 1 p.m., took up slack(?). At 1:10, began to turn around, set the main topsails, the big jib and the lower mizzen sail. At 8:35, weighed anchor, steered as per instructions of the pilot. At 1:45, dropped the port anchor in 22 fathoms water, coral bottom, with 60 fathoms cable, furled sails, let go the starboard anchor, sent the launch and the big boat to place the kedge anchor, the small boat to the sand pit(?) [or to the markers?].

From 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Nice weather, good breeze from NE. The launch went to place another kedge anchor. At 5, loaded the boats. At 6:20, took down the top-gallant yards while taking down the flag. Call to action stations, decks cleared, hammocks changed.

From 8 p.m. to midnight.

Nice weather, light breeze from E, variable. The men on the watch washed their hammocks.

Wednesday 28 June 1848

From midnight to 4 a.m.

Rather nice weather, light breeze from ESE. The men on the watch washed their hammocks. At 4 a.m., decks cleared.

From 4 a.m. to 8 a.m.

Overcast sky and squally weather, with rain during the squalls. Breakfast. Fastened the cable to the capstan, weighed the port anchor. The iron grappling hook of the launch fell overboard, and is lost. Made fast the towing cables, the launch and the big boat went to place the kedge anchors for towing us. At 6:20, the squalls prevented us from continuing the tow, dropped the starboard anchor, in 19 fathoms water, washed both decks. At 8, raised the flag.

From 8 a.m. to noon.

Squally weather, the breeze brought wind and rain gusts. During the squalls, we continued warping our way in. At 9, the crew changed to daytime dress. The crew sent to

the gun deck, and the work stopped on account of the strong rains. At 11:50, dinner of the crew. 9 a.m., gave a double ration to the crew.

Position of the third anchorage: Orote I. S87°W; Fort Santa Cruz S59°E; E point of Cabras I. N52°E; W point of Cabras I. N11°E; end of the breakers N49°W.

From noon to 4 p.m.

Continuous rain, the breeze variable from SE to S. Freed the capstan, gave 60 fathoms to the starboard cable, and dropped the port anchor with 30 fathoms cable, picked up the boats, the big boat went to moor the launch.

From 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Continuous rain, breeze SE and gusting. At 5, supper of the crew. At 6, call to action stations. At 6:10, decks cleared and guns made ready. Gave 54 fathoms to the starboard anchor. High state of alert, one man continuously manning the sounding line.

From 8 a.m. to midnight.

Continuous rain, stiff breeze and gusting, the wind changed from SE to S. Lightning in the west. Good watch kept on the cables, the sounding line. Put the lightning discharge chain into the water.

...

[And so on with nautical matters, until 10 August, when the ship left Guam, except for the following oddities:]

...

Thursday 29 June 1848

At 9:30 a.m. recorded the second position of the third anchorage: Orote Point N89°W; W point of Cabras I. N13°E; W point of Cabras I. N56°E; markers Fort Santa Cruz S51°E; second markers S25°E; buoy on the coral flat S10°E.

...

[There were also two other buoys (or markers), an eastern one and a western one, whose exact positions are given in small script in the logbook. On 30 June, one hammer, and one iron thoeal pin from the boat, were reported dropped into the sea. On 3 July, another iron gaff from the whale-boat was lost into the sea. On 6 July, the small boat was sent to get sand in order to clean the exterior of the hot water tank of the desalination tank. The same day, 3 barrels full of water, weighing 400 pounds, were taken on board. On 7 July a work party was sent ashore to wash the clothes of the sick room, while the sick men were given time off. On that day, high tide was measured at 1.12 meters above the low-water mark. On 8 July, the sick and those who were off duty were all sent ashore with a one-day pass (the first time shore leave is thus recorded). On 8 July, one bull was taken on board.]

...

Monday 10 July 1848

At 10:20, sighted a brig at the entrance of the bay. Raised the flag on the launch to make the people return on board. Those on leave allowed to go back ashore. The com-

mander's boat made ready with an officer on board her to go alongside the brig... The commander's boat returned....¹

...
[On 17 July, another bull was taken on board. On 23 July, the rudder bar of the big boat was lost. On 26 July, the ship held a gun-firing drill; the ship's boys even took their turns at firing two charges. On 1 August, one axe was lost ashore while the men were cutting fire-wood.]

...
Monday 7 August 1848

At 6, the lookout on the point signalled a schooner. Made ready the whale-boat, at the orders of the commander, raised the flag. At 7, the schooner was alongside.

From 8 a.m. to noon. Squally weather, light breeze from E, variable. At 9, the boats, big and small, the commander's boat and the launch are sent to tow the schooner (American). Loaded one bull.

From noon to 4 p.m. The boat sent with fresh food supplies is alongside the schooner. The dinghy went to get the lookouts who had been ashore.

...
[On 8 August, a scissor-like hooking device was dropped overboard and lost. On 9 August, on the anniversary of the declaration of the French Republic, flags were hoisted on all masts. On the same day, yet another bull was taken on board. The position of the last anchorage within Apra Harbor was: West point of Cabras bearing N41°E, NW point of Guam bearing N45°E, Eastern point of Cabras N68°E, ref. point at Fort Santa Cruz S64°E, and tip of Orote Point S86°O. By the way, sailors regularly seemed to fall into the sea while working aloft, and were thrown a ready life-line. On 9 August, 5 more bulls were loaded.]

...
Thursday 10 August 1848

... At 7 a.m., the pilot came on board. At 7:15, took up the slack on the last anchor. At 7:30, made sail and loosened the reefs. At 8, weighed. The breeze was freshening. Steered as per the pilot's instructions.

At 8:30, Facpi Point and Merizo Point bore S25°W; Mount Tikio S81°E; Orote Point N81°E; W point of Cabras I. N71°E; Nigo Point N50°E.

Departure point at 8:30

Lat. 13°26'02" N.

Long. 142°27'47" E. [of Paris]

...

1 Ed. note: However, no detail given as to the name and nationality of the brig in question.

[At 8:30 a.m. the ship was hove to, to let the pilot off. The boats were securely tied on board and the **Bayonnaise** headed back to Macao, but first they stopped at Naha, situated at 26° N. lat. and 125°20' E. long.]¹

Note. Scientific observations made during this voyage

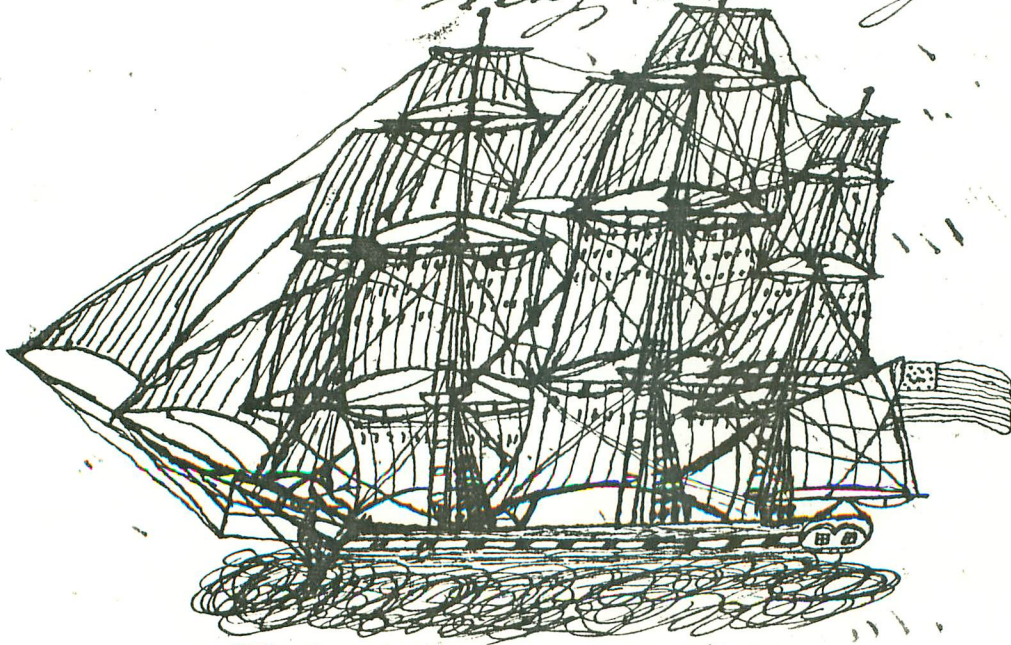
Source: ANP Marine 5JJ431.

Notes: The observations made were with a barometer, a thermometer (temperatures of the air and sea water), and some coast profiles. However, since the instruments were not set up between April 1848 and February 1850, they could not have been used while at anchorage in Apra Harbor in June-August 1848.

1 Ed. note: Corresponds to Okinawa. See also Doc. 1850A for the accounts of the next visit to the Carolines two years later.]

New Year - 1849.

Ship Elizabeth
Cruising at the
King Mills group.



ELIZABETH



NEW BEDFORD

Documents 1848P

The ship Elizabeth, Captain Baker, 1848-50

X1. The logbook kept by Peleg Lawrence, Jr.

Source: Logbook in the Peabody Museum of Salem; PMB 808 (or 217); Log Inv. 1537.

Note: Ship built in 1847. Voyage 1847-51.

Ship Elizabeth of New Bedford. Journal of a whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Under the command of Captain M. Baker.

...

Wednesday Aug. 9, 1848

This day commenced with light breeze from NE. Beating for the land. Employed in setting up the head stays. Middle, fine. Last, raised whales Soutwards[,] away L.B. struck and took in alongside.

Thursday Aug. 10 1858

This day fine. Cut in the whale. Raised land.

[Sketch shows 4 main islets linked together and 2 small ones, along with the note: Ravens [Ngatik] or Y. I.]

Commenced boiling. Middle, squally. Last, two canoes came off from the land. Nothing here. So ends.

...

Sunday Aug. 13, 1848

... Lying off the land [Pohnpei], a deck-load of natives on board. Middle, fine. Last, calm. Took the ship in. At 12, came to anchor, the deck full of natives [of] both sexes. So ends.

Monday Aug. 14, 1848

... The watch ashore. At sunset drove the girls ashore. Middle, fine. Last, the watch ashore, the other employed in getting off water and shifting the anchorage. So ends.

Wednesday [Nov.] 29, 1848

... Saw land... the land in sight. Three canoes alongside. Two sails in sight. Long. 166°54' E.

...

Friday Dec 1, 1848

... A sail in sight and land... Long. 166°17' E.

...

Wednesday Dec 26, 1848

... 2 sails and land [Banaba] in sight. Lat. 1°12' S. Long. 170° E. O. I. [Ocean Island].

Thursday Dec. 21, 1848

... Spoke Bark **Arabian** of London, 3 months out of Sydney...

...

Thursday Dec. 28, 1848

... Saw land. H. I. [Hope Island, i.e. Arorae]. Spoke Ship **Milton**, 900 [bbls], and Ship **Rosalie** of Warren 38 months 750 [bbls]... 3 sails in sight. Lat. 2°22' S. Long. 177°58' E.

...

New Years 1849

Ship Elizabeth. Cruising at the King Mills Group.

...

***[Figure: Elizabeth of New Bedford]

Sunday Jan. 7, 1849

... Spoke the **Milton** and gammed...

Monday Jan. 8, 1849

... Raised land B. I. [Byron Island, i.e. Nikunau]. At sunset, took in sail, wore ship and stood from the land. Middle, fine. Last, run in to the land. Had the decks full of both sexes. At 9, made sail for Perote Island. Lat. 1°8' E. Long. 176°18' E.

Tuesday Jan 9, 1849

... At 1/2 past 1, under the lee of the land. The decks full of natives both sexes. P. I. [Peru, i.e. Beru Island]. At 4 started... At 10 raised land R. I. [Rotch, i.e. Tamana Island]. Lat. 2°40' S. Long. 176°15' E.

Wednesday Jan 10, 1849

... Employed in getting recruits of the natives. Saw a sail. Roatches Island... Lat. 2°50' S. Long. 176°16' E.

...

Wednesday [Jan.] 31, 1849

... At 12, came to anchor at Ascension [Pohnpei].

Thursday Feb 1, 1849

... Employed rafting water casks ashore. The Bark **Lagrange**, Ship **Rosalie**. Middle, a watch ashore. Last, employed breaking out for the bread to cooper. So ends.

Friday Feb 2, 1849

... The watch ashore...

...

Saturday Feb 10, 1849

... The Bark and Ship sailed...

...

Monday Feb 12, 1849

... Employed in keeping the natives off the ship...

...

Sunday Feb 18, 1849

... Getting ready for sea... Got under say and towed out and stowed the anchors...

...

[They went whaling to the east of the Gilbert Islands where they met the Ship **Nar-ragansett** of Nantucket, Capt. Rogers, Ship **George**, and Ship **Emma**, in July 1849. In August, they met Ship **Levi Starbuck**, Bark **George Porter**(?).]

...

Wednesday Aug 8, 1849

... Land in sight... H. I. [Hope Island, i.e. Arorai]. Last, saw Roatches [Tamana] Island.

Thursday Aug 9, 1849

... Off Roatches Island...

Friday Aug. 10, 1849

... Spoke Bark **Lebarron** and gamming... Lat. 01°37' S. Long. 174°06' E.

...

Thursday Aug. 16, 1849

... Spoke Ship **Boy** of Warren...

...

Tuesday Sept. 4, 1849

... Spoke ship **Hobomok** and gamming... Lat. 00°04' N. Long. 161°46' E.

...

Tuesday Sept. 18, 1849

... Took five whales alongside [20 bbls of oil each]... Lat. 01°11' N. Long. 158°12' E.

...

Thursday Nov. 21, 1849

... Saw land... Mt Verdeson's [Monteverde = Nukuoro].

...

Wednesday Nov 27 1849

... Beating up to the harbor [Pohnpei]. Took the pilot. Middle, rainy. Last, got the anchors off the bow. Raised whales Southward and struck one. Took him alongside and cut him in. Steering for the harbor. So ends. Lat. 06°32' N. Ascension.

Thursday Nov 28, 1849

This day commenced fine. Came to anchor at Ascension and commenced boiling. The decks full of natives. Middle, fine. Cooled down. Last, the watch on liberty; the [other] watch on board employed in getting water casks ashore and scrubbing ship. So ends.

Friday Nov 29, 1849

... The watch ashore...

...

Monday Dec 2, 1849

... Employed in taking in recruits. The watch ashore...

...

Thursday Dec 12, 1849

... At daylight, called all hands and got under way. Saw the Bark **millwood**. Employed in stowing the anchors. So ends.

...

Thursday Dec 26, 1849

... Spoke the Schooner **Alfred** of New Bedford and gamming... Lat. 00°51' S. Long. 163°45' E.

...

Tuesday Jan 29, 1850

... Saw land... Ocion I. [sic = Banaba] Last, running for the land. Lat. 00°45' S. Long. 170°50' E.

Wednesday Jan 31, 1850

... Went in the land. The Boat went ashore. Took 3 passengers for the groups. Middle, fine. Last, spoke ship. So ends.

Thursday Jan 31, 1850

... Gamming with the **Henry Kneeland**...

...

Tuesday Feb 5, 1850

... Spoke the **Barkley** of Nantucket...

...

Thursday Feb 7, 1850

... Employed in gamming the Bark **America** of New Bedford and the **Tenedos** of New London and got our cooper out of her... The land in sight and 3 sails. Ocion [Banaba] I. Lat. 00°39' S. Long. 176°42' E.

...

Saturday Feb 9, 1850

... Spoke Ship **Abigail** and **Barkley** and gammed...

...

Sunday Feb 24, 1850

... Lying off and on Pleasant [Nauru] Island. At night took in sail...

...

Thursday March 7, 1850

... the land in sight [Pohnpei] bearing NW...

Friday March 8, 1850

... At 1/2 past 4, came to anchor at Ascention... 4 ships in port... The Ships is [sic] the **Milton**, **Gen. Scott**, **Maria Theresa**, **Henry Kneeland**...

...

Sunday March 10, 1850

... the watch ashore...

...

Thursday March 14, 1850

... The Ship **Marengo** off the harbor...

Friday March 15, 1850

... Getting water and wood. The **Marengo** and **Henry Kneeland** lying off and on the harbor. A boat after yams...

...

Sunday March 17, 1850

... The **Maria Theresa** went out. The boat came with yams and went again.

...

Friday Mar 22, 1850

... The **Maria** lying off and on...

Saturday March 23, 1850

... A brig off the harbor...

Sunday March 24, 1850

... Frank and Bob ran away. The brig sailed for Hong Kong...

...

Wednesday March 27, 1850

... The Ship **Levant**, Bark **Columbia** outside...

Thursday March 28, 1850

... Got under way in company with the **Gen. Scott**.

...

Sunday March 31, 1850

... Made the land bearing NE by N. Middle, fine breeze. Working up to the land...

...

Monday April 1, 1850

... The natives came off with recruits, green turtle. Middle, strong breeze. Last, the same. Taking in recruits. So ends.

Tuesday April 2, 1850

The W.B.[waist boat] B.B. [bow boar] went ashore for coconuts. At 4 came aboard...

...

Friday April 5, 1850

... Spoke the Ship **Armato** of New London, Capt. Holt... Lat. 9°14' N. Long. 158°19' E.

...

[The ship went to the Japan Ground]

...

Thursday May 30, 1841

... At 12, raised the land. Brown's Range [Eniwetok] Islands. Lat. 11°13' N. Long. 162°53' E.

...

Monday June 3, 1850

... Keeping a bright lookout for land... Lat. 6°55' N. Long. 153°55' E.

Tuesday June 4, 1850

... Made the land [Pohnpei]... The canoes came off.

Wednesday June 5, 1850

... Steering down the land... Last, came to anchor 1/2 [past] 8 at Ascention. Broke out the casks and sent them ashore.

Thursday June 6, 1850

... Employed in breaking out and getting up the tackles to break out the oil...

Friday June 7, 1850

... Employed in coopering the oil...

...

Sunday June 9, 1850

... The watch ashore...

...

Saturday June 16, 1850

... Employed in cutting wood on the island and took off to the ship. The watch ashore...

...

Wednesday June 26, 1850

... Beating up to the land, Strongs [Kosrae] Island...

Thursday June 27, 1850

... Saw something they call whales. The land 10 miles distant...

...

Tuesday Aug. 13, 1850

... Went on board the Brig **Tigress** of Sydney... Lat. 00°23' S. Long. 167°17' E.

...

Monday Aug 19, 1850

... Raised land. P.I. [Nauru]. Lat. 00°24' S. Long. 167°00' E.

Tuesday Aug. 20, 1850

... The B.B. and B.B. went ashore. Bark and Brig in sight. At sundown, the boats came on board with a few coconuts. Middle, fine. Last, lying off and on the Island and taking in recruits. The deck full of natives of both sexes. A strange Brig in sight. So ends. Lat. 00°23' S. Long. 168°15' E.

Wednesday Aug. 21, 1850

... Lying off and on the land taking in recruits. At 3, left the land...

...

Friday Aug 23, 1850

... At 5, spoke the Bark **Woodlark** of Sydney... Last, gamming with the Bark... Lat. 00°17' N. Long. [blank]

...

Monday Aug 26, 1850

... The Brig **Donald Watson** of Sydney and gammed... Lat. 00°11' N. Long. 163°34' E.

...

Saturday Nov. 2, 1850

... Spoke the Bark **Endeavor** of New Bedford, 40 months out, 600 sperm, 300 whale... Lat. 02°10' S. Long. 160°5' E.

...

[To New Hebrides, etc. then home]

P2. The logbook kept by Thomas R. Bryant, Jr.

Source: Log 77 in Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 808 (or 217); Log Inv. 1536.

Noe: Dates and places are not well identified, but the reports of the other ships herein mentioned confirm them. Ship positions are not given.

Extracts from this log.

...
[In December [1848] they were in the Gilbert Islands. They met the **Arabian** of London near Banaba. In the week ending February 18th [1849], they reached Ascension, i.e. Pohnpei, Island.]

Week ending February 18.

During this week got off all our water and wood & yams to the number of 6000. A Dutch brig came to anchor here after beach de mar bound to China. I omitted to state that the ship **Rosalie** of Warren, Captain Mosher, 38 months out 700 sperm and the bark **Lagrange** of Fairhaven, Capt. Dexter, 43 months 510 sperm 800 whale were here when we came in. Latter part of this week were all ready for sea ship and boats all painted.

Week ending February 25.

On the 18 Sunday, got under way and bid farewell to our girls promising to be back again in 5 months to see them again. Came on squally ... Shipped a Rotuma kanaka by the name of Tom for 10 lbs tobacco a month...

...
Week ending December 2.

Begins with variable winds and rain squalls. On Tuesday made the island of Ascension and took a pilot in the afternoon but owing to light wind layed off till morning about 7 next morning when within a 1/2 mile of the reef raised a school of whales. Lowered and larboard bot struck and killed a small one. Took her alongside and sent her in ... Next day sent down main topmast and sent up another one in its place and sent a raft of 19 casks ashore for water. So ends this week.

Week ending Dec. 9.

Commences with almost incessant rain. Watch and watch ashore, sent down our main topmast and put up another one in its place, took aboard 3000 yams, about 20 hogs and painted ship all over and got off a raft of water this week. Shipped a kanaker in the place of one man discharged. So ends.

Week ending Dec. 16.

Got every thing ready for sea and on Thursday Dec. 13 weighed anchor and went up to the weather harbor where the **Hobomok** lay at night off to the leeward for a bark. Next morning spoke the bark **Millwood** of N.B. 40 months 345 bbls. Had taken 75

bbls while have been taking 1200 she went in to an anchor and lye in company with the **Hobomok**...

...

Week ending Dec. 30.

This week had fine weather. On Tuesday spoke the schooner **Alfred**, Capt. Davenport of New Bedford 50 months out 500 sperm since leaving Sydney. Gammed with her every day this week. Saw nothing this week. This week sold two shooks, 1 cutting full, 7 chests of tea, 10 bundles of iron hoops and fine pudding. She has sent home 1800 bbls of oil since leaving home.

Lat. 1.00 N. Long. 162.00 East.

...

[They spent the following week in company with the **Alfred**. The ship was headed for Banaba.]

Week ending February 3 [1850].

Begins with strong NW winds and squally weather, ship steering ENE. On Tuesday made Ocean Island, ran within 1/2 mile of the island and lowered a boat and pulled in sore but the surf ran so high that we could not land. Our Kanaka had umped overboard and went ashore and got his father, another and brother and brought them off in a canoe to the boat. We are going to carry them to Peru Island where they belong. On Wednesday spoke the ship **Henry Kneeland** of New Bedford, Capt. Clark, 17 months 700 whale. On Thursday saw a school of whales going quick to the windward. Lowered but could not get one. On Saturday saw some more, lowered 4 boats, Captain got fast and killed three whales. Speared 2 more but lost them. Brought them alongside and .. So ends this week ...

Long. 171.30 S.

Week ending February 10.

... On Monday spoke the ship **Barclay** of Nantucket, Baker, 25 months 850 sperm...

...

Week ending March 10.

Begins with very squally weather and ... rain. On Wednesday made the Island of Ascension and on Thursday came to an anchor in the Lee Harbor. The **Maria Theresa** N.B. Capt. Alam(?),¹ 1400 whale, **General Scott** of Fairhaven Capt. Fisher 37 months 600 sperm, **Milton** N.B. Capt. Smith 29-1/2 months 1900 sperm, **Henry Kneeland** Capt. Clark 19 months 700 whale were here. The remainder of this week all hands employed in getting off water, painting and various other things. Starboard watch ashore on Saturday. So ends this week.

1 Ed. note: She had left New Bedford under Captain Swift, in November 1847.

Week ending March 17.

Commenced with al hands stowing down oil in the after hold. Got through on Tuesday and then remainder of this week watch and watch ashore. Sent down our fore top-sail and put up a new one in its place. Sent a boat up to the other side of the island after yams and it got back on Friday with ... sent her ...

...

Document 1848Q

The Olympia, Captain Woodward

Sources: Log 453 in NBWhM; PMB 273, 274; Log Inv. 361.

Extracts from this log kept by Loring Potter

...
Ship Olympia, Captain Woodward, on a Whaling Voyage.

Thursday August 19 /47

This day commences with strong wind, weighed anchor and stood out, leaving New Bedford and pretty girls behind....

...
[In April 1848, the ship reached Hawaii, her destination being the Japan Sea, where they fished until October, when they decided to go to Guam.]

...
Friday October the 13th.

This day strong winds from NE with thick weather. Made sail steering SW. Nothing in sight this day. We are bound to the Ladrone Islands. So go it Olympia.

Lat. 28°55' N, Long. 163°10 East.

...
Friday Oct. the 20th.

Breezes from the SE with fine weather, steering S.S. West with all sail set. Nothing in sight through the day. This day was used up in painting the ship and getting ready for going into Guam.

Lat. 25°36 N, Long. 158°40 East.

...
Saturday Oct. the 28th

... Expecting to see land in the morning. The Island of Rotter [sic] ahead about 50 miles, one of the Ladrone. Lat. 14°14' N. Long. 146°20' [E].

Sunday Oct. the 29th.

This day light winds from the East with fine weather. At daylight raised the Ladrone Islands, Rota bearing NWest. Made all sail and stood in for Rota. At 6 p.m. stood off-

shore, Guam in sight bearing S. by West Dist. about 30 miles. Sail in sight standing towards Guam. Shortened sail and stood off and on through the night. So ends.

Monday Oct. the 30th.

This day strong winds from the East with fine weather. At daylight made all sail and stood in for Rota. At 7 a.m. the skipper went ashore. At 10 a.m. sent another boat ashore. Here we got 25 hogs, the four-legged kind, and oranges and yams, potatoes, &c. At 4 p.m. the skipper came off, stood over towards Guam under short sail.

[At this point, there is a profile of Guam, from E by N to SSE, dist. 6 miles.]

At Guam '48

Tuesday Oct. 31st, 1848

This day strong winds from the East with fine weather, made sail and stood in for Guam. At 8 a.m. took the pilot and stood into the harbor. At 10 came to anchor in 19 fathoms of water. Two ships in the harbor, the **E.L.B. Jenney** and a French whaler.¹

Wednesday Nov. the 1st. In Port.²

...

Wednesday Nov. the 23rd 1848

This day begins with light winds from the East and fine weather. At daylight all hands was called and everything ready for sea. At 6 a.m. Pilot came aboard. At 7 a.m. weighed anchor, made sail and stood out of the harbor with a fair wind from the East. Left two ships in the harbor, the **Globe** of [New] Bedford, 3 years out 3,000 W. O., and the **Ansel Gibbs** of Fairhaven, 40 months out, 2,600 of Whale Oil. At 8 a.m. left the Pilot here, we find ourselves at sea again. Unbent cables, stowed them away and got the anchors stowed and everything clear about decks again and scrubbed the decks &c&c. At 10 a.m. all hands called aft to witness [the] punishment [of a] man by the name of Tom Rider. [He] was put in the rigging and flogged for running away. Another man run away and got clear. Latter part of this day strong winds from N.East, steering S.East, took in flying jib. Here we bid adieu to Guam for four or five months. This island is in the Lat. 14°00 North and the Long. 145°00 East.

...

Monday Nov. the 27th.

This day light winds and fair weather from E to NE steering to the SE. At daylight made all sail. At 6 a.m. made one of the Caroline Islands bearing East. At 1 o'clock p.m. saw a ship to windward steering to the southward. At 2 p.m. raised another Island

1 Ed. note: This French whaler was La Manche, Captain Gilles.

2 Ed. note: No remarks written down until Nov. the 23rd.]

on the weather bow. These islands bear no other name than the Caroline Islands.¹ At sunset took in topgallant sails.

Lat. 7°28 N. Long. 146°30 [E., i.e. Lamotrek].

Tuesday Nov. the 28th.

First part of this day strong winds and fine weather from the East. Steering to the southward and eastward. Middle of the day light winds from the East. Raised a sail to windward steering to the southward...

Lat. 6°32 Long. 147°27

...

Friday Dec. the 1st, 1848

... Saw a ship to leeward, supposed to be the **W. Rotch**...²

...

[Onward to Melanesia, then to the Gilberts.]

...

Saturday Dec. the 9th

... Nothing uncommon occurred this day, only killed a hog to have a trick out tomorrow.

Lat. 00°24 North. Long. 155°36 E.

...

Thursday Dec. the 14th

... Steering to the southward and to the westward. At 6 a.m. raised land ahead called Bougainville Island...

...

At the Kingsmill [sic] Group '49

Thurs. Feb. the 22nd, 1849

This day light and variable winds with fine weather, made all sail. At 6 a.m. made the land called Pleasant Island, stood in towards the land. The natives came aboard with their Ladies to spend the day. Traded with the natives for hogs and hats and other small articles. A sail in sight. At sunset took in topgallant sails and stood off shore.

Friday Feb. the 23rd.

This day light winds and fine weather from NE. Made all sail and stood to the SE. Saw Pleasant Island to the NE. Nothing remarkable occurred this day. Shortened sail at sunset. No land in sight.

...

Tuesday Feb. the 27th

... Spoke an English bark of London, 40 months out 850 bbls sperm oil....

...

1 Ed. note: Evidence of the bad charts they were using.

2 Ed. note: She was probably the William Hamilton instead (see below).

Thursday March the 1st 1849

... Saw Pleasant Island, stood in towards the land. At 2 p.m. the natives came aboard to trade...

...

Bound to Guam '749

...

Thursday March the 15th

... Steering W by N with all sail set, bound to Guam. Nothing in sight. Go it Olympia.

...

Saturday March the 17th.

This day moderate winds and fine weather from the N.East, steering West with all sail set. Nothing in sight, the Ladrone Island ahead, Rota bearing West about 80 miles according to calculations. Took in fore and mizzen topgallant sails.

Lat. 14°00 North. Long. 147°05 East.

Sunday March the 18th.

Begins with moderate winds and fine weather from NE. At daylight made all sail, raised land ahead bearing W by N. Proved to be Rota. Stood in towards the Land. At 8 a.m. went ashore to get recruits but none to be had. Got 4 hogs and about a peck of yams, came aboard at 3 p.m. This island, Rota, lies in the Latitude of 14°8 North & Long. 155° [rather 145] 17 East. At 4 p.m. stood towards Guam bearing SSW. Shortened sail. The distance from Rota to Guam is about 50 miles bearing S. by West. The day ends with light winds and fine weather from the northward.

Monday March the 19th, 1849.

This day moderate winds and fine weather from NE. Made all sail and stood towards the Town. At 8 a.m. took the Pilot. At 11 came to anchor in Guam Harbor, the **Wm. Hamilton, Abraham Barker, the Zephyr, the Cambria, Bark Rajah.**

Friday March the 30th.¹

At 11 a.m. weighed anchor and run down to a town called Umata, about 20 miles from the Town of Guam to the watering place. Came to anchor at 3 p.m. Got 1 raft aboard at sunset.

Saturday March the 31st.

At Umata. This day got off water all day. This is the hardest looking place that I ever saw in all my [years of] going a-fishing.

Sunday April the 1st.

¹ Ed. note: No details given about this visit to Guam.

This day the crew went ashore to see the place. Saw nothing but fighting cocks and old billy goats.

Monday April the 2nd.

Finished getting water. At 11 a.m. took our anchor and stood out to the North with strong easterly winds. At sunset stood in towards the Land.

Tues. April the 3rd.

This day strong winds from the East. At daylight stood in towards the land and lay off and on at the town of Guam. Skipper ashore. Came off at 2 p.m. and stood out to the northward in company with the **Zephyr**. Here we find ourselves at sea again bound to Japan. Fine weather at the end of this day. Steering to the northward under topsails and courses.

...

Sunday April the 8th.

This day strong winds from the north, made sail steering to the East. At daylight raised Land on the weather bow, one of the Ladrone Islands called Gregan. At 8 a.m. raised another to leeward called Pagan. At sunset took in main topgallant sail, steering East, Gregan bearing N.N.West 15 miles, Pagan South about 12 miles.

Lat. 18°32 N., Long. 145°21 East.

Bound to the Bonin Islands

Monday April the 9th, 1849.

This day light winds from NE, fine weather. At daylight stood in towards Grigan. Skipper went ashore and got 20 hogs. Likewise 2 men. At sunset stood out on the wind to the NW.

Tuesday April the 10th.

Strong winds from NE. At daylight stood in toward Grigan. At 7 a.m. sent a boat ashore and got some hogs & coconuts. At 1 p.m. stood out on the wind to the NW, took in main topgallant sail and reefed fore topsail. Land on the weather bow, some of the Ladrone Islands. They are such jaw-breaking names that I just can't get over them.

...

[After cruising for whales near the Bonins and in the Japan Sea, they went to Hawaii, then down to the Line, Samoa, then the Gilberts.]

...

On the Line '50

Saturday February 23rd, 1850.

This day moderate wind & fine weather from NE. Steering NW with all sail set. Made Rotches Island, stood in towards the Land. Natives came aboard with coconuts to sell. Spoke Sch. **Alfred** of New Bedford.

Sunday February 24th

... Steering to the NW with all sail set. Spoke Ship **Hector** of N. Bedford.

...

At the Kingsmills '50

...

Sunday March 3rd.

Light winds from NE, made all sail, steering West. At 6 made land ahead, Ocean Island. At 1 p.m. Skipper went ashore. At 4 came aboard. Stood off on the wind heading NNW.

Lat. 00°0 S. Long. 169°50 East.

Monday March the 4th, 1850.

This day light winds and fine weather from NE. First part of the day stood to the SE. Spoke Bark **Canmore** of St. Johns [sic]. Latter part of the day steering to the N. West.

...

Wednesday March 6th.

Light winds and fine weather from NE, steering to the NW. Saw a Bark to leeward trying out. Shortened sail at sunset.

...

Friday March the 8th.

... Steering to the South. At 11 a.m., raised whales and lowered. S. Boat got on to one and lost him. Pleasant [Nauru] Island in sight to the South. A Bark in sight.

Saturday March the 9th.

This day light winds & fine weather from the East. Steering on the wind. Pleasant Island to windward. Spoke Bark **Canmore**.

Sunday March 10th.

Light winds & fine weather from the East. Pleasant Island to windward about 15 miles. Saw a Bark to windward. Steering on the wind trying to get at P. Island.

...

Friday March 22nd.

... Saw Pleasant Island to leeward...

Saturday March the 23rd.

This day light winds & fine weather from the North. Made all sail and stood in towards Pleasant Island. The Natives came aboard to visit us with their Ladies, &c. Latter part of the day stood off to the Eastward.

Sunday March 24th.

Light winds and fine weather from the Northward. Steering on the wind. Pleasant to windward but not in sight.

...

Monday April the 1st, 1850.

First part of the day squally with variable winds, shortened sail. At daylight saw Pleasant Island bearing SW dist. 10 miles. Calm the remainder of the day, made all sail in a calm. The Natives came alongside with their Ladies, but not allowed on board. Broke out beef & pork.

...

Wednesday April the 10th.

First part of this day strong winds from the East. Steering WNW. Saw Strongs [Kos-rae] Island. Latter part of the day light winds from ESE. Broke out bread.

Thursday April the 11

... Steering WNW with all sail set. Lat. 07°00' N. Long. 161°20' E.

...

Bound to Guam

...

Friday April the 19th.

This day light winds & fine weather from E to NE. At daylight raised Rota ahead bearing West. Stood towards the Land until sunset. Shortened sail and stood off and on shore. At sunset the land bearing West Dist. about 5 miles.

Saturday April the 20th.

This day light winds and fine weather from the East. At daylight stood in towards Rota. At 6 a.m. Skipper went ashore. At 12 came aboard again with 2 small hogs. Made all sail and stood off towards Guam.

Sunday April 21st.

First part of this day light winds & fine weather from NE, made all sail and stood in towards Guam. 11 a.m. took a Pilot. At 1 p.m. came to anchor in 21 fathoms of water. 4 vessels in the harbor: **Honqua** of N. Bedford, **J.E. Donnell**, **Volga** of Fairhaven, **Armata** of N. London.

Wednesday May the 1st, 1850.¹

This day light winds and fine weather from SE. At 6 a.m. took our anchor, stood out of the harbor. At sunset came to anchor at Umata in 14 fathoms of water.

Thursday May the 2nd.

At Umata. Got off 300 bbls of water and stowed it down.

1 Ed. note: No entries while at Guam.

Friday May the 3rd.

At daylight weighed anchor and stood out to sea with a fine breeze from the South. Steering to the Northward with all sail.

...

Sunday May the 5th.

... Land in sight bearing N.East at sunset Dist. 12 miles, one of the Ladrone Islands.¹
Lat. 16°08 North. Long. 145°45. East.

Monday May the 6th

... Steering on the wind to the NW. Saw a small island to windward.

Tues. May the 7th

... Steering on the wind heading to the NW with all sail set. Saw 2 islands to windward...

...

[They went to the Bonin Islands, then headed towards the Equator, meeting with some of the Marshall Islands along the way.]

...

Thurs. Sept. 5th [1850]

... Steering to the South...

...

Monday Sept. 9th.

Strong winds from NE to E. Steering to the SE. At 9 a.m. raised one island ahead. Passed it to leeward. Natives came alongside with coconuts. This island is called Midia [i.e. Mejit].

Lat. 10°16 North. Long. 171°00 East.

Tuesday Sept. the 10.

Strong winds from the E, made all sail, steering to the South. At 11 a.m. raised Land ahead, Kaven [i.e. Maloelap].

Lat. 8°19 N, Long. 171°12 East.

Stood along to leeward. Latter part squally, shortened sail, steering SSE.

Wednesday Sept. 11th

... Steering to the South. Saw an island [Aur] to the Eastward.

...

Friday Sept. the 13.

¹ Ed. note: Farallon de Medinilla.

Light winds from the Northward with fine weather. Made all sail steering to the South. Raised land ahead and hauled our wind out of that for fear of running the old tub ashore.¹ Stood off to the Northward. Medjuro [i.e. Majuro]. Lat. 7°15 North.

...

Friday Oct. 4th.

Light winds from the E. Steering SSE with all sails set. At daylight raised Land, Byrons [Nikunau] Island bearing SE by East. Stood along to leeward of it. Saw another to leeward.

Lat. 1°14 South, Long. 176°28 East.

Saturday Oct. the 5th.

Strong winds from the E. Steering W by South. At 11 a.m. raised land, Rotches [Taimana] Island. Stood down to the west side of it and hauled aback. Natives came aboard with coconuts to sell. At 5 p.m. stood off to the SSE with strong winds from NE by E.

Lat. of Rotches Island 2°36 S. Long. 176°10 East.

...

Wednesday Oct. 9th.

... At 2 p.m. raised land, St. Augustine [i.e. Nanomea, Tuvalu]. Stood along to leeward of it.

Lat. 5°35 S. Long. 176°6 East.

...

[They went through the Ellice Islands on their way to Sydney, then home.]

1 Ed. note: What else could be feared on a Friday 13th?

Document 1848U

The bark Fortune, Captain Ebenezer Woodbridge

Sources: Log 385A in NBWhM; PMB 266; Log Inv. 1789.

Notes: The log is anonymous, but attributed to David Evans Hathaway. The Captain's wife was on board (see entries of 7 & 12 February 1850).

Extract from this log, attributed to D. E. Hathaway

...

Remarks on board Wednesday December 20 [1848]

Commences with light breezes from the WNW and good weather, steering by the wind, employed in mending the old main sail. saw a ship. Latter part much the same. At 5 p.m. spoke the Ship **Adeline** of New Bedford 28 months out with 1300 W. 700 Sp. Saw sperm whales at the same time. Lowered ut without success.

Lat. 2°56 [S] Long. by Chron. 177°09 [E]. Long. by Lunar 178°50 [E].

Bark Fortune cruising off Hope [Arorai] Island

Remarks on board Thursday Dec. 21.

Commences with light breeze from WNW and good weather, steering by the wind. 2 sail in sight, 1 boiling. Latter part much the same. At 4 p.m. spoke the Ship **St. George** of N.B. 15 months out with 1200 W. 340 Sp.

Lat. 2°42 [S]. Long. 177°12 E.

...

Remarks on board Saturday December 30.

... 3 sail in sight... Spoke the Ship **Adeline, St. George, & Minerva** of New Bedford. No Obs.

...

Remarks on board Thursday Jan. 4 [1849]

... At 3 p.m., saw Hope Island bearing N1/2 E dist. 6 leagues... Lat. by Obs. 2°54 [S]. Long. by Chr. 176°37 [E], by Lunar 177°00 [E].

Remarks on board Saturday January 6

... At 1 p.m., saw Rotches [Tamana] Island bearing NNW dist. 8 leagues... Lat. 2°50 [S].

...

Remarks on board Monday January 8.

Commences with light breezes from ENE and good weather, steering NNW. At 7 a.m., saw Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island bearing N. distance 7 leagues. Luffed up for the land. At 10 the canoes came off alongside with a few coconuts and fish. Latter part much the same. At 1 p.m. kept off W by N. Took 1 of the natives on board as he did not want to go on shore but wanted to go in the ship. At 8 p.m. hauled aback.

Lat. 1°38 [S]. Long. 174°35 [E].

Remarks on board Tuesday January 9.

... At 6 a.m. saw the West end of Drummonds Island ... At 10 saw Sydenham [Non-outi] Island bearing N dist. 6 leagues... Lat. 55 miles S. Long. 173°55 E.

...

Remarks on board Friday January 12.

... At 9 a.m. saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing SW by W dist. 7 leagues. Saw 4 sail. Latter part... standing in for the land. At 4 p.m. the canoes came off. Hauled aback. Spoke the Ship **St. George** and **Minerva**. At 11 p.m. braced forward and stood to the Northward. Our native went on shore here.

Lat. 0°31 S. Long. 169°37 [E].

...

Remarks on board January 14.

... At daylight saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing WNW dist. 7 leagues. Luffed up WNW. At 10 a.m. the canoes came off with some hogs. Got 6 hogs and took 2 Englishmen as passengers for Guam. The **M.** and **St. G.** in company. At 11 kept off WNW. Latter part, much the same. At 4 p.m., saw the **St. G.** whaling. At 4:30, we lowered but got nothing. Saw the **St. G.** take 3. At 8, spoke the **M.** Lat. 00°17 S., Long. 166°14 E.

...

Remarks on board Saturday January 20.

... At 6 p.m. saw Raven's [Ngatik] Island bearing W dist. 4 leagues... Lat. 5°40 [N]. Long. 157°37 [E].

Remarks on board Sunday January 21.

Commences with strong breeze from the NE and good weather. At 5 a.m. kept off NW. At 6 saw the eland bearing W dist. 3 leagues, kept off for it. At 10 sent a boat in shore. Lay off & on with the ships **Adeline** and **Minerva**. Saw another ship to windward. At 1 M.D. boat came off with 300 coconuts, kept off WNW. Latter part much the same, steering NW. At 7 p.m. took in the fore jib and main topgallant sail.

Lat. 6°00 [N]. Long. 157°06 [E].

Remarks on board Monday January 22.

... At 2 p.m. saw a reef to the leeward running East and W. about 6 miles. At 3 p.m. saw Bordelaise [i.e. Oroluk] Island bearing W dist. 5 leagues. Found this reef to bear about E. by S. from Bordelaise Island dist. 5 leagues... Lat. 7°30 [N]. Long. 155°44 [E].

...

Remarks on board Thursday January 25.

... At 3 p.m. felt a shock of an earthquake...

Lat. 12°13 Long. 149°12

...

Remarks on board Saturday January 27.

Commences with light breezes from the ENE and good weather, steering W by N. At 5 a.m. saw the Island of Guam bearing W by N dist. 5 leagues. Luffed up to the North of the Island. At 12 hauled aback for a Pilot. At 1 Pilot came on board, braced forward. At 2 came to an anchor in 22 fathoms water.

Remarks on board Sunday January 28.

All these 24 hours light breezes from the NE and good weather. Captain went up to town, one watch on liberty.

Remarks on board Monday January 29.

All these 24 hours much as the last. All hands employed in getting wood. At 9 a.m. the Capt. came down from town, shipped the two men that came on board at Pleasant Island.

Remarks on board Tuesday January 30.

Commences with strong breezes from the E and squally with some rain. Employed in getting wood. Latter part good weather, employed the same.

Remarks on board Wednesday Jan. 31.

Commences with moderate breezes from the ENE and good weather. 1 watch on liberty, for three days [blank] absent, supposed [he] absconded. Latter part much the same.

Remarks on board Thursday Feb. 1.

Commences with strong breezes from the E and good weather. Watch employed in getting off wood. Latter part the same.

Remarks on board Friday Feb. 2.

All these 24 hours, much as the last. 1 watch on liberty.

Remarks on board Saturday Feb. 3.

This day much as the last.

Remarks on board Sunday Feb. 4.

This day much as the last. Barney McInty was thrown into the calaboose by the watchmen.

Remarks on board Monday Feb. 5.

All these 24 hours the same as the last.

Remarks on board Tuesday Feb. 6.

All this day the same as the last.

Remarks on board Tuesday [rather Wednesday] Feb. 7.

All this day strong breezes from the NE and good weather. Captain and Lady went up to town, Stewart and Joseph Compass [a native] absent without leave. At 9 p.m. the stewart came on board with Barney who the Captain took out of the calaboose. At 11 Joseph Compass came on board.

Remarks on board Thursday Feb. 8.

All these 24 hours much as the last. At 1 p.m. sent a boat up to town for the Capt.

Remarks on board Friday Feb. 9.

All these 24 hours strong breezes from the NE and squally with some rain. At 7 a.m. the boat returned without the captain, let go the S[tarboard] anchor.

Remarks on board Saturday Feb. 10.

All these 24 hours much as the last.

Remarks on board Sunday Feb. 11.

This day much as the elast. Took on board 2 boatloads of Potatoes.

Remarks on board Monday Feb. 12.

Commences with moderate breezes from the NNE and good weather. At 8 a.m. sent the boat up for the Captain, took up the S. anchor. Latter part much the same. At 4 p.m. the boat returned with the Captain and Lady.

Remarks on board Tuesday Feb. 13.

Commences with moderate breezes from the NE and good weather. At daylight Pilot came on board and got under way for the watering place. At 10 came to an anchor. At 11 sent a raft in for water. Latter part the same. At 3 p.m. the raft came off. At 5 sent

in another raft. At 6 it came off, got under way, broke the S. anchor in taking it off, stood offshore under double reefed topsails.

Remarks on board Wednesday Feb. 14.

Commences much as the last. At daylight tacked in shore, employed in stowing chains and anchors. At 11 the Captain went on board a Dutch ship at the watering place. Latter part much the same. At 4 p.m. the Captain returned, tacked offshore, turned the reefs out of the topsails. At 6 double reefed them again.

Remarks on board Thursday Feb. 15.

All these 24 hours light breezes from the NE and good weather, steering by the wind. At 2 a.m. tacked in shore. At 9 the Captain went on shore at the town, ship lying off & on in company with the ship **Boy** of Warren, 14 months out with 200 sperm.

Remarks on board Friday Feb. 16.

Commences with light breezes from the NNE and good weather, lying off and on. At 10 a.m. the Captain came off with 2 more men, kept off NW under all sail. Latter part strong breezes, steering NW, At 6 p.m. kept off NW by W, took in the light sails and single reefed the topsails. Turned Frank Johnson (a Boatsteerer) forward for misbehaviour.

...

[The ship made a landfall at Okinawa, before going up to the Japan Sea, then Maui, and home in 1849].

Document 1848S

The Julian, Captain Taber

The logbook kept by F. Cady

Source: Log 404 in Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 848; Log Inv. 2693.

Notes: At the end of this log, Cady lists himself as one of the green hands. Since this log keeper did not record the ship positions, it is difficult to know the exact track of this ship. After spending some time in the Hawaiian Islands, the ship headed for the Marianas. As they neared Guam, they met the ship Jefferson of Sag Harbor.

Extracts from this logbook.

...

29 [December 1848].

Steering W, strong breeze, sail in sight. 10 a.m. land ho. 3 p.m. hove to off the Island of Rota, one of the Ladrone Islands. Capt. went on shore. We found the **Moctezuma** here.

30. Laying off and on, blowing fresh. 8 a.m. two boats went on shore with trade to get some hogs. The **Jefferson** came in today.

31. Laying off and on, blowing fresh squally. I went on shore today, took a glimpse of the town. It is a small village. The inhabitants speak the Spanish tongue. We got 15 pigs, about 1000 coconuts for them to eat, a lot of yams and about 10 bushels of oranges. 5 p.m. Captain came on board and we squared away for another island 50 miles to leeward. 7 p.m. in sight of land, stood off and on until morning.

Jan. 1, 1849.

Run in for the land. 10 a.m. came to an anchor in [blank] bay in Island of Guam, another of the Ladrone Islands. We found 10 whale ships lying here. We had 3 day liberty here. We went up to the town which is about 5 miles from the harbor. There is 7 or 8000 inhabitants in the town. There is a Spanish governor. The natives speak Spanish and are all Catholics. The houses are built of bamboo or wood covered with coconut leaves. They are raised about 3 feet from the ground on posts. The church and government buildings are stone whitewashed. It was very sickly while we were there. I saw 8 dead bodies carried into the hospital yard in 2 hours. The superintendent told me there was

100 buried in 3 days. We exchanged a man by name of Johnson for one Edward, an Englishman on board the **Nile**. We got 12 cords of wood here but could get no recruits.

Jan. 22. Got under weigh and went down to Umatta a village about 12 miles distant and anchored. There we got about 300 bbls of water.

On the 24th, got under weigh again after remaining 23 days in this miserable place for a Christian. We are bound for Japan Sea.

24. 8 a.m. goto under weigh, steered NW. a light breeze, ship **Marcia** in company.

25. Steering NW, strong breeze, squally. 12 noon had a gam with **Marcia**.

...
[They were headed for the Bashi Islands north of Luzon, etc. By next October, they were back at Oahu.]¹

¹ Ed. note: There is another logbook, by Cyrus T. Robinson, in the Providence Public Library, PMB 872, Lot Inv. 2694.

Documents 1849A

The correspondence of Governor Perez for 1849

Sources: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item ...; Safford's Papers, N° 3, pp. 259-279.

A1. Letter dated 1 January 1849

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

La escases de brazos en estas Yslas y particularmente de oficios, me anima à suplicar à V.E. que si esa Superioridad lo estima conveniente remita siempre que haya ocasion algun numero de Presidarios de oficio incluso el de labradores. Los pocos que hay son de esta clase de hombres venidos en epocas anteriores, que cumplidas sus condenas se han establecido aqui con utilidad propia y bien del Pais. Entre ellos solos se haya algun Platero, Carpintero, labradores que saben manejar el arado. Estos naturales no se aplican ni estimaban à imitarles. Acostumbrados à trabajar poco la tierra con una herramienta que llaman fosiño que es una cuchilla de 3 ó 4 pulgadas de frente y una de ancho con un tubito en un extremo para armarla en un palo de 3 ó 4 varas de largo, que haciendo esfuerzo hacia delante la persona que la maneja, va matando la yerba por la superficie de la tierra y con sola esta operacion ponen las semillas que tapan con la mano ó con el pie y asi son insignificantes sus cosechas pudiendo serlo abundantes. Este lo hacen por no saber manejar el arado y algunos Filipinos que rezan de él hacen ver la ventaja que tiene sobre el fosiño, pero son pocos los que quedan y conbiene que no se acaban para el bien de estas yslas. Por estos pocos se hacen siembras de Palay que nos libran de caer en la miseria, pero que ni hay lo necesario ni dejan de tener necesidad de buscar frutas y raices silvestres.

Ademas, Exmo. Sor., puentes y caminos todo lo he encontrado distraido por los frecuentes baguios é inundaciones con que han sido castigadas estas Yslas. No solo faltan brazos pero tambien herramientas y fierro para formarlas. Antes surtia la Real Hacienda de ellas cono otros efectos precisos, hoy falta todo como respetuosamente lo puse en conocimiento de V.E. en mi oficio N° 12 fecha 20 de Octubre último. A esto se dirige mi suplica, Exmo. Sor., y apreciare si V.E. la tome en consideracion, para que las pequeñas porciones de muchas clases de semillas que trajo y han producido bien puedan aumentarse con mayores siembras confiadas à las manos de los hombres que encarecidamente ruego à V.E. me remita, aprovechando toda proporcion.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 1° de Enero de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

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

Loose translation, by Safford.

Don Pablo writes to the Captain General, calling his attention to the small numbers of laborers in this island, especially of those with mechanical trades, and begging him to send to Guam a certain number of convicts having trades including husbandmen, or tillers of the soil.

The few here now are of this class of men who came some time before, and at the expiration of their sentences they have settled in this island to its great benefit and usefulness to themselves. Among them only are to be found silversmith, carpenter, and tillers who know how to manage the plow. The natives of these islands do not apply themselves nor are they stimulated to imitate the ex-convicts. Accustomed to work the soil with an implement which they call *fosiño* which is a knife [rather blade] with an edge of three to four inches, set transversely at the end of a long wooden handle by means of a socket near one end into which the handle fits (3 or 4 yards long). The workman thrusts it along in front of him killing the weeds which cover the surface of the soil, and after this operation they plant the seeds, merely covering them with the hand or foot. Consequently their harvests are small, which might be large.

This they do because they do not know how to use the hoe and a few Filipinos who do use it show the advantage which it has over the *fosiño*. But there are only a few of these left, and it would be a bad thing for the island if these should die off. It is by these few [Filipinos] that the rice produced on this island is cultivated, which saves us from utter want; but it is not produced in quantities sufficient to supply the demand, nor does it keep the natives from having to go to the woods in search of wild fruits and yams.

MOreover, Your Excellency, I have found the bridges and roads in total disrepair by the frequent hurricanes and floods which have scourged these islands. Not only are laborers wanting but there is also a lack of tools and of iron to make them. Formerly the Royal Treasury provided them together with other necessary articles; today there is a lack of everything, as I respectfully informed you in my communication of the 20th of October last. I should also like to call your attention to the fact that the small quantities of the many kinds of seeds I brought produced well, and would like you to send more through the men whom I have recommended to Your Excellency, taking advantage of every opportunity which presents itself.

A2. Letter dated 31 January 1849—Death of Fr. Ciriaco

Exmo. Sor.

Doy parte à V.E. haber fallecido en esta Ciudad el dia 21 del corriente el presbitero Don Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, Cura Parroco que era de la Ysla y pueblo de Rota que por su abanzada edad y achaques que padecia tenia superior permiso para permanecer aqui.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 31 de Enero de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

P.P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

Death of Padre Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, Priest of Rota, who, on account of his advanced age and feeble health, had been permitted by the Government to reside in Agaña.

A3. Letter dated 12 March 1849—The earthquake of 25 January and its aftermath

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

A las 2 y 49 minutos de la tarde del 25 de Enero último hubo en esta Ysla un temblor de tierra ó terremoto fortisimo y de minuto y medio de duracion que causo los estragos que verá V.E. por la adjunta relacion. En aquella tarde y sita [sic] las once de la noche se repitieron mas ó menos fuertes con cortisimos intervalos de 4, 6 u 8 minutos; desde las once cesaron hasta las 6 1/2 de la mañana y seguieron en los dias sucesivos y conforme se manifiesta en la otra relacion tambien adjunta. Terminos faltan, Exmo. Sor., para expresar el conflicto en que nos hallaremos, pues ademas de la repeticion de los temblores se percibia como un hervor subteraneo y creiamos estar sobre un bolcan que al dar su explosion ibamos volar por el espacio. Este especie de hervor continuo duró 9 dias, y aunque éste cesó, los temblores siguieron. El ser esta una Ysla tan lejana de todo continente teminos que la causa ó su origen estaba en ella. Un Piloto y varios marineros que estaban en la playa dijeron y aseguraron haver visto salir por la reventazon de la barra de este Puerto dos llamaradas de fuego precedidas de dos traquidos como de cañon. La tierra se abrió por varios puntos. En medio de esta Ciudad se hicieron largas rajaduras, abiertas 14 pozos que brotaron agua, arena y pes como de media libra. A mi presencia se sondearon estos pozos en aquella tarde con una caña y se hallaron desde un hasta seis varas de profundidad. Los hice terreplena al dia siguiente

tanto para evitar su vista horrorosa como por estar 4 de ellos debajo de casas que unas cayeron y otras se inclinaron.

Se han desplomado muchos peñascos por la orilla de la mar y en los montes del interior fueron tan fuertes los balances que se cayeron botellas del piso y en estantes.

Desgracias de personas no habido mas que la de una muger que se hallava en su rancho cerca de la playa y le llebó una de las tres grandes marejadas que tubo la mar. A una nietecita del año que estaba con ella, la tiró el agua à la distancia de 20 brazas y la dejo entre unas piedras un poco lastimada la cara.

Los daños causados se estan reparando ya se han compuesto los tejados del Almacén de Artilleria, Administracion, Convento y Yglesia. Ahora está la obra en el Colegio y casas particulares divididos en dos cuadrillas los pocos y medianos Albañiles que hay, por lo que se tardará en concluirlo todo pasando esta mismo de un pueblo à otro. Ahora se hace ya de necesidad lo que suplique à V.E. en mi oficio N° 24 para que se sirva remitir à esta algunos presidiarios de oficios, que nos ayuden à perfeccionar con el tiempo los reparos que se hacen ahora para cubrir meramente necesidades.

El 31 de Enero llegó una Fragata Ballenera y su Capitan me dio noticia de haver percebido el temblor à 1000 millas al Leste de esta Ysla con la que nos quitó su idea de estar aqui la causa y que habrá sido general. Aun siguen los temblores pero pequeños, y dejando algun día en claro.

Dios quiera que esta Capital se haya librado de tanta calamidad.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 12 de Marzo de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Gobierno M. y P. de Yslas Marianas.

Daños causados por el temblor de tierra ó terremoto à las 2 horas y 49 minutos de la tarde del día 25 de Enero de 1849.

Ciudad de Agaña.

Torre.—Se cayeron las 4 varas de su mayor altura. Quedó muy resentido el 2° cuerpo que es de 5 varas. Las campanas que estaban colocadas en lo interior, cayeron à plomo enterados entre los escombros sin lesion, las escaleras que eran de madera se hicieron pedazos.

Yglesias.—La parte del tejado que cojio la caída de la torre, rotas las tejas y resentidas las maderas, lo restante del techado padeció poco. Las paredes cuarteadas, incluso las de la tribuna y sacristia, una de las llaves ó vigas que cruza su cuerpo separada la caveza mas de dos pulgadas del bencalo en que estaba fijada. La capilla de Dolores enteramente inutilizada por sus paredes demolidas, la teja caída y rota, las maderas deshechas y rotas muchas de ellas, tambien por efecto de haber caido sobre ella parte de

la torre. Caidas algunas piedras de las lapidas del Sementerio, por el mal estado en que quedó y la repetición de los temblores, se celebra la misa en la plaza.

Combento.—El frontispicio cuarteado y todas sus paredes interiores y exteriores. El arco de la puerta inutilizado. Las tejas corridas, caídas y rotas mucha parte, el maderamen padeció poco por ser buena calidad. La cocina corridas las tejas y rotas, las paredes cuarteadas, lo mismo que la azotea.

Colegio de San Juan de Letran.—Todas las paredes exteriores é interiores enteramente demolidas, caída la del ángulo del Oeste con otros trozos en diferentes partes é inutilizadas del pizo arriba. Las tejas corridas, caídas y rotas, el maderamen padeció poco. La cocina y azotea cuarteadas.

Almacén del Artillería.—Las paredes cuarteadas, las tejas corridas, caídas y rotas, muchas de ellas. El maderamen padeció bastante, rotas varios quilos y varalejas, caídos y rotos los armeros y aparadores de los efectos del ramo. La azotea paredes de la cocina y cerco cuarteadas.

Casa Real ó Palacio.—Las paredes exteriores cuarteadas, los tabiques interiores uno caído y los demás inutilizados, una de las llaves ó tirantes del Centro salido de su sitio y levantado del vencialo tres pulgadas. El tejado padeció poco. El de la cocina corridas, caídas y rotas las tejas, caído un arco de la azotea, sus paredes y las del cerco cuarteadas. El cuerpo superior de la torre abierto por el ángulo del Este.

Eran tales los balances que se cayeron botellas y otras vasijas mas pequeñas que estaban derechas sobre las tablas del pozo y en estantes.

Cuartel.—Caído un tabique interior. Este edificio fué el que menos padeció, pues sus paredes y tejado no tienen daño ninguno.

Administración.—Las paredes exteriores é interiores cuarteadas. El caballete algunos quilos y varalejas rotas. El techado todo movido, caídas y rotas muchas tejas. Las paredes de la cocina caídas, la azotea y paredes del cerco cuarteadas.

32 Casas Particulares.—22 de piedra y teja sus paredes corrida y caída la teja de estas y 3 cocinas caídas desde sus cimientos. 10 de piedra con techo de paja cuarteadas sus paredes y 2 enteramente inutilizadas.

Calles.—Rajaduras en la tierra en muxha parte; abiertos 14 especies de pozos que brotaron agua, arena y un pes de 1/2 libra. Sondeados en la misma tarde tenían de una hasta seis varas de profundidad, y todos casi en una línea recta por medio de la Ciudad en la extensión de 2000 brazas que hay desde la mar hasta un monte; en esta línea fueron arruinadas las cuatro casas y tres cocinas que se mencionan en las casas particulares. Dos puentes de piedra quedaron muy resentidos; por la playa de esta Ciudad y por todo lo que mira al Norte no entró la mar, pero se vieron retirar sus aguas.

Pueblo de Agat.

Yglesia.—Caidos varios pedazos de las paredes y todas cuarteadas, su techo padeció poco por estar cubierta de paja.

Casa Real y Parroquial.—Caidas las paredes del piso arriba de la parte del Oeste que mira à la mar. La madera del techado, y las tejas a mayor parte.

Calles.—*La mar entró en las calles del pueblo que dista de la parte de sus regulares marejadas sobre 500 brazas con bastante pendiente.*

Umata.

Yglesia.—*El frontispicio y torre caídas, las campanas se enterraron entre las piedras con lesión. Las paredes de la izquierda caídas las demás demolidas y enteramente inutilizadas. Su techo es de paja y las maderas padecieron poco.*

Casa Parroquial.—*Las paredes cuarteadas, los tabiques interiores caídos, las tejas corridas, caídas y rotas.*

Casa Real.—*Las paredes exteriores rajadas de parte à parte entrando la luz por ellas, los tabiques interiores caídos, parte del techado rendido, rotas muchas maderas de él y caída la mayor parte de la teja. La azotea y cocina inutilizadas.*

Calles.—*La mar subió hasta cerca del pueblo que está en terreno elevado; por el río, llegó á mas de una legua destruyendo muchas siembras. Dos Fragatas Balleneras ancladas en su puerto en 16 brazas rompieron las cadenas y perdieron las anclas, siguiendo el movimiento de las tres marejadas asegurando sus Capitanes que por mas de 5 minutos quedó en seco parte donde estaban ancladas al retirarse la mar. Las pipas y barriles con que estaban haciendo aguada se hallaron al día siguiente á largas distancias en lo interior de los bosques. Derribó dos puentes.*

Merizo.

Yglesia.—*Las paredes cuarteadas, el techo es de paja, padeció poco.*

Casa Real y Parroquial.—*El agua llegó hasta cerca del pueblo que está elevado.*

Ynarajan.

Yglesia.—*Cayeron piedras de las paredes quedando todas cuarteadas, el techo por ser de paja padeció poco.*

Casa Real.—*Cuarteadas las paredes y caídos pedazos de los tabiques, el techo de paja.*

Calle.—*Se llevó el agua de la mar que entró por el río tres casas dejándolas en un cocal á 200 brazas de distancia, el pueblo se inundó, se perdieron como 15 valitas de palay sembrado y 7 de camote, llevándose la tierra, se llevó tres puentes, dos inmediatos al pueblo y el del río Acfayan y la balsa del de Talafófo.*

En la inmediación de este río, se llevó un rancho, y se ahogó una muger á una nieta que estaba con ella, la llevó el agua al monte dejándola entre unas piedras, causándolas una pequeña lastimadura en la cara.

Pago.

Yglesia.—*El frontispicio y paredes cuarteadas, caídos los umbrales de una ventana y la tribuna de la izquierda. El techo es de paja y padeció poco.*

Casa Parroquial.—*Cuarteadas las paredes y caídos los tabiques interiores, el techo como el de la Yglesia.*

Casa Real.—*Cuarteadas las paredes y caídos los tabiques interiores y parte de la cocina, el techo como los anteriores.*

Calles.—Entró el agua de la mar hasta el patio de la Yglesia quedando todo el pueblo inundado hasta 1000 brazas de distancia á la playa con una pendiente suave.

Al retirarse el agua quedaron las calles cubiertas de pescado, uno muy grande y desconocido de los del pueblo.

Se desplomó una grande peña en la punta del leste(?) á 1/2 legua de distancia.

Los cinco pueblos inmediatos á esta ciudad no tienen edificios de piedra, y pertenecen á esta parroquia.

Las casas de table y paja han padecido poco, pero muchas se han inclinado por las aberturas de la tierra.

Hospital de Lazarinos.—Este edificio esta solo á media legua de esta Ciudad. Las paredes se cuartearon y se cayeron las tejas del techo de la capilla. Las tejas corridas, caidas y rotas, y algun padecimiento en la madera. Tiene en la actualidad 11 enfermos.

Fuerte de Santa Cruz.—Esta en el centro de la Caldera de San Luis de Apra, el continuo golpe del agua le tiene minado de una á otra parte y sus murallas estaban resentidas. Ahora han quedado con grandes aberturas, y como es el unico fuerte que hace los saludos cuando llegaren buques de guerras, en la actualidad no pueden sus murallas resistir la fuerza de los disparos.

La Casamata queda inutilizada, las tejas de este Cuarto corridas, caidas y rotas muchas de ellas.

Almacen de Polvora.—Situado en el monte de Tutujan [sic] sus paredes quedaron cuarteadas, las tejas corridas, caidas y rotas.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 12 de Marzo de 1849.

Pablo Perez

[Notas.]

Diez y seis Fragatas Balleneras havia en el Puerto el dia 25. Varios Pilotos y marineros estaban en la playa, dijeron y aseguraron haber visto salir por la reventazon de la barra dos llamaradas de fuego precedidas de dos traquidos como de cañon. El destacamento del Almacen de Polvora que esta situado en una buena elevacion cerca de esta Ciudad, y miraban las oscilaciones de los edificios, vieron cubrir de humo ó niebla todo el espacio de la altura á la ciudad, perdiendo á esta de vista.

En los 9 dias desde la tarde del 25 de Enero hasta el 2 de Febrero se percibia como un hervor subteraneo, y se ha repetido algunos ratos despues parados sobre la tierra causaba en la planta de los pies un movimiento como de pasar por debajo la corriente de un rio. Esto mas hacia creer estar sobre un volcan y que á la hora menos pensada ibamos á volar por el espacio.

Agaña 12 de Marzo de 849.

Pablo Perez

Translation.

Your Excellency:

At 2:49 in the afternoon of the 25th of January last this island experienced an earthquake, very strong, that lasted one and a half minutes and which caused the damages that Y.E. will see in the following attachment. That afternoon and at 11 p.m., the tremors repeated themselves, more or less strongly, but at very short intervals of 4, 6 or 8 minutes; it was quiet from 11 p.m. until 6:30 a.m. when they were again felt, and they continued over the next few days, as mentioned in another attachment. Words fail, Sir, to express the problems that we found ourselves with; indeed, in addition to the series of tremors, there was perceived a sensation that something was boiling under our feet, that would make us fly up, as if a volcano was about to explode. This sort of continuous rumble lasted for 9 days, and although it stopped, the tremors continued. As this island is so far away from any continent, we feared that the cause or source was here. A pilot and various sailors who were on the beach stated solemnly that they had seen come out through the breakers at the bar of this port two flashes of fire, preceded by two reports, as if from a cannon. The earth opened up at various places. In the middle of this city, huge cracks appeared, and 14 holes opened up that spurted water, sand and fish weighing about half a pound. These holes were probed with a bamboo pole that same afternoon, in my presence; some were as many as 6 yards deep. I had them filled the next day, not only to remove such an eyesore, but also because 4 of them were under some houses that either had fallen in or were about to.

Many crags located by the sea-shore had toppled over and in the mountains the shakings were so intense that bottles placed on the floor or shelves fell down.

There was no loss of life, except for one woman who happened to be in her country house on the beach; she was carried away by three large tidal waves. Her small, one-year-old, niece who had been with her was carried by the water for a distance of 20 fathoms, but she was found among some rocks with only her face a little scratched.

The damages that have been caused are being repaired. The roofs of the Artillery Warehouse, the Administration Building, the Convent and Church have already been repaired. Now, the few and average-type masons available, have been divided into two crews; they are repairing the College and a few private houses. They will soon finish those, and then go on to the villages, one at a time. Now, more than ever we have the need that I begged Y.E. about in my letter N^o 24 asking you to please send some convicts who are tradesmen, to help us to complete the emergency work that is now being done.

On 31 January, there arrived a whaling ship. Her captain reported to me that the earthquake had been felt 1,000 miles to the east of this island. So, we gave up thinking that it had been a local phenomenon only. The tremors have not yet ceased, except for a few days that were free of them.

May God decide that this capital be freed from so much calamity.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 12 March 1849.

[Attachment]

Military and Political Government of the Mariana Islands.

Damages caused by the earthquake that began at 2:49 p.m. on 25 January 1849.

City of Agaña.

Bell tower.—The top 4 yards of it fell down. the second story, about 5 yards in height, suffered some damage. The bells that had been inside it were thrown as well but were found without damage among the rubble. The stairs, that were made of wood, were splint asunder.

Churches.—The part of the roof that was hit by the falling tower had all its tiles broken and wood supports destroyed; the rest of the roof suffered little damage. The walls were cracked, including those of the gallery and sacristy. One end of an horizontal beams got separated by 2 inches from its support bench that made it fast. The chapel of [Our Lady of] Dolores was rendered completely useless, because its walls wre demolished, its roof fallen and broken, as many of its wood parts were torn off and broken; the main cause was the fact that part of the tower hit it as well. Some of the tombstones in the cemetery fell down. On account of the bad condition in which it [the church] was left and the repeated tremors, mass is now being said in the square.

Convent.—The entrance-way was cracked, as well as all its walls, interior and exterior. The arch over the door was made useless. The tiles were out of place, fallen and many of them broken. The wooden structure was little damaged, on account of the quality of the wood. As for the kitchen, its tiles were fallen and broken, its walls carcked; the terrace, the same.

Colege of San Juan de Letrán.—All its walls, exterior and interior, completely destroyed, the western corner collaped, as well as a few other slabs around it; it was made unuseable from the floor up. Its tiles have fallen and broken, but its wood structure suffered little damage. Its kitchen and terrace are cracked.

Artillery warehouse.—Walls cracked, tiles torn off, fallen and many of them broken. The wood structure suffered enough, specially the supporting planks and poles. The lockers and shelves holding the spare equipment belonging to the branch fell and broke. The terrace, walls of the kitchen and of the enclosure have been cracked.

Royal house or Palace.—The exterior walls are cracked; one of the thin interior walls fell down and the rest are useless; one of the supporting beams in the middle came out of its place and was raised from its support bench three inches. The roofing suffered little damage, but the tiles of the kitchen were out of place, fallen and rotten. One arch of the terrace fell down, its walls and those of the enclosure were cracked. The upper story of the tower was opened at the eastern corner.

The tremors were such that bottles and other small vessels that were standing on the edge of the well and in shelves fell down.

Barracks.—One interior wall fell. This building was the one that suffered the least damage; indeed, its walls and rooing have no damage.

Administration building.¹—The exterior and interior walls were cracked. The roof ridge, a few support planks and poles were broken. The whole roof was disturbed, and many of its tiles fell and broke. The walls of the kitchen, the terrace and walls of the enclosure were cracked.

32 private houses.—22 houses of stone and tiled roofs had their walls moved and the tiles fallen and 3 had their kitchens toppled from their bases. 10 houses of stone with thatch roofs had their walls cracked and 2 completely demolished.

Streets.—Many cracks appeared in the earth; 14 holes appeared that spurted water, sand and one fish weighing half a pound. That same afternoon they were probed and they were up to six yards in depth, and almost all of them were along a straight line running in the middle of the city over the distance of about 2000 fathoms, from the beach to the mountain; it was along this line that were located the four private houses and three kitchens mentioned above as having been destroyed. The two stone bridges have been very shaken. The sea did not invade the beach area or the area to the north of the city, but the waters there were seen to withdraw.

Village of Agat.

Church.—Various pieces of its walls fell down and all of them were cracked. Its roofing suffered little damage, as it is made of thatch.

Royal and Parish house.—The walls of the upper story facing west and the sea fell down. The woodwork of the roof, and most of the tiles fell down.

Streets.—The sea came up and covered the streets of the village, by as much as 500 fathoms from the highest normal tides, in spite of the slope.

Umata.

Church.—The entrance-way and the bell tower fell down; the bells were buried under the stones and were damaged. The walls on the left side fell, the rest were demolished and made completely useless, but its roof, being of thatch, and its wooden supports suffered little damage.

Parish house.—Walls cracked, the interior walls fallen, the tiles loosened, fallen and broken.

Royal house.—The exterior walls cracked from one end to another and letting the light shine through, the interior walls fallen, part of the roofing split, with many broken wooden supports and most of the tiles fallen. The kitchen and terrace rendered useless.

Streets.—The sea rose as far as the village which is built on high ground, and along the river it rose as far up as one league, destroying many plantations. Two whaling ships that were anchored in its port in 16 fathoms of water, saw their chains broken and they lost their anchors, as they followed the movement of the three tidal waves. Their captains declare that, during a period of over 5 minutes, the place where they were anchored was left dry when the sea retreated. The casks and barrels with which they were

1 Ed. note: The same as the courthouse and jail.

taking on water were found the next day at a great distance in the interior of the bushes. Two bridges fell down.

Merizo.

Church.—Walls cracked. The roof, being thatch, suffered little.

Royal and Parish house.—The water rose as far as the village which is on high ground.

Inarahan.

Church.—Some stones fell from the walls which remained all cracked. The roof being thatch suffered little.

Royal house.—Walls cracked and parts of the interior walls as well. The roof is thatch.

Street.—The sea rose along the river and carried away three houses that it left in a coconut grove a distance of 200 fathoms away. The village was flooded. About 15 *valitas* planted with rice and 7 planted with sweet potatoes were eroded away. Three bridges were carried away: the one near the village, the one over the Agfayan River, as well as the raft at the Tarafoto River.

In the vicinity of the latter river, the sea carried away one country house; one woman was drowned, and a small niece of hers who was with her was carried inland by the water and left among some rocks with only her face somewhat scratched.

Pago.

Church.—The entrance-way and the walls cracked; One window sill and the left-side gallery fell down. The roof being of thatch suffered little damage.

Parish house.—The exterior and interior walls were cracked; the roof, the same as that of the church.

Royal house.—Exterior walls cracked, interior walls fallen, and also part of the kitchen; the roof, as the previous ones.

Streets.—The sea rose as far as the patio of the church, a distance of 1,000 fathoms from the beach, but with a small slope; it left the whole village flooded. When the water receded, the streets were covered with fish, one very big and not known by the village people.

A large crag broke off from the point to the east(?), a distance of 1/2 league.

The five villages in the vicinity of this capital do not have houses of stone, and they belong to this parish.

The houses of board and thatch suffered little, but some of those were let crooked by the openings in the earth.

Lepers hospital.—This building is only half a league from this city. Its walls cracked and the tiles of the chapel roof fell down. Its own tiles were loosened or fell down and broke, with some damage done to its wood supports. At present, 11 lepers live there.

Fort Santa Cruz.—It is located in the center of the basin of Port San Luis of Apra. The waves that continuously hit its base have eroded it here and there and its walls were weakened. Now, they have been left with large gaps. Given that it is the only fort that

can return gun salutes to visiting warships, its walls can no longer resist the shocks imparted by the firing of the guns.

The ammunition storage room remains useless, the tiles of its roof being loosened, fallen and many broken.

Powder maganine.—Located on Tutujan Hill, its walls were left cracked, its tiles loosened, fallen and broken.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 12 March 1849.

Pablo Perez

[Notes]

Seventeen whaling ships were in the Port on the 25th. Various pilots and sailors were on the beach. They declared that they saw two fiery flames shoot out through the breakers at the bar, and preceded by two reports as if from some gun. The detachment serving at the Powder Magazine that is located on a height above this city reported that they saw the buildings of the city move back and forth; they saw smoke or steam cover it all, so that it disappeared from sight.

During the 9-day period that lasted from the afternoon of 25 January to 2 February, there was something like an underground rumble that was felt and was repeated a few times since; if one remained standing on the ground, it felt as if the current of a stream passed under foot. Worse still, it felt as if one was on top of a volcano that might explode at any moment and make one fly into space.

Agaña, 12 March 1849.

Pablo Perez

A4. Letter dated 7 April 1849, mentioning Carolinians

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

El 25 de Marzo pasado sali de esta isla para visitar las de Rota, Tinian y Saipan y regresé ayer, habiendo hallado en ellas tranquilidad y buen orden. Los Carolinos establecidos en la última se van civilizando. Examiné a los muchachitos y muchachitas que diariamente asisten a la Escuela, su adelanto en la lectura y doctrina Cristiana, y los hallé como loritos que hablan sin entender lo que dicen, pero que en ello manifiestan aplicacion y esmero por parte del maestro. La falta de Sacerdotes hará que tarden en hallarse dispuestos para recibir el agua del Santo Bautismo, pero recomendé muchísimo al Alcalde y al maestro todo el esmero posible en sus adelantes y que sobre todo celen que observen buenas costumbres.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 7 de Abril de 1849.

Exmo. Señor.

P. P.

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas.*

Loose translation, by Safford.

On March 25th, Don Pablo left Agaña for a tour through the islands. He visited Rota, Tinian, and Saipan, returning to Guam on the 7th of April. He found everything quiet and in good order, and the Carolinians established on Saipan showed evidence of becoming somewhat civilized. He examined the boys and girls in the school in reading and Christian doctrine and found them like parrots which talk without understanding what they say, but showing evidence of application and careful attention on the part of the master. The lack of priests will make them slow in fitting themselves for receiving the water of Holy Baptism, but the Governor recommends highly to the Mayor and the school-master to devote all possible care to the improvement of the Carolinians under their charge and above all to keep an eye upon their morals.

A5. Letter dated 20 April 1849, mentioning Carolinians

Exmo. Sor.

El día 14 del corriente llegó à esta una banca con ocho Carolinos de la Ysla de Satawal. El día 15 llegaron dos de la misma clase de gente de la Ysla de Lamursec, la una con diez hombres y quince mugeres y la otra con diez de aquellos y seis de estas, su estado de miseria en tal y todos estaban decimados por el hambre por haber pasado muchos días sin tomar ni tener ninguna clase de alimentos, los que fueron asistidos cual convenia. Esta emigracion por lo que expusieron ante mi fué causada por un gran terremoto, y en seguida una inundacion que hizo desaparecer à dichas Yslas por algunas horas, destruyendo todos sus sembrados y la mayor parte del arbolado, en donde se libraron estos algunos mas que por falta de embarcaciones quedaron alla. Perecieron muchos à la entrada de las aguas y de los que menos afortunados que estos havian subido à los arboles y fueron derribados por las olas.

Su intencion es de abandonar para siempre su Pais nativo estableciendose en la Ysla de Saipan juntos con sus paisanos que residen en ella desde el año de 1839 procurando luego que se restablezcan de su debilidad ir à su Pais à traer los que alli quedaron. En vista de la concesion de esa Superioridad de fecha 21 de Julio de 1843 para establecerse en dicha Ysla los del año 39 hé permitido à estos fijen en ella su residencia procurando por sus adelantos lo mismo que se hace con aquellos.

No fijan la fecha del expresado terremoto ni inundacion pero dicen haber pasado dos lunas y media marcando la posicion que tenia el sol que es como 2 y 3 de la tarde, por lo que se infiere que fue à la misma hora que aqui à las 2 y 49 mnutos de la tarde del 25 de Enero último, como tuve el honor de comunicarselo à V.E. en mi parte N° 27 y fecha 12 de Marzo.

Lo que pongo en conocimiento de V.E. para su Superior determinacion.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Exmo. Sor

P. P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

A canoe arrived at Guam on 14 April 1849, with 8 Carolinians from the Island of Satawal, and on the following day, two more arrived of the same kind with natives from the Island of Lamursek, one with ten men and fifteen women and the other with ten men and six women. They were in a state of misery and all were emaciated from hunger from having passed many days without any kind of nourishment. They were given proper care.

This emigration, from the evidence I was able to get from them, was caused by a great earthquake, followed by a flood which swept over the said islands for several hours destroying all their crops and the greater part of their fruit trees, in consequence of which the survivors including these arriving here and a few others remaining in the stricken islands for lack of canoes wished to abandon the islands. Many perished in the flood and others who had tried to save themselves by climbing trees were swept away by great waves. They wished to establish themselves on the island of Saipan with their fellow countrymen who had been living there since 1839, and hope after recovering from their weakness to go back to the islands and bring the rest of those remaining there. In accordance with the official permit dated 31 July 1843, for those who came in 1839 to establish themselves in the said island, the governor permitted the refugees to join them, hoping that they would advance in civilization.

It was not possible to fix the date exactly of the earthquake and the inundation, but the refugees stated that two moons and a half had passed since then, and they pointed to the position which the sun occupied in the sky, which indicated that it must have been about 2 or 3 p.m.; from which the governor inferred that it was the earthquake of 25 January, which had caused so much damage on Guam.

[Footnote by Safford:] At the time of the American occupation [1899],¹ the Caroline Islanders [in Guam] lived in a village called Maria Cristina. They were a harmless people but they would not work. They paid their road tax, however and gave little or no cause for complaint. They occupied themselves in finding and in collecting shell-fish, etc. on the reef, subsisting on these and on bread-fruit, wild yams, and other fruits growing spontaneously. They raised chickens and pigs. They frequently exchanged fish, eggs and chickens for articles needed from the store-keepers. The men wore breech-cloths, a simple piece of cloth passing around their waist and between their legs.

The first American governor ordered them to wear clothes. The women wore short mats reaching from the waist to the knees and covered their breasts when coming to town. The men continued to come to town half-dressed, often in a shirt and hat. This looked more than their simple breech clothes. Indeed, their brown skin seemed amber clothing.

They were expelled from the Island [of Guam] by Governor Seaton Schroeder. They left Guam January 19, 1901, going in the schooner [Esmeralda] of a trader named Harrison to Saipan to join the colony of Carolinians there under the German flag. There

1 Ed. note: See Safford's visit to Tamuning on 27 August 1899 (Doc. 1899N).

were 96 of them. It was said that the Americans couldn't make them work, but the Germans would find a way to do so.

A6. Letter dated 21 May 1849

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Entre 10 y 11 de la mañana del día 23 de este mes ocurrió en esta Ciudad un incendio que dio principio en la Casa de Joaquin Ybarra y se propago à otras seis mas, todas cubiertas con ojas de coco. Con la prontitud con que se ejecutaron mis ordenes para derribar los techos de las casas inmediatas se logró cortar el fuego y salvar la mayor parte de la poblacion, porque precisamente dio principio por el lado por donde venia el viento Leste que soplabá con fuerza y enfilá al pueblo.

Por las averiguaciones practicadas para saber la causa que le motivo resulta que la muger de Ybarra toda su vida, aunque ya de mas de 60 años ha tenido encendida dia y noche una lampara para alumbrar à los Santos de su devocion; à estos les cubria una cortina à cuyo frente esta la luz, y flameando por el viento la inflamó y de aqui produjo el incendio, à cuya hora no havia ninguna gente en la casa y el fuego lo advertieron los vecinos cuando ya estaba apoderado del techado.

El valor de las siete casas quemadas es aproximadamente el de 360 pesos como todos son pobres dispuse que por comunidad se formaran de nuevo, y se techaran los que se derribaron, y en seis dias estubo reparado todo. De lo que doy parte à V.E. para su Superior conocimiento.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 21 de Mayo de 1849

Exmo. Sor.

P. P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

Between 10 and 11 a.m. of 23 May 1849, a fire broke out in Agaña, beginning at the house of Joaquín Ibarra and spreading to six others, all of them thatched with coconut leaves. Owing to the promptitude with which my orders were obeyed to pull off the roofs of the adjacent houses, the rest of the city was saved from destruction, for the point where the fire began was on the east of the city, the direction from which a stiff breeze was blowing, enfilading the whole town.

On investigating its origin it appeared that the wife of Ibarra had all her life, although now an old woman of more than sixty years, kept lit day and night a lamp before the Saints of her devotion. These were covered by a curtain before which the light stood, which blown by this wind caught fire and from this the house caught. At the hour of the accident nobody was in the house and the neighbors did not discover it until the roof was in flames.

The value of the seven houses consumed was about 300 pesos, as they were all dwellings of poor people. The governor ordered that they should all be rebuilt by the community and that those which had been un-roofed should be re-thatched, all of which was accomplished in six days.

A7. Acknowledging correspondence—Letter dated 3 December 1849

Original text in Spanish.

Yndice acusando recibo de la correspondencia recibida del Superior Gobierno y Capitanía General en 3 de Septiembre de 1849, remitida por la Fragata Mercante Española Unión haciendola por separado los asuntos que merecen contestacion, y por el mismo buque.

20 Dic. 1848.—*Circular Real orden para que se cante un Solemne Te Deum en todas las Yglesias de los Dominios Españoles para implorar las bondades del Altisimo por haverse reanudado del modo mas Cordial y Satisfactorio las relaciones del Gobierno Español con la Santa Sede.*

Se dio cumplimiento el día 13 de Septiembre.

12 Marzo 1849.—*Circular para que en todas las Yglesias de los Dominios de España se hagan rogativas públicas con asistencia de las autoridades y corporaciones á fin de implorar ls auxilios del Altisimo para que tengan para que feliz y pronto termino las necesidades de la Yglesia Catolica y las tribulaciones de su pastor Universal.*

Si dio cumplimiento el día 14 de Septiembre.

16 April 1849.—*Transcribiendo un Real acuerdo recaido á consulta de este Gobierno para que sele permitira comerciar en consideracion ú á la grande escases de todos los objetos de primera necesidad en estas Islas producida por varios baguios é inundaciones como unico medio de evitar perciesen de hambre sus naturales, cuya peticion le ha sido negado.*

20 Abril 1849.—*Destinando á estas Islas 12 presidiarios de oficios.*

13 Julio 1849.—*Nombrando á Don José Herrero para Vacunador de estas Islas con obligacion de asistir á los enfermos Militares y con el sueldo de 15 pesos.*

13 Julio 1849.—*De ser conducidos en el Bergantin Español Sil [sic = Gil, Sol?] que zarpa para estas Yslas 12 presidiarios destinados por providencia de 20 de Abril.*

...

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 3 de Diciembre de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

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

Loose translation, by Safford.

The Spanish merchant frigate **Uniñ** arrived on 3 September 1849, bringing the following correspondence:

1. Royal circular, dated 20 December 1848, ordering that a solemn *Te Deum* be chanted in all the churches of the Spanish dominion in honor of the re-establishment of the most cordial and satisfactory relations between the Spanish government and the Holy See.

—This was carried out on 13 September.

2. Circular dated 12 March 1849, ordering that in all the churches of the dominion of Spain, public prayers be offered up with the attendance of the authorities and corporations to implore the Almighty to put a speedy and happy end to the necessities of the Catholic Church and the tribulations of her universal Pastor.

—This was carried out on 14 September 1849.

3. Transmitting the communication, dated 16 April 1849, in reply to the request of this government asking permission to engage in trade on account of the great scarcity of articles of the first necessity in these islands caused by various hurricanes and floods, as the only means of preventing the starvation of the natives, which petition was denied.

4. Communication dated 20 April 1849, assigning 12 convict laborers to these islands, who are tradesmen.

5. Letter, dated 13 July 1849, appointing José Herrero as vaccinator of these islands with obligation to attend sick soldiers, with a salary of 15 pesos a month.

[Footnote:] José Herrero was the illegitimate son of former governor Ganga Herrero. He had gone to Manila on receiving news of his father's death to see if any inheritance had been left him and his brother Luis. As his father had left a wife and legitimate children, he received nothing but he was appointed vaccinator by the Captain General. His mother in the meantime had lived as the mistress of a merchant named Portusach, by whom she had one child, then with a priest, by whom she had another which took her name, after which she married an exiled bandit from Spain, who was a man of energy and sterling qualities which won for him the respect of all his fellow citizens in Guam. Portusach left money for his children with which Governor Villalobos, their guardian, bought the country place of Padre Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, to the south of the road leading across the island through Sinahaña to Pago. Don José is still living [in 1901]. He often speaks of his step-father, who he says was a terrible man for work, and whom many a time as a boy he wished dead, because he made him work so hard, but whose memory he now blesses as a father who brought him up with care, who made him and his brothers acquire habits of industry which have been useful to them all their lives and cause them to take rank among the principal citizens of Guam. These facts concerning the origin of these good people are not intended for publication [in 1901] but have been set down by me as interesting illustrations of the conditions of society in Guam. They were gotten by me directly from Don José, who gave me much other interesting information regarding the islands.

6. A communication dated 13 July 1849 announcing the despatch of the 12 convict laborers for the island of Guam, referred to in the letter dated 10 April.

Documents 1849B

The epidemic of 1849 and its consequences

Sources: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item ...; Safford's Papers, N° 3, pp.164-165, 281-189.

B1. Letter dated 7 January 1849

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Doy parte à V.E. que en estas Yslas no hay ninguna novedad en cuanto à la tranquilidad pública no sucede asi en cuanto à la salud, pues que desde el dia 7 de este mes se notó en esta poblacion una enfermedad catarral que atacó à un gran numero de personas y que el dia siguiente fué tan general que 90 por 100 estaban en cama con calentura putreada y los tan fuertes que à muchos les ha reventado los oidos fluyendo materia y sangre. Asi continuo los dias siguientes haciendose extensiva à los demas pueblos, y aunque sus sintomas no daban mayor cuidado y que à los tres ó cuatro dias se ponian buenos volvian à recaer con facilidad, siendo en la recaida de mayor gravedad con esta alternativa de atacados y recaidos. No se hallava ninguno bueno para asistir à los enfermos. El Santisimo à todas las horas del dia y de la noche andaba por las calles, y gracias al Omnipotente que conservó la salud à este unico Padre Cura de esta Ciudad para que à estos infelices no les faltara el consuelo que nuestra Santa Religion ofrece en tales conflictos. La enfermedad siguió en su fuerza hasta los dias 23 y 24, que habiendo la temperatura fué disminuyendose y hoy quedan pocos enfermos y muchos combalecientes. Criaturas han sido muy pocas las atacadas. Los muertos desde el dia 7 hasta hoy son 194 en esta Ysla. En la de Rota tubo principio cuatro dias antes y murieron 36 personas. De los de Tinian y Saypan no he tunido noticia hasta ahora.

A la enfermedad se agregaba la falta de alimentos, pues no teniendo ninguna clase de repuestos y alimentandose con las raices que diariamente sacan del monte ó de sus ranchos, en estos dias que no podian salir à buscarlos, les afliga el hambre tanto como la enfermedad. Lo mismo visité muchas familias con objeto de enterarme, el Reverendo Cura Parroco tambien me lo hizo presente con la mayor aflicion. Reune al Gobernadorcillo y Cabezas de Barangay ó sus suplentes que lo confirmaron con Relaciones que me entregaron de las personas que carecian de todos los recursos, y en su vista cite

la junta de esta Ysla en la que se acordó lo que V.E. verá por la adjunta acta que respetuosamente acompaño, suplicando à V.E. se sirva darla su Superior aprobacion, pues en tan critica circunstancias era indispenable su pronto remedio. Este fondo de beneficencia creado para socorrer à los Lazarinos tiene de existencia 5,355 pesos y 1 real, administrado por la misma junta, son anualmente mayores los ingresos que los gastos y apreciare de V.E. que al dar su superior aprobacion à este acuerdo se sirva determinar, si en ocasiones tan apuradas como la presente, se podra disponer de sus fondos con el mismo orden y economica que ahora.

A esta enfermedad, Exmo. Sor., siguió el horroroso temblor de la tarde del 25 que verá V.E. por mi parte N° 27.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 31 de Enero de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

An epidemic made its appearance in Guam on the 7th of this month, the sufferers from which were afflicted with bad colds, accompanied by fever and running at the ears. The day after its appearance about 90% of the inhabitants were in bad with it. It spread throughout all the villages, and although its symptoms were not serious, yet after recovering from the attacks, which lasted only 3 or 4 days, there was a tendency to relapses, and with the alteration of attacks and relapses, nobody was in a fit condition to care for the sick.

The most Holy Sacraments at all hours of the day and night was carried through the streets, and thanks to the Almighty, who preserved the health of the only priest of this city, there was not lacking to these unhappy ones the consolation which our Holy Religion offers in such afflictions.

...

The epidemic continued until the 23rd or 24th, when the temperature falling it began to decrease, and now there are few cases remaining (Jan. 31). Among those attacked were very few children. From the 7th to the end of the month there were 194 deaths in Guam; in Rota, where it began four days before, there were 36 victims. From Tinian and Saipan no news has been received.

In addition to the distress caused by the epidemic there was a lack of food. For, as there was no sort of a supply in reserve, and subsisting on the old yams which they dig each day in the woods or those growing on their ranches, in these days when they could not go for them, they suffer as much from hunger as from the sickness. The Governor visited the houses of the sick, and the priest was distressed at seeing so much misery, and brought the attention of the governor to it.

The Gobernadorcillos and Chiefs of Barangay or their substitutes were called together; they confirmed by their statements this condition of affairs, and drew up a

list of those absolutely without resources and in consequence of this the Governor called together a board of the citizens of Guam, who drew up an official statement which the governor forwarded to the Captain General, begging him to take immediate action to relieve the distress. The fund for the lepers in these islands amounts to 5,355 pesos. This is administered by the said board, and the Governor asks the Captain General to authorize its application to cases of distress such as this. It will be expended with the same economy and order as at present. The receipts of this fund always exceed the expenditures each year.

B2. Letter of 10 October 1849, acknowledging the aid received from Manila

Original text in Spanish.

Manifestacion que por medio de la prensa hace el Gobernador de Marianas á las autoridades y havitantes de Manila que contribuyeron para el bien de los de estas Yslas

El Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas en nombre de sus habitantes que no cesaben de dar gracias al todo poderoso por no haber sucumbido en medio de los embates de usa parte desoladora, y de los mas horrorosos terremotos que aun se repiten se veian de nuevo amagados de una hambre devoradora que devia poner aciago fin á tanta desgracia con su misera existencia.

Pero la providencia que vela incesantemente sobre los pueblos que imploran su auxilio, quizo la mano bien hechora de nuestro Superior Gobierno, superbenefico y filantropico, pusiese un termino felix á tanta desventura y á desdicha tanta.

*Que Jubilo tuvimos todos el dia 3 de Septiembre que llegó á este Puerto la Fragata **Unión** conductora de abundantisimo socorro de Palay, Arroz, Maiz y otros granos á precios tan modicos nunca experimentados en estas posesiones. No se puede expresar la alegria y animacion que se notó pueblo, inerte poco antes, y cuya escases y espantosa miseria iba de tal punto aumentandose por una plaga de gusanos que consumió cuanto Palay, Maiz y otras semillas que se sembraron en los meses de Julio, Agosto y Septiembre que de no haber llegado el socorro tan oportunamente no podian reemplazarse las siembras perdidas por falta de semilla; de tal manera que el 29 de Agosto cuatro dias antes de la llegada de dicho buque, se pusieron en almoneda los únicos cinco cavanos de palay colectados de Diezmos y se vendieron á cinco pesos cada cavan con esto solo podra formar una idea de la grande sino absoluta escases que aqui se sufría.*

Como el que buelve repentinamente de una enfermedad mortal á la mas completa salud, asi se miraba en el contento y regocijo que se apoderó los animos de la paz del reconocimiento mas sincero hacia el bienhechor de tantas y tan grandes veneficios. No fue menos nuestra gratitud al contemplar la generosidad de los Señores que contribuyeron á la suscripcion en metalico de 675-4-5 que se distribuyo entre los pobres de estas Yslas en el dia del cumpleaños de Nuestra adorada Reyna D^a Ysabel 2^a (q.D.g.) conforme á la relacion que dirijo al Superior Gobierno.

Sin elementos medios ni recurso alguno para manifestar nuestro reconocimiento, dispuse que el 9 del mismo Sept. se celebrase misa en accion de gracias de tres Ministros, pocas veces visto en esta ciudad, con sermon que predicó docente y eruditamente como acostumbra el Reverendo Padre Fr. Manuel Encarnacion Cura Parroco del pueblo de Agat en el guardando acerca de las calamidades padecidas hizo entender y exhortó à sus oyentes al agradecimiento que deviamos tener à nuestro Gobierno que prodigamente socorria nuestras necesidades, dando fin à la funcion con un solemne Te Deum y puesto de manifiesto el Santisimo Sacramento. El pueblo todo prosternado cual otro Ysrael ante su divina Magestad le dirijia sus plegarias y votos rogando por la felicidad de sus bienhechores.

Para dar otra prueba de los sentimientos de gratitud y nos embargaban y para secundar en cierto modo las miras veneficas de nuestro Gobierno que notablemente se distingue como se ve por los hechos sublimes y Ylustran las paginas de la historia de nuestras colonias, determine sea padrino de Bautismo de la primera niña que naciera y la puse por nombre Ysabel, en memoria de nuestra augusta Reyna y el Teniente Gobernador del primer niño y se llamó Narciso en memoria de S.E. nuestro Capitan General, Conde de Manila y tan justamente rige estas apartadas regiones; dotando cada uno à su respectivo ahijado con 50 pesos y haviacion de ropas decentes, cuyo acto tubo lugar à las 9 de la mañana del 16 de Septiembre con asistencia de las autoridades y casi toda la poblacion à fin de que estos niños sean vivos testimonios del recuerdo de la benevolencia de nuestra soberana y el de S.E. que tan atinadamente sabe ser el instrumento de tantos y tan grandiosos hechos que la historia recordara para honor y gloria de la gran nacion Española.

Recivan pues las mas espresivas y por tantos titulos devidas gracias, que yo y estos havitantes tributamos à nuestra exalta Reyna que el cielo guarde y prospere, para que su eleccion sea siempre tan acertada en el nombramiento de autoridades como las que actualmente gobiernan el archipiélago Filipino. Tambien las tributamos à S.E. y al Señor Superintendente que en su Real nombre y siguiendo la senda de su equidad, determinaron el embio y siguiendo de los socorros referidos. Yualmente los tributamos al Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Manila por el interes que se tomó en la suscripcion mencionada y à los Señores que contribuyeron à ello y à las Señoritas y Cavalleros que tomaron parte en las dos funciones dramaticas cuyo producido se aplicó à la suscripcion; asegurando à todos de nuestro mas sincero y eterno reconocimiento.

Agaña 10 de Octubre de 1849.

Pablo Perez

Translation, by Safford.

Acknowledgment of the Contributions of the People and Authorities of Manila for the Relief of the Inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.

The Governor of the Mariana Islands, in the name of the inhabitants, who do not cease to give thanks to the Almighty for not having succumbed to a desolating epidemic and the most horrible earthquakes, which still continue, saw themselves threatened once

more by a devouring famine which threatened to put an end to their miserable existence.

But Providence, which incessantly watches over these peoples who implore its help, willed that the beneficent hand of our Superior Government, ever benevolent and philanthropic, should put a happy end to so much misfortune and unhappiness so great.

That joy was ours on the 3rd day of September, when there arrived at this port the frigate **Unión**, the bearer of the most bountiful supplies of rice, corn and other grains, at prices more moderate than have ever been known in these possessions. It is impossible to describe the joy and animation of the people of this community, whose misery and poverty was increasing by a plague of worms which consumed as much rice, corn and other seeds as were sown in the months of July, August, and September; so that if succor had not arrived so opportunely the lost crops could not have been replaced for lack of seeds. Such was the scarcity that on the 29th of August, four days before the arrival of the said ship, the only remaining five cabans of rice were put up for sale at auction and were sold at 5 pesos a caban. From this alone can be formed an idea of the great if not the total scarcity which was suffered here.

Like one who suddenly recovers from a mortal illness to perfect health, so was the air of contentment and rejoicing which seized upon all souls in their most sincere gratitude to the author of so many and such great benefits. Nor was our gratitude any less toward the gentlemen who contributed to the subscription in money, \$675-4-5, which was distributed among the poor of these islands on this the birthday of our adored Queen Isabella II (whom may God save) in accordance with the directions of the Superior Government.

Without elements, means, nor resources whatever for manifesting our gratitude, I directed that on the 9th of the same month of September a mass of thanksgiving should be celebrated by three priests—something very seldom seen in this city—with a sermon preached eloquently and eruditely as is his custom, by Padre Fray Manuel de la Encarnación, the parish priest of the village of Agat, who in speaking of the calamities suffered by these islands made his listeners understand and exhorted them to the gratitude due our Government which so prodigally relieved our necessities; finishing the function with a solemn *Te Deum*, and displaying the Most Holy Sacrament. The people all bowed down like those of Israel before His Divine Majesty, breathed forth their prayers and vows praying for the happiness of their benefactors.

In order to give another proof of the sentiments of gratitude which overwhelmed us and to carry out in a certain way the beneficent ideas of our Government, which especially distinguish it, as is seen, by sublime acts which illustrate the pages of the history of our colonies, I decided to act as god-father to the first girl baby which might be born, and I gave to it the name of Isabella in memory of our august Queen; and the Lieutenant-governor acted in the same capacity for the first boy baby, which he named Narciso in memory of His Excellency, our Captain General, Count of Manila,¹ who so

1 Ed. note: Narciso Clavería y Zaldea, Governor of the Philippines, 1844-49.

justly rules these remote regions, each one of us giving to his god-child 50 pesos and an outfit of decent clothing, which event took place at 9 a.m. on the 16th of September, with the attendance of the Authorities and of nearly all the population, so that these children may be living evidence of the remembrance of the generosity of our Sovereign and of Your Excellency, who knows so well how to act as the instrument of so many and such great deeds, which History will record for the house and glory of the great Spanish Nation.

Please receive, then, the most expressive and for so many reasons deserved thanks, which I and these inhabitants tender to our most high Queen (May God save her), so that her choice may ever be so appropriate in the appointment of authorities like those now governing the Philippine Archipelago. We also tender them to Your Excellency and to the Superintendant, who in the royal name, and following the path of his equity, provided for the transmittal of the succor referred to. Also we tender them to most excellent Corporations of Manila, for the interest whown in the subscription and to the gentlemen who contributed to it, and to the young ladies and gentlemen who took part in the two dramatic shows in the reseceipts of which were applied to the subscription.

Document 1849C

The story of the 'Canadian' Doctor William George

Sources: LC Mss Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item ...; transcription from Agaña archives, among Safford's Papers, N° 3, and his notes, pp. 63-65, now also in LC Mss. Div.

Letter of Governor Perez dated 3 December 1849

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*Desde que en 27 de Febrero llegó á esta Ysla en la Fragata Ballenera Anglo Americana **Richmond** el Cirujano Yrlandes William George y solicité quedarse en ella, le pregunte por los documentos que acreditasen su facultad y me dijo haberlos perdidos con todo su equipaje en el naufragio de la Barca el **Real Guillermo** de San Andres en la Nueva Brunswick en 20 de Mayo de 1847, entregandome dos Certificados de dos sujetos á quienes asistió, otro del Capitan de la Fragata **Jaime Stuard** empleado en ella como cirujano, cuyas copias autorizadas acompaño á V.E. incluyendo al final de ellas su contestacion sobre los referidos.*

Tambien es adjunta con el mismo requisito una relacion de las enfermas que mas ó menos tiempo estuvieron en el Hospital de Lazarinos, que asistidas de mi orden las curó completamente y salieron de dicho establecimiento cada una de estas mugeres eran socorridas por contrata con un real diario ademas de casa, muebles, enseres de cocina, criadas y criados para su servicio y el del oficio dos sayas, dos camisas, dos naguas, dos pañuelos anualmente, catre y ropa de cama, de modo que cada una de ellas hacia el gasto anual de 80 pesos mas ó menos. A este Cirujano se le ha asignado 12 pesos y 4 reales por cada una de las curadas y de las que cure que es proxicamente la que cada una gasta en dos pesos, con obligacion de visitarlos de tiempo en tiempo en su casa por si tuviesen alguna recaida.

A esta economia se agrega la ventaja, de que á estas infelices se las ponía en el Hospital para evitar el contagio entre sus familias y su vista repugnante en el público por tener muchas de ellas las llagas en la cara, biendo á unas con las narices consumidas y otras las orejas, y que una vez puestas allí permanecian hasta morir por falta de facul-

tativos que las aplicaran las medicinas necesarias. Además de esta relación tengo en mi poder otra de más de 30 personas que ha visitado y curado en sus casas, sin exigir pago alguno más que el agradecimiento voluntario de paciente.

Tengo el proyecto y agradece la aprobación de V.E. de comprar medicinas cuando llegue la estación de la venida de los buques balleneros y reunir en esta Ciudad todos los llagosos de los otros pueblos que son muchos por que visto el resultado hasta aquí, ofrece la seguridad de que asistidos por el en 3 à 4 meses desaparezca esta enfermedad tenida hasta ahora por el mal de San Lazaro, y que según su opinión no son más que llagas escrofulosas curables.

De 18 mugeres que había en dicho Hospital y no hubieran salido de él solo quedan 3 que clasifica de Lazarinas.

También le mande hacer una visita à los enfermos del Hospital de Lazarinos de la Isla de Saypan en donde están los hombres que padecen de la misma enfermedad que las mugeres y un poco más de un mes curo à 3 de 12 que había dejando à los demás prescritos el método que deben seguir, y espero que al hacer la segunda visita cuando la estación lo permita dé de alta alguna más. Lo que participo à V.E. para su Superior determinación.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 3 de Diciembre de 1849.

Exmo. Sor.

P. P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Ever since the Irish [sic] Doctor William George arrived at this island on 27 February [last] aboard the Anglo-American whaling ship **Richmond**¹ and solicited permission to remain here, I have asked him for the documents that accredited him as a physician, but he told me that he had lost them, with all his baggage, in the shipwreck of the Barque **Royal William** of St. Andrews in New Brunswick, [which occurred] on 20 May 1847.² He handed to me two certificates from individuals whom he had attended to, another from the Captain of the frigate **James Stewart**³ aboard which he was employed as surgeon; said copies, which I certify, are enclosed for Y.E, including the comments he made at the bottom of said documents.

1 Ed. note: This was most probably the Richmond of Providence, Rhode Island, Captain E. A. Swift, voyage of 1847-50; there is no logbook extant.

2 Ed. note: The Royal William, of St. John, New Brunswick, had been built at St. Stephens in 1836, and was immediately sent on a whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean; she did not visit Micronesia. For general information on Canadian whalers, see Doc. 1840S.

3 Ed. note: The Canadian whaling ship James Stewart of St. John, was first in Micronesia in 1844, then again in 1847-48. Assuming that Dr. George served aboard her earlier; he must have switched to the Richmond in 1848, probably when this latter ship visiting the Hawaiian Islands.

In addition, please find enclosed with the said request a list of the sick women who have spent some time in the Hospital for [female] Lepers, and who, attended by him at my order, were completely cured by him; each one of these women left said establishment where they had been maintained by contract at a cost of 1 real per day, plus a house, furniture, cooking utensils, servants of both sexes for their service and, officially, they received two skirts, two blouses, two petticoats, two kerchiefs per year, one bed-frame and bedding, so that for each one of them there was an expenditure of 80 pesos per year, more or less. This surgeon was given 12 pesos and 4 reals for every woman he cured and, for those whom he is still curing, which is approximately what each one of them costs, he receives two pesos with the obligation of visiting them at home from time to time, to check for possible relapses.

In addition to this saving, one must add the advantage to the families of these unhappy women who had been placed in the Hospital to avoid their becoming contaminated, and also to shield the public from a repugnant sight, as many of them had ulcers in their faces, some even had their noses eaten away, and others their ears; once they had been placed in the hospital they remained there until they died, for lack of practitioners to apply the necessary medicines to them. In addition to the above list, I have in my possession another, with over 30 persons, on it, whom he has visited and treated at home, without charging them anything, apart from the voluntary contribution of some grateful patients.

I have in mind a project, for which I need the approval of Y.E., to buy some medicines from visiting whaling ships, at their next season, and to gather all the people with ulcers from the other villages, who are numerous, because I believe that the result obtained so far gives me the assurance that, once they have been attended by him for 3 to 4 months, this illness will disappear. Up to now, this disease has been called the St. Lazarus' disease, but according to him, they are but curable scrufulous ulcers.¹

Out of the 18 women who had lived in that hospital, and would never have left it, there remain only 3 who are [indeed] lepers.

Also, I have ordered him to make a visit to the sick at the Hospital for [Male] Lepers at the Island of Saipan, where the men who suffer from the same disease as the women. In a little than one month, he cured 3 among the 12, and left the remainder with prescriptions that they must follow. I hope that when he makes a second visit there, when the weather permits, he will cure a few more. This is what I communicate to Y.E. for your Superior decision.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 3 December 1849.

Your Excellency,

P. P.

¹ Ed. note: In other words, not leprosy, but yaws.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

[Footnote, by Safford:] While in Guam a little hump-backed brown-skinned woman frequently came to my house bringing me flowers from Doña Regina Sigxenza, with whom she lived as a servant. Susana Perez, my cook, told me that she was the daughter of William George. She has never been married, but has a son to whom I granted a land title while on duty in the island. Don José Herrero, who was thrown much in contact with George in the performance of his duties as Vaccinator, told me that George was a dapper little man and a great favorite of the ladies with many of whom he had affairs of the heart.

1 Ed. note: Another governor was not so pleased with this Canadian surgeon, however. See Doc. ..., when Governor ... tried to replace him with a Spanish physician.

Notes 1849E

Shipping news, Boston newspapers, 1849**E1. Report in Boston Daily Advertiser, 30 July 1849**

Note: Reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape 10.

Whalers.

Arrived at Sydney N.S.W. Feb. 12, **Lebarron**, Chadwick, near 22 mos. out from New Bedford, 300 bbls sperm oil (including 140 landed at the Western Island) to repair.

Arrived at ditto Feb. 20, **Scotland**, Smith, Nantucket, 40 mos. out 2100 sperm, 130 whale oil, is directly from Ascension [Pohnpei], and has put in to repair copper. Reports **Boy**, Luce, of Warren, and **Phoenix**, New Bedford at Ascension 35 days since—former 12-1/2 mos. out 250 sperm, latter 17 mos. out 600 sperm.

E2. Report in Boston Daily Advertiser, 24 September 1849

Note: Reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 3.

Whalers.

At Guam, March 14 [1849], **Zephyr** Shearman, New Bedford, 37 mos. out, 500 sperm for Pacific Ocean. Reported the **Margaret**, Fales, of Newport as having been there a few days before, oil not stated.

E3. Report in Boston Post, 25 April 1850

Note: Reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 4.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Allen of Ship **E.L.B. Jenney** of Fairhaven, reports her at sea Nov. 23rd a few days out from Guam with 1600 sperm oil for Sooloo Sea.

Document 1849F

The Maria Theresa, Captain Micah Swift

Sources: Log 379 in NBWhM; PMB 265; Log Inv. 3052.

Note: This New Bedford ship left 26 Nov. 1847 and returned 22 March 1851 with 200 bbls of sperm oil, 2830 bbls of whale oil and 4300 pounds of whale bone.

Extracts from this log

...

[After a season in the Arctic and a visit to Hawaii, this ship went down to New Zealand, then up again, via Rotuma, then to the Gilbert Island are.]

...

Ship Maria Theresa towards the Japan Sea

...

[Banaba]

Saturday February 3rd 1849

Commences with a light wind from NE by N. Middle and latter parts much the same.

At 6 p.m. saw Ocean Island bearing NW dist. 25 miles.

Lat. 00°50' S, Long. 169°40 E

...

[Meeting no whales, this ship went up rapidly North, passing 10° to the east of the Mariana Island chain. After a long cruise in the Japan Sea, they visited the Sakhalin Island vicinity, then the so-called SW Islands, and reached the Gilberts in February 1850.]

...

Sunday February 17th 1850

Commences with a light wind from NNE, ship's course W. Middle & latter parts much the same. At 3 a.m. saw Hope Island bearing WSW dist. 5 miles.

Lat. 2°30 [S], Long. 176°01 E

Monday February 18th 1850

Commences with a light wind from NE, ship's course W. At 2 p.m. saw Rotches Island bearing W by N dist. 20 miles. At 3 saw blackfish going quick. Lowered but got none. Saw the **Alabama** of Nantucket to leeward. Middle and latter parts fresh gale, saw nothing.

Lat. 2°00 S., Long. 173°44 E

...

Wednesday February 20th 1850

... At 10 a.m. saw Ocean Island bearing W dist. 20 miles.

Lat. 00°47 S, Long. 169°45 E

...

[Kosrae]

Tuesday February 26th 1850

Commences with a light wind from NE, ship's course NW. At 6 p.m. saw Qualan Island bearing WNW dist. 25 miles. Latter part a fresh gale. At 6 a.m. saw the Island Peyoa bearing SSW dist. 15 miles...

Lat. 6°02 [N], Long. 162°10 [E]

Wednesday February 27th 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from NE, ship's course WNW. At 6 p.m. saw MacAskills Island bearing WSW dist. 50 [sic] miles. Middle & latter parts a fresh gale with squalls of rain, ship's course W.

Lat. 6°27 N., Long. 160°08 E

[Pohnpei]

Thursday February 28th 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from NNE, ship's course W by N. Middle and latter parts winds much the same. At 9 p.m. saw Wellington's Island bearing W by N dist. 5 miles. At 10 a.m. saw the Island Ascension wearing W by N dist. 25 miles.

Lat. 6°43 N.

Friday February 29th 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from NNE, ship's course W. Middle part a strong breeze, double reefed the topsails. Latter part a light wind with rain. At 12 a.m. anchored in 8 fathoms water in the Lee Harbor at Ascension.

Ship Maria Theresa leaves Ascension

Saturday March 16th 1850

Commences with a light wind with rain. Middle and latter parts much the same. At 9 a.m. weighed anchor and sailed on a cruise.

[Ngatik]

Monday March 18th 1850

Commences with a strong breeze from NE with rain, double reefed the topsails, ship's course SSW. Middle part a strong breeze, took in the jib, fore & mizzen topsails. Latter part a light wind. At 9 a.m. saw Raven's Island bearing SW dist. 25 miles.

Tuesday March 19th 1850

Commences with a light wind and pleasant weather. At 4 p.m. Raven's Island dist. half a mile. Middle and latter parts a strong breeze. The Natives came off from the Island but had no hogs and now we are going back to Ascension.

Wednesday March 20th 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from ENE, ship's heading SE. Middle and latter parts much the same, ship's heading to the N.

Thursday March 21st 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from ENE, ship's heading N. At 1 p.m. saw Raven's Island bearing SW by W. Middle and latter parts a light wind. At 6 a.m. saw Ascension Island bearing NE by N.

Lat. 6°31 N, Long. 158°00 [E]

Friday March 22nd 1850

Commences with a light air from E by N. At 2 p.m. saw blackfish, lowered but got none. Middle and latter parts a light air and calm with rain.

Saturday March 23rd 1850

Commences with calm. At 2 p.m. went ashore at Ascension and caught three of our deseters. At 6 came on board and squared away for Guam with a light wind. Middle and latter parts a fresh gale from N by E, ship's heading NW by W.

Lat. 7°10 N, Long. 157°26 E

...

Saturday March 30th 1850

Commences with a light wind from E, ship's course NW. At 2 p.m. saw the Island Guam bearing NW dist. 40 miles. Middle and latter parts a light wind, ship's course S by W.

Lat. 14°14 [N], Long. 145°28 E

Sunday March 31st 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from E, ship's course SW by S. At 6 p.m. tacked off shore, Guam 2 miles distant. Middle and latter parts a fresh gale. Lying off and on at Guam.

Monday April 1st 1850

Commences with a fresh gale from E, ship lying off and on at Guam. Middle and latter parts a strong breeze.

Tuesday April 2nd 1850

Commences with a strong breeze from E by N. At 1 p.m. left Guam for the Arctic Ocean to take in about 1500 bbls of bowhead oil the first part of the season because we have not got provisions enough to last all the season. Middle and latter parts a strong breze and a heavy sea, double reefed topsails, jib & main sail.

Lat. 14°28 N, Long. 144°35 E

...

[After a time in the Arctic, i.e. the Anadir Sea, they simply went home.]

Note 1849G

The Champion, Captain Colt

Sources: Log 244 in NBWhM; PMB 239 (or 253); Log Inv. 879.

Note: This Champion is not the same as the Champion, Captain Parker.

Extracts from the log kept by Cornelius Marchant

...
[The ship departed in August 1848 and headed right away for the Hawaiian Islands, reaching Maui in March 1849. Then they headed for the Japan Ground, via the Northern Marianas.]

...
Thursday 12th [April 1849]
Commences with fine weather & light trades. At 2 p.m. raised Grigan Island, one of the Ladrones. At sunset on our larboard beam dist. 8 miles. Middle & latter the same, employed at ships duty.

Course W. Lat. 19°07 Long. 143°58

Friday 13rd
First part light airs and calm from SW. Middle and latter the same. Employed painting boats.

Course W. Lat. 19°24 Long. 143°20

...
Thursday 19
First part light airs from the eastward. At 4 p.m. went on board of the ship **Luke** [or **Duke**] of Portland. At 6:30 came on board again. Employed in ships duty.

Course WNW. Lat. 22°26 Long. 135°50

...
[Up to the Japan Ground, where they saw 6 other ships at one time, including the **Triton**, **Gideon Howland**, **Newburyport**. Up to the Sakhalin Islands, then the Ochotsk Sea, then to Hawaii, before heading for the Arctic Ocean, then back to Maui, before heading home.]

Document 1849H

The Ocmulgee, Captain F. W. Manter

Sources: Log 204 in NBWhM; PMB 251; Log Inv. 3623.

Note: This was a 458-ton ship belonging to Holmes Hole.

Extract from the log kept by Joseph Dias, Jr., Mate

...

Saturday January 20th 1849

Comes in with brisk trades. At 8 a.m. saw the land, the Island of Rota, one of the Ladrões, bearing W by N and steered for it. At 1 p.m. the Captain went ashore to see about getting recruits. At 5 returned. Middle & latter parts fine weather, lying off and on.

Sunday 21st

20 men ashore, myself and the rest dined with the governor [sic]. Had one daughter, 15 years old, but spoke rather bad English. Stopped at this island until the 28th. Got about 60 bushels of yams and a devil of a shaking by the shock of an earthquake, and spoke the **Adeline** and saw Samuel Andrews.

At 12 o'clock Sunday the 28th steered NW for the Japan or Yellow Sea.

29th.

Spoke the **Mogul** of New London, Capt. Huntley, and had a gam. She was from Guam bound to the Bonin Islands...

Document 1849I

The ship Abigail, Captain George E. Young

Sources: Ms. log in the Providence Public Library; PMB 571; Log Inv. 65.

Note: Mrs. Young was on board, with a child.

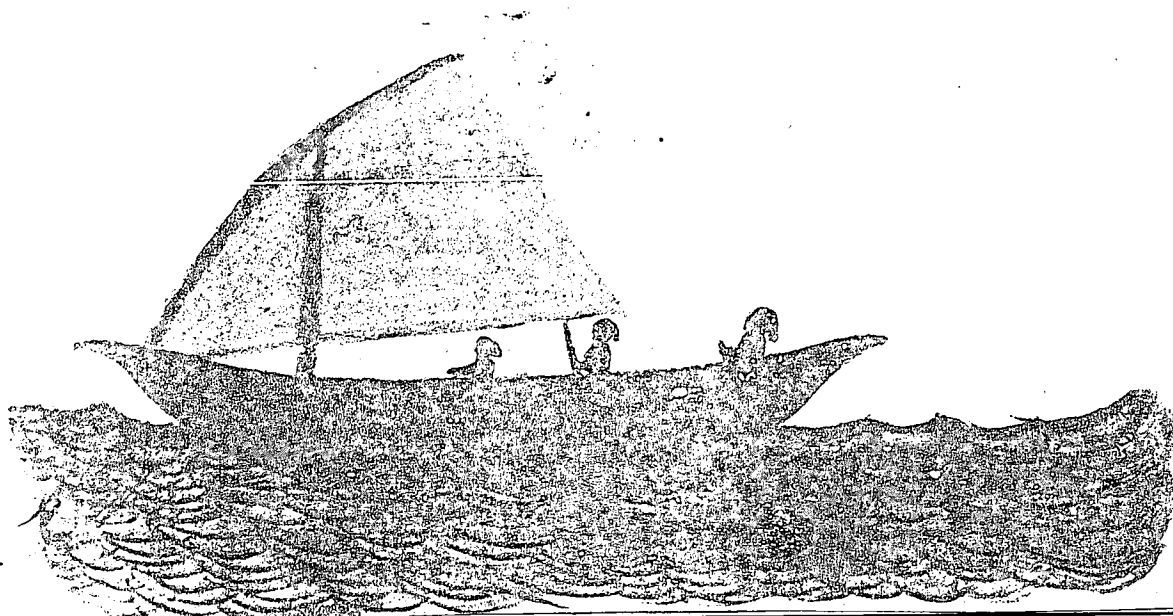
Extract from the log kept by Edmund E. Jennings

Edmund E. Jennings Oct the 13th 1847 of New Bedford, Mass. His Journal of the Whaling Voyage to the Pacific Ocean.

...
[Between January and March 1849, the Abigail was cruising for whales near the Gilbert Islands and on the Line in company with the **Milton**, Capt. Smith; they both met with the **Hector** and the **Alpha**.]

...
Sunday the 3rd [February 1849]

Strong winds from the northered [=northward]. At 6-1/2 AM saw a canoe[.] We ran down to it and found it to be a canoe drifted off from Drummond [Tabiteuea] Island with 3 natives in it aboard, famished[.] We took them in and hoisted the canoe, on board and ran loose ship to the NW. At 9 tacked back again[.] the **Milton** in sight.



Monday the 4th

Light winds. At 5 PM the **Milton** came down and spoke us we the Capt came on board and spent the evening with us. At 10 returned to his own ship. We stood along together on the S tack. At 6 AM tacked to the NE.

...

Saturday the 10th of Feb. 1849

Strong trades first standing on the Northern tack. At 8 PM the **Milton** came down and spoke us and luffed to. On the Eastern tack we then wore round. At daylight saw another ship, & signalized her and found her to be the Hector of N. Bedford, Capt Smith. At 10-1/2 AM Capt Young and Lady went on board the **Milton**. So we had a real gam all round.

Sunday the 11th

First part baffling winds and rainy. The 3 ships gamming. At 5- 1/2 PM they watched an opportunity when it stopped raining and returned to their own ships. Latter part fine weather the winds NE. The 2 ships in sight. Lat. 3°18 S Long 173°55 E.

...

[They caught some whales, continued gamming, etc.]

...

Thursday March the 8th 1849

First part strong wind from the Northward and squally. At 6 PM the **Milton** came down and spoke us and luffed to. On the tack at 9 wore round to [one word crossed out]. At 3-1/2 AM the wind hauled suddenly to the West and blew very heavy for 2 hours it blew a strong gale we hove her to on the tack lender(?) close reefed main top-sails. Latter part more moderait [sic] but rainy the [sic] from the Northward the **Milton** in company.

Friday the 9th

View of Ocean [Banaba] Island

Lat. of the Island 00°48 S Long 169°58.

Strong trades. Steering by to the NW by N. At 7-1/2 AM raised the Island 4 points off the lee bow bearing W by N dist 25 miles. AT 12 Noon down within 3 miles, and luffed too and hauled aback. The **Milton** came down and spoke us. too then to one round and stood close in but the W natives would not come off. There was 5 canoes lying close in shore a'fishing. Capt Smith lowered down a boat and went on shore to see if we could and the 3 natives that we picked up in the canoe from the Island of Peru[,] he then came on board and took them off[,] they was wery [=weary] to leave the ship[,] they said that the natives would eat them[,] Capt made them some pleasants [=presents] of close [=clothes] and tobacco[,] the natives received them kindly[,] they gave up all in charge of the Chiefs[,] there is 1 white only for the Island. Capt S. bought some squashes, fowl, watermelons which he gave us half. [Lat] obs 00°49 S.

This is a view of the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W dist 2-1/2 miles taken the 2nd of April 1849 {the Weather Harbour}¹

[Monday] the 2nd [see also below]

[Ship] lying off and on. Got our anchors [off] the bow and got ready [to] anchor in the Weather Harbour [of Ascen-]sion.

[Tuesday] the 3rd

[At 8] AM came to anchor the [Milton] in company. We found the [English] Barque **John Laird** [bound] to China.

Monday April the 2nd 1849

This day at 8 AM came to anchor at the Island of Ascension in the Weather Harbour and furled sail and commenced stowing down oil with the deck covered with natives.

Tuesday the 3rd

We lay in this harbour until the 22nd of April when Capt Smith said we would beat her out or beat on shore. At sunrise sent 2 boats to assist the **Milton** to get out with the wind from the NE trades it being dead ahead out a fair tide. At 10 AM the **Milton** being safe outside they sent 2 boats [to] assist us to get out. At 11 hove up and got under way with a head wind and tide. At 5 PM we were safe outside with an English Barque **John Laird** of London, bound to China. At 6 fired 4 guns for joy.

Wednesday the 23rd

First [part] employed in beating out to sea. Latter part lying off and on for Recruits.

Thursday the 24th

First part lying of & on the Lee Harbour. At 3 PM sailed off for Japan. At 3-1/2 the **Milton** saw whales and lowered and the W B struck and lost his line. The L B came up afterwards and struck and saved the whale. At 5-1/2 took him alongside but her cutting(?) fales(?) out'g(?) swelled so bad that they could not leave them. So ends.

Thursday the 24th of April 1849

From the preceding page her cutting falls [=fails?] being so badly swollen that they could not leave them. Captain Young returned to his own ship and got to take the whale the morning at 5-1/2 AM took the whale to our ship, cut him with the 2d Mate and B Crew from the **Milton**. At 7 she set colours for more whales and for their boat. At 8 they lowered 2 boats and hauled to windward[,] the whales being there. We lowered at the same time. At 11 AM the M[ilton's]. L Boat struck a whale.

1 Ed. aote: Again this is an unimpressive profile, of the Island of Pohnpei.

...

[The Abigail and the Milton went directly to the Japan Ground where they were very successful at catching whales. There is **no** mention of the Mariana Islands. Daily positions are not recorded. Capt. and Mrs. Young often went on board the other ship. However, on 9 October 1849, it is noted that "child very sick." We may assume that this was Captain Young's child. They soon headed for the Hawaiian Islands, presumably to seek medical help. After this, they returned to the Line.]

...

Friday the 11th

Light wind from the Northward, Steering W by N. At 3 PM raised Hope [Arorae] Island bearing WNW dist 35 miles.¹ At 4-1/2 raised 2 pods of whales one going NE to windward the other going SSE. These we lowered for[.] they was 2 points forward of the L beam when we lowered for them going 2 points to the lee or West[.] We sterned [sic] we lowered the S & W boats the waist boat going in after the whales when the L boat came down direct on their eye with the intention of getting or driving off for there 20 whales up lying like logs on the water. They saw him and settled.

...

Saturday the 12th

Strong winds and squally. 3 ships and Bark in sight.

Sunday the 13th

Fine weather[.] at daylight saw Hope Island bearing NW by N dist 15 miles. Steering WNW for Roaches [Tamana] Island with 2-3 sails in sight and about 10 canoes following us.

View of Hope Island bearing NNW dist 6 miles²

Monday January the 14th 1850

Lat fine weather & steering to the WNW. At 4 PM luffed too. At 4-1/2 the ship **Gen. Scott** of N. London spoke us. The Capt came on board and took tea. Latter part strong trades. At 6-1/2 AM raised the land. At 10 luffed too under the lee of it bearing E dist 1 mile. The natives brought off cocoanuts and a few fowl which we bought with 2 heads of tobacco each.

View of Roaches Island bearing WSW dist 2 miles.

[mere outline sketch not reproduced here]

The same bearing ESE dist 1 mile [ditto]

1 Ed. note: This distance is so great that only the tops of the coconuts could have been sighted from the topmast.

2 Ed. note: Again, this a nondescript profile.

Tuesday January the 15th 1850

First part strong trades[,] lying off and on Roaches Is. At 4-1/2 PM put away to W. At 5 saw a spout and thought it to be a S[perm] whale but we saw it no more.

...

Wednesday the 23rd

Light winds. At 10 AM picked up a canoe with one native in it almost famished[,] he says that there was 4 when they left[,] 3 having died.

Wednesday January the 23rd 1850

Continued of hunger he says as near as we can understand that it is 7 days since they left Byrons [Nukunau] Island. At 8 raised a sail.

Thursday the 24th

At 5 PM the Capt lowered his boat and went on board of her[.] She was a French Bark.¹

Friday the 25th

Light winds and baffling.

Saturday the 26th

Light winds and baffling. At 7 PM it hauled to the SW and blew and rained hard. Latter part pleasant.

Sunday the 27th

All of these 24 hours strong squalls from the Westward and rainy. The Bark still in sight.

Monday the 28th

First part strong winds from the Westward with heavy rain. At 4 took in the jib and double reefed. At 5 took in the fore topsail and close reefed the main and mizzen. At 6 wore ship to the SW.

...

Thursday the 31st

Fine weather fresh trades. At 9 AM raised a sail.

Friday the 1st of Feb

Strong trades. At 3 PM the ship came down and spoke us[,] it proved to be the **Herald** of Fairhaven. She had taken 200 Bbls of S. oil the last 10 days[,] the Capt came on board. At 8 AM we lowered the B boat and went on board of her and got 2 boat loads

¹ Ed. note: Her name (given below) was the Belle, but, although her name was French, she was a U.S.- registered vessel.

of wood and 4 Bls of pork and let him [have] a cask of bread. Sold him my Quadrant for \$16.00.

Saturday the 2nd

First part strong trades steering by to the Northward. The **Herald** still in sight.

Sunday the 3rd

Strong trades Steering to ESE. The **Herald** & Bark **Belle** in sight.

Monday Feb the 4th 1850

First light trades Steering S by E. The Bark & the **Herald** gamming of the weather bow. At 6 PM M. struck a porpoise but lost him.

...

Friday the 8th

First part fine weather. Spoke the ships **Barkley** and **Elizabeth** 1100 Bbls of Sp. oil 350 of whale[,] Barkley 800 Sperm.¹

Saturday the 9th Strong trades Steering by for whales.

Sunday the 10th

Strong trades Steering by to the Southward. At 8 PM passed the Elizabeth. At 9 raised Ocean [Banaba] Island.

Monday the 11th Fine weather.

Tuesday the 12th Squally and baffling.

Wednesday the 13th

Fine weather the wind from the Southward. At 4 PM spoke the **Barclay** of Nantucket the Capt came on board and stayed the evening and bought a bolt of duck.

Thursday the 14th

Fine weather the wind SE. At 7 parked with the **Barclay**.

Friday the 15th

Fine trade Steering SW for Pleasant [Nauru] Island...

¹ Ed. note: These were the Barclay of Nantucket and the Elizabeth of New Bedford.

Saturday Feb. the 16th 1850

Fine weather. At 3 PM commenced cutting and got in 20 of them and made sail with the other[.] Pleasant Island bearing SW dist 20 miles. At 9 AM finished the cutting the other. At 11 began boiling.

...

Saturday the 23rd of Feb 1850

All of these 24 hours smoke. At 10 AM raised the Strong [Kosrae] Island bearing NE by N dist 40 [sic] miles. At 2 AM tacked ship to the Eastward. At 12 M R the Island bearing ENE dist 8 miles.

[No entry for Sunday. They had no contact with Kosrae Islanders.]

Monday the 25th

Fine weather. At 3 AM tacked to the Northward. At 12 M R the Island bearing NW by W dist 30 miles.

...

Friday Feb the 28th 1850 [rather 1st March]

First part strong winds and squally Steering W by S. At 3 PM raised Wellingtons [Pingelap] Island.

Wellingtons Island bearing SE by S dist 3-1/2 miles

[not reproduced here]

At 5 PM there was a canoe [that] came off with a white man in it. We bought 1 green turtle. At 6 put away for Ascension WNW. All of the Latter part rainy.

Saturday the 2nd

Strong winds and squally. At 6 PM shortened sail and luffed to. At daylight put her off W and saw the land[.] We ran near enough to see 2 ships lying off and on and then luffed to the wind on the S. tack to the NNW.

Sunday the 3rd

Strong trades but clear Steering to the Northward to go clear of Island and shoal. At 5 AM put her off NW[.] this [day] killed the turtle.

...

Friday the 8th

Strong trades Steering WNW. At 10 AM raised the Island Rotta. [Outline of Rota] This is a view of it bearing WNW dist 2 miles.

Saturday the 9th

At 7 PM put the ship SW by S Rota bearing NE by N dist 3 miles and run until 9-1/2 PM and luffed too to Northward. At daylight raised Guam bearing S by E dist 20 miles. At 11-1/2 AM took a Pilot and steered for Umatta.

Island Guam bearing NE distance 6 miles

[Profile view (in 2 parts) not reproduced here]

Ship Abigail lying at Guam

Saturday the 9th of March 1850

At 3-1/2 PM came to anchor in the Harbour of Umatac Guam. At 4 took a raft of casks on shore for water. At 7 took them alongside.

Sunday the 10th

Took of 3 rafts of water and stowed it.

Monday the 11th

Took off 1 small raft. At 10 AM got under way. At 4 PM anchored in the Harbour of Guam.

Tuesday the 12th The S. watch went on shore for 3 days liberty.

Wednesday the 13th Fine weather. Employed in nothing particular.

Thursday the 14th

Employed wooding the ship. At 2 PM the S. watch returned.

Friday the 15th Fine weather. The L watch went on liberty. The watch on board employed in getting off wood.

Saturday the 16th Strong trades. Employed wooding.

Sunday the 16 Fine weather. At night the L. watch returned to the ship.

Monday the 17th Fine weather the S. watch went ashore for 3 more days.

Tuesday the 18th Employed blacking bends &c.

Wednesday the 19th

Finishing getting wood having got off 13 cords. At 7 the watch returned to the ship.

Thursday the 20th Fine. The L Watch went on shore for liberty.

Friday the 21st

Strong trades and squally. St Down the fore top gallant mast & fly gibb boom.

Saturday the 22

Strong trades Employed starting water and cleaning the Harness cask. At 5 PM sent the boat in for the watch but none came off[.] today discharged the Cook.

Sunday the 23rd At 7 AM sent the boat for the Watch. They all came off but 2/3 drunk.

Monday the 24th

Bent the main topsail & main stay sail and got the last of our recruits.

Tuesday the 25th of March 1850

Fine weather but a very heavy swell in the harbour. At 1 PM Capt Young and Lady came on board. At 6 PM went on shore for the goat.

Wednesday the 26th

At 6 AM have lif[ted] our anchor and went to sea.

Thursday the 27th

Strong trades and squally. At 4-1/2 PM spoke the **Mt. Vernon** and sold her a blubber hook. Latter part moderate, the other ship in sight. Lat. [blank. Long.] 144°18.

Friday the 28th

First fine, the other ship in sight. Latter part squally.

Saturday the 29th

Strong trades and squally weather Steering by to the Northward 3 sails in sight to windward.

...

[The Abigail headed north for the Japan Ground.]

...

Documents 1849J

Mutiny aboard the whaler *Planter*, Captain Hussey

Note: Her voyage took place from July 1847 to July 1851 (ref. Starbuck, pp. 446-447).

J1. Report in the Salem Gazette

Sources: Salem Gazette, 18 December 1849; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Gilbert Islands 4.

Mutiny.

The crew of the ship *Planter* of Nantucket,¹ refused duty, while cruising near the King's Mill group of Islands, in the Pacific, desiring to go into port. The Captain refused to comply with their demands, when they armed themselves with clubs and knives, and threatened the lives of the Captain and officers. The Captain ordered the ship's muskets to be brought on deck, and loaded with ball cartridges; and after due warning, shot one of the ringleaders, whereupon the rest submitted and returned to their duty.

J2. Longer report in the Boston Daily Evening Transcript

Sources: Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, 15 December 1849; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Gilbert Islands 3. Shorter report appeared in Boston Post, of Dec. 17th; both newspapers acknowledge that their version came from the New Bedford Mercury; other sources quoted in the article itself.

Remarkable mutiny in the Pacific

A report was recently received by the Edgartown correspondent of the New York Commercial Advertiser stating that Capt. Hussey of the ship *Planter*, of Nantucket, had deliberately and without any just cause, shot one of the crew. The following facts in relation to the affair, said to be from a reliable source, are given by the New Bedford Mercury of this morning.

1 Ed. note: The whaleship *Planter*, 340 tons, of Nantucket, Captain Isaac B. Hussey, left her homeport in July 1847 and returned in July 1851, more than one year after the mutiny.

In June last [1849], while cruising in the vicinity of the King's Mill Group of Islands, the crew of the **Planter**, led on by a few desperate fellows, refused duty, alledging as a cause, that the ship had cruised long enough, and should go into port.

Capt. Hussey refused to comply with the demands of the crew, whereupon they armed themselves with knives, hand spikes, boarding knives &c. and threatened the lives of the captain and officers unless their demands were immediately complied with. Capt. H. endeavored to reason with them, and upon going forward to do so, was met at the try works and forced back. After several ineffectual attempts to induce the crew to return to their duty and finding that they had determined to force the Captain to return to port or take possession of the ship, Capt. Hussey ordered the muskets to be brought upon deck and loaded with ball cartridges. He then addressed his crew, stating his determination to maintain his authority at the cost of life and gave them half an hour to consider the matter and make up their minds whether they would return to duty.

At the expiration of the time, he again addressed them, and finding they still persisted in their mutinous intentions, he very coolly and resolutely informed them that he had determined upon the course for him to pursue—that he was a good shot, and that the first man who, on being commanded by him, should refuse to obey, would be dead upon the spot. He then took up a tried musket and calling one of the ringleaders by name, ordered him to come aft. The only answer to which was a defiance, Capt. H. then levelled his gun and fired. The ball entered the temple of the mutineer and passed out the opposite side of the head, and he fell dead upon deck. The same course was then pursued with another of the ringleaders, who, with the remainder of the crew, preferred returning to their duty to being shot—and the ship continued on her cruise.

The peril to which the vessel and crew were exposed by the conduct of the mutineers will doubtless furnish to the minds of all a sufficient justification for the extreme measures to which he was compelled to resort, and afford to him ample vindication by the laws of his country.¹

Epilogue, by R. L.

Captain Hussey left the **Planter** at Kosrae, in December 1850. The following year, he was operating a bowling alley there (according to Jones, in Doc. 1850M). In early 1852, he left Kosrae in command of the brig **William Penn**, of San Francisco; he was killed in another mutiny aboard this ship, on 6 November 1852. A.B.C. Whipple, in his book "**Yankee Whalers**" put a different spin on the 1849 mutiny, pp. 147-149.

1 Ed. note: There exists another narrative, by W. C. Paddack, in his book entitled "**Life on the Ocean** (Cambridge, 1893).

Document 1849K

The Awashonks, Captain Smith

*Sources: Log in the New Bedford Public Library; PMB 310; Log Inv. 511.
Note: Voyage of 1848-52.*

Log of the Bark Awashonks of Falmouth, Mass., Capt. Gustavus D. Smith.

...
[Via Cape Horn, along the coasts of Chili and Peru, Maui (in May 1849), Arctic Ocean, Mauri (Oct. '49), to the Line.]

...
Wednesday Nov. 14/49
... At 12 o'clock, made Hope [Arorae] Island bearing about West... Lat. 2°30 S. Long. 177°22 E.

Thursday 15
... At sundown, luffed by the wind, Hope Island bearing about W, 2 leagues, in company with **Montezuma**...¹ Latter part, ran down & hove to off the Island & traded with the natives for coconuts, mats, etc. Spoke **Hector**, N.B. Smith, 17 mo., 750 sperm. At 12 noon, Hope Island bore about N, just in sight.

...
Tuesday Nov. 20
... Ran down off HOpe Island. Were visited by some 60 or 70 canoes having a few coconuts, mats, etc. About 6 o'clock, braced the yards & stood to the SE... Lat. 2°44 S. Long. 176°41 E.

...
Thursday 22
... About 1/2 past 10 o'clock a.m., made Rotch's [Tamana] Island. Lat. 2°22 S. Long. 176°33 E.

1 Ed. note: Of New London, Capt. Benjamin, voyage 1848-50.

Friday 23/49

... Hove to off **Rotch's Island** & traded with a deckload of natives, getting fowls, coconuts, etc. plenty. Braced forward & stood to the Northward. Lat. 1°55 S. Long. 176°34 E.

Saturday 24

... Spoke **Montezuma**, having seen nothing since we parted. Lat. 1°50 S. Long. 176°15 E.

Sunday 25

... Stood along the leeward of **Rotch's Island**. Some natives off. Did not trade with them as we saw the **Montezuma's** boats down. Soon discovered they were after sperm whales. Kept off for them, **Rotch's Island** bearing NE, 2 or 3 leagues distant.

Tuesday 27

... **Rotch's Island** being near, a few canoes came off just at night. Bought a few fowl, coconuts, etc.

Thursday 29

... Stood along to the weather [side] of **Hope [Arorae] Island**. Some natives came off.

Friday 30

... Took a man from **Hope Island**, [he had] left **Bark Wade**¹ 3 or 4 weeks since...
Lost sight of **Montezuma**.

Saturday December 1st

... Made **Clark's [Onotoa] Island**. At daylight, some natives off. Bought a few coconuts, etc.

Sunday Dec. 2'49

... Bought a few coconuts, etc. off the savages. Lat. 2°04 S. Long. 175°58 E.

Monday 3

... A number of canoes off from **Clark's Island**. Bought coconuts, fowls, 2 bbls molasses, etc... Latter part... about 1/2 past 11 a.m., made **Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island**. Lat. 2°07 S. Long. 176°44 E.

1 Ed. note: Although the name of bark is not clear, it is probably correct, for the **Wade of New Bedford**, Capt. Bradbury, voyage 1846-51. Starbuck reports this bark as having gone whaling to the Indian Ocean.

Tuesday 4

... Running down past Drummond's Island. A number of canoes off. Bought a few coconuts, fish, etc. Lat. 1°10 S. Long. 174°50 E.

...

Thursday 13 [Dec./49]

... Made Ocean [Banaba] Island... Seized cabin boy Louis Silva to the main rigging & gave him eleven lashes with two parts rattling stuff for disobedience. Lat. 1°25 S. Long. 169°33 E.

Friday Dec. 14/59

... Made Ocean Island again, luffed out of sight last night. Put Louis Silva in irons & in the Potato House for refusing to take the place of a hand for cook... Lat. 1°00 S. Long. 169°58 E.

...

Sunday 16

... Several canoes came off from Ocean Island bringing nothing to trade mostly of note...

...

Friday 21

... Just before night, raised a sail to leeward. Ran for her until dark & luffed to... After breakfast, Capt. Nicherson of the **Massachusetts** of Nantucket (13 mos. out, 40 bbls sperm), came on board. .. Lat. 00°22 S.

Saturday 22

... Spoke ship **Cowper**, Cole, of N. Bedford. Reports nothing on this ground. Lat. 00°44 S. Long. 168°05 E.

...

Monday 24

... Made a run down off Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Some natives off with few coconuts...

Tuesday 25

... Plenty of natives on board from Pleasant Island, 3 whites, etc. Got 3 or 4 hogs, some molasses, coconuts, etc... 2 ships in sight to leeward.

Wednesday 26

... 4 canoes came off. Bought 3 or 4 fowls, a few coconuts, etc... At noon, Pleasant Isle bearing about SE, 8 or 10 leagues.

Thursday 27

... Had a general gam with the **Cowper & Massachusetts**... Lat. 1°07 N. Long. 166°57 E.

...

Monday 31

... Made Strong's [Kosrae] Island at breakfast time. Between 9 and 10 o'clock, passed about a mile to the Northward of the Island. Lat. 5°22 N. Long. 162°15 E.

...

Wednesday 2 [Jan. 1850]

... At about 1 o'clock, raised McAskill's [Pingelap] Island. At dark, shortened sails... Gammed with **Cowper**... Made Wellington's [Mokil] Island, luffed to under the lee of it. About noon, a few canoes came off. Bought 2 green turtles for 6 or 7 lb tobacco. Lat. 6°40 N. Long. 160°08 E.

Thursday 2

... Steered Westward. Made Ascension [Pohnpei] Island & ran for it... Lat. 7°19 N. Long. 159°31 E.

Friday Jan. 4th/50

... Ran down off Ascension Harbor & fired for a pilot. **Cowper** being ahead, took pilot & gone in. At dusk, braced up down tack & stood off. Got the anchors off the bows... Latter part, ran down, took Pilot & came to anchor in Ascension Harbor about noon.

Saturday 5

... Got a raft ashore for water... After breakfast, got a raft of water o board.

Sunday 6

... Stowed some water & received 9 bbls yams. Latter part... greater part of the crew on liberty.

Monday 7

... At daylight, called all hands & weighed anchor with a light air down the river. Drifted down a short distance & the wind having [died], tide turning, etc. dropped anchor & furled the sails. **Cowper** in the same predicament. In a weather harbor, a wind always ahead this time of year.

Tuesday Jan. 8 '50

... Took a boatload of wood aboard... At daylight, called all hands & got under way having 18 of the **Cowper**'s men to assist in beating out. Beat out in about 2-1/2 hours, after which the Captain & 2 boat's crews went in to assist in beating out the **Cowper**. Got under way about noon.

Wednesday 9

... Employed off and on. About dusk, the **Cowper** being also clear, stood off... Latter part... put our pilot ashore and steered along the land to westward. Saw the **Mogul**, Huntley, New London, 31 mo., 2200 [bbls oil].

Thursday 10

... Latter part, ran down through a group of small islands [Pakin]... Lat. 7°15 N. Long. 158°20 E.

...

Thursday Jan. 17/50

... Latter part, steered NNW, with a fresh breeze from NE. Been looking for Guam this day or two, but cannot find it... Lat. 13°55 N. Long. 143°22 E.¹

Friday Jan. 18

... Course WNW for China. Gave up looking for Guam... Latter part... employed culling & drying potatoes. Lat. 14°40 N. Long. 141°47 E.

...

Wednesday 30

... Saw something less than a thousand China fishing boats. Got a mess of fish from one of them... Latter part... took a pilot for Hong Kong...

...

[To behring Straits via the China and Japan Seas, then Hawaii in Oct. 1850, to South Pacific and home.]

¹ Ed. note: The longitude indicates that they had already passed Guam.

Document 1849L

The ship Barclay, Captain Baker

Sources: Baker Mss 262 1847-51 B244, Harvard University; PMB 727; Log Inv. 532.

Logbook of the Ship Barclay of Nantucket, Voyage of 1847-51.

...
[This ship was in the Atlantic during 1847, South Pacific in early 1848, up the west coast of South America, then to the Offshore Ground. to Tahiti in January 1849, and back towards the Line in May.]

...
Saturday Sept 1st '49

... Saw Hope [Arorae] Island at sunset heading SSE, land dist. 100 miles bearing NNW. Lat. 2°30 [S]. Long. 176°33 E.

...
Monday September 3d '49

... At 2 p.m., luffed to off Roaches [Tamana] Island to trade for fowl. Bought 50 and stood to the S...

...
Wednesday September 5th '49

... Latter part saw Drummond [Tabiteuea] Island bearing N dist. 10 miles.

Thursday September 6th '49

... Ship heading N. Got some coconuts out of a canoe. Middle part stood off. Latter part spoke the **Scotland** of Nantucket 46- 1/2 months [out], 2200 [bbls oil]. So ends this day. Drummond's Island dist. 10 miles bearing NNE.

...
Saturday September 16th '49

... At 1 p.m., saw a ship whaling. Steered for her. At sunset spoke the **Hector** 13 months 500 taking a whale alongside... Lat. 1°16' S. Long. 171°30 E.

...

Monday October 22nd '49

... At dark spoke the Barque **Emma** of N. Bedford...

...

Thursday October 25th '49

... At sunset spoke the **George Champlin** of Newport 9 months from Sydney 40 bbls... Lat. 1°12' N. Long. 165°15' E.

...

Sunday December 2nd '49

... At sunset the land dist. 8 miles bearing ENE... Lat. 50 miles S. Long. 166°10' E.

...

Tuesday December 4th '49

... At 4, a boat came alongside with a harvest(?) of molasses. Traded for it. The land 15 miles dist. bearing W. The Barque in sight to leeward...

...

Friday December 7th '49

... At sunset spoke the **George Champlin**...

...

Sunday December 9th '49

... At sunset, spoke the **Sally Anne** of N. Bedford 30 mos. 1400. Saw the Barque to leeward... Lat. 25 miles N. Long. 166°08 [E].

///

Monday December 17th '49

... Latter part saw the **Champlin**... Lat. 3°44 N. Long. 163° 19 E.

Tuesday December 18th '49

... Latter part, saw Strongs [Kosrae] Island. At noon, came to anchor in the Weather [sic] Harbor in company with the Barque. So ends this day.

Wednesday December 19th '49

First part pleasant. Got off raft of casks ashore. At sunset, let 1 watch go on shore. Middle and latter part squally. So ends this day.

Thursday December 20th '49

First part strong winds. Got a raft of water. At sunset 1 watch on shore. Middle part squally. Latter part employed in storing water. So ends.

Friday December 21st '49

First part squally. Got a raft of casks on shore. At sunset 1 watch on shore. Middle part rainy. Latter part got off the water. So ends.

Saturday December 22d '49

First part pleasant. Employed in storing down water. At sunset, the watch on shore. Middle part pleasant. Latter one watch on shore. So ends this day.

Sunday December 23d '49

First part pleasant, winds from the ESE. One watch on shore. Middle and latter part rainy.

Monday December 24th '49

First part rainy. Got off 2 boatloads of wood, and stowed down water. Middle and latter part strong winds from the E. So ends this day.

Tuesday December 25th '49

First part rainy. Middle part the same. Latter part, off 3 boatloads of wood. So ends. One watch on shore.

Wednesday December 26th '49

First part light winds and rainy from the NE. Got off a boatload of wood. Middle part squally. Latter part got off 1 boatload of wood. So ends.

Thursday December 27th '49

First part squally. Middle part the same. Latter part got off 1 load of wood. So ends. Liberty.

Friday December 28th '49

First part strong winds from the E. Middle and latter part the same. So ends this day.

Saturday December 29th '49

First part strong winds from the E. Middle and latter part the same. So ends. One watch on liberty. Got some iron [i.e. ironwood] poles.

Sunday December 30th '49

First part strong winds from the E. Middle and latter part the same. So ends. One watch on liberty.

Monday December 31st '49

First part strong winds from the E. Got off a small raft of water. Middle and latter part same.

Tuesday January 1st 1850

First part strong winds from the E. Middle and latter part the same. So ends. One watch on liberty.

Wednesday January 2nd '50

First part calm. Middle and latter part the same. One watch on liberty. Discharged Harry Davis, a boatsteerer, and put him on shore.

Thursday January 3d '50

First part light winds from the E. Middle part the same. Latter part hove short to go out. A light breeze from the N. At noon wind E. Gave her chanin. So ends.

Friday January 4th '50

First part strong winds from the E and rainy. Middle and latter part the same. One watch on liberty. So ends.

Saturday January 5th '50

First part strong winds from the E. Middle and latter part much the same. So ends this day.

Sunday January 6th '50

First part light winds from the E and rainy. The Steward William Brown deserted. Middle and latter part rainy. So ends this day. Shipped 2 natives at Strongs Island.

Monday January 7th '50

First part light winds from the N. Got under way and stood out to sea in company with the **Benjamin Morgan** of New London and the Barque **George Champlin** of Newport. Middle part heading E wind NNE. Latter part calm. So ends. No obs.

...

Friday January 18th '50

... Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W dist. 20 miles. So ends. Lat. 20 miles South. Long. 167°34 East.

...

Sunday January 20th '50

... Pleasant Isle bearing NNW dist. 17 miles...

...

Monday February 4th '50

... Spoke the **Elizabeth** of N. Bedford 27 mos. 1200 ... Lat. 10 miles S. Long. 170°30 E.

...

Friday February 8th '50

... Spoke the **Elizabeth** and **Abigail** of N. Bedford...

...
Sunday February 24th '50
... Latter part saw Pleasant Isle bearing WSW dist. 30 miles... Lat. 7 miles N. Long. 167°40 [E].

...
Friday March 2nd '50
... At noon saw Pleasant Isle bearing S dist. 15 miles...

...
Tuesday March 24th '50
... Latter part saw Ocean [Banaba] Isle bearing ENE... and distance 20 miles.

Wednesday March 25th '50
... Saw a ship in to the land at sunset... Latter part spoke the **Hobomok** of Falmouth 20 mos, 600, made no stops. So ends.

...
Wednesday April 2nd '50
... Latter part stood in for Woodle [Kuria] Isle...

Thursday April 3d '50
... Canoes came off the shore, brought coconuts and fowl to trade...

Friday April 4th '50
... At noon Henderville [Aranuka] Isle bearing NNE dist. 10 miles...

Saturday April 5th '50
... At sunset saw Simpson's [Abemama] Isle ahead dist. 25 miles...

Sunday April 6th '50
... Latter part saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Isle bearing SE dist. 8 miles... Lat. 17 miles S. Long. 174°30 [E].

...
Friday April 11th '50
... Latter part saw Sydenhams Isle South Point bearing SW by S dist. 12 miles...

Saturday April 12th '50
... At sunset the NW part of Drummond's Isle bearing N dist. 8 miles...

...
Wednesday April 16th '50
... Latter part saw Drummond's Isle... At noon Sydenham Isle... No whales in sight.

...
Sunday April 20th '50
... Saw the Barque **Lucy Ann** of Sydney...

...

Tuesday April 22nd '50

... Latter part calm. Saw Henderville [Aranuka] Isle...

Wednesday April 23d '50

... Made Woodle Isle and landed 9 bbls for [coconut] oil...

...

Monday April 29th '50

... Woodel Isle bearing NNE dist. 20 miles...

...

[The ship worked her way slowly towards Samoa, before returning to the Line.]

...

Saturday September 7th '50

First part light winds from the E, course NNW. At 2, saw a school of whales. At 4 p.m., lowered the boats. At sunset struck 1 to the W. Boat. At 1 p.m., took him to the ship. saw Byron's [Nikunau] Isle bearing SW dist. 18 miles...

Sunday September 8th '50

... The canoes came off from Peroot [Beru]. Land dist. 5 miles bearing S...

...

Tuesday September 10th '50

... At 4 p.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Isle dist. 5 miles bearing SSE... Lat. 1~726 [S]. Long. 176°43 [E].

...

Thursday September 12th '50

... Saw Clark's Isle bearing ENE dist. 12 miles. Lat. 2°00 S. Long. 176°28 East.

Friday September 12th '50

... At 4 p.m., a few canoes came off from the land...

...

Tuesday September 17th '50

... Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Isle bearing S dist. 16 miles, one of the Kingmill's Group.

Wednesday September 18th '50

... Sydendam's Isle bearing E dist. 8 miles...

Thursday September 19th '50]

... At sunset spoke the **Planter** of Nantucket 38 mos, 1500 bbls of oil... Lat. 7 miles S. Long. 173°38 [E].

...

Tuesday October 8th '50

... Pleasant [Nauru] Isle bearing NW dist. 10 miles. This island is Lat. 20 miles South, Long. 167°10 East.

Wednesday October 9th '50

First part ship heading NNE. Canoes came off from the land but having no powder we could not trade...

...

Sunday October 20th '50

... At sunset spoke the Barque **Jane** of Sydney...

...

Thursday October 25th '50

... At noon saw the Barque **Alpha** whaling. Ran for her and lowered the boats in company. Struck 1 to the L B and took him to the ship. 3 barques still in presence. So ends. Lat. 26 miles [N]. Long. 166°24 [E].

...

Tuesday November 5th '50

... At sunset spoke the **Herald** of Fairhaven, and the Brig **Daniel Watson** of Sydney...

...

Monday December 9th '50

... Latter part saw Ascension [Pohnpei]...

Tuesday December 10th '50

... At sunset hauled off shore. Middle part lying off and on. Latter part ran oft to the land.

Wednesday December 11th '50

First part running down the land. At 4 p.m., came to anchor in the Lee Harbor in 17 fathoms water and sent a raft of casks on shore. Middle part calm and rainy. Latter part, took more casks on shore. So ends this day.

Thursday December 12th '50

First part pleasant. Latter part got off 10 casks and stowed it down. So ends this day.

Friday December 13th '50

First part pleasant. Employed in stowing down water and sent 6 casks in shore... Latter part, got off wood and water. So ends this day.

Saturday December 14th '50

First part, employed in blacking the bends and stowing wood and wter. Middle part rainy. Latter part the same. So ends this day.

...

[Same daily routine until the 24th.]

...

Tuesday December 24th '50

... At daylight got under way and stood out to sea, wind NNE, ship heading E. Unbent the chains and stowed the anchors. So ends. Discharged the native and shipped a mulatto for steward.

...

Thursday December 26th '50

... Employed in making brooms...

...

Friday January 25th '51

... Saw Pleasant [Nauru] Isle bearing NE by E dist. 20 miles. At dark, a canoe came off. Made no stop...

Saturday January 25th '51

... AT 4 p.m., the canoes came off...

...

Wednesday January 29th '51

... At 2 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] high isle bearing ENE dist. 40 miles...

...

[The ship continued southeastward to Chili, and then home. The last entry is dated 14 October 1851.]

Document 1849M

The Massachusetts, Captain Seth Nickerson

Sources: Log 287 in NBWhM; PMB 287; Log Inv. 3158.

Extracts from the log kept by James B. Snow¹

...

Tuesday Dec. the 11

Commences with a fine pleasant weather, course WSW. At 5 p.m. saw the island by name called Simpson's Island. At 4 shortened sail and tacked ship heading to the SE, the land off the lee beam 5 miles distant. Middle part a fresh breeze from the ENE. At 2 wore ship heading to the NW. Latter part, at daylight made all sail. At 6 a.m. saw the island, squared the yards and steered for it. At 9 a.m. the Natives came on board, traded with them for coconuts and chickens. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 00°04 N, Long. 175°16 E

Wednesday Dec. the 12

Commences with fine pleasant weather with a fresh breeze from the E, course WSW. At 3 p.m. got down to Henderville Island and lyled aback till 6 p.m., and squared the yards for Woodle Island, lyled aback one hour and braces forward heading to the SSE...

Lat. 00°40 S, Long. 174°00 E

...

Tuesday Dec. the 18

Commences with squally weather and rain. Middle part calm. Latter part fine pleasant weather. At 8 a.m. saw the land, Ocean Island. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 00°50 S, Long. 169°30

Wednesday Dec. the 19

Commences with fine pleasant weather, heading to the W by the wind. At 4 p.m. the Natives came on board. Middle part a light air from the N, the Island bearing NW

¹ Ed. note: The log-keeper left the **Menkar** at Maui to join the **Massachusetts** on 3 October 1849. The latter ship went down to the area of Jarvis Island, then westward.

about 10 miles distant. Latter part tacked ship heading for the land. At daylight Natives on board. At 10 a.m. squared the yards and steered WNW. So ends these 24 hours.
Lat. 00°46 S.

...

Friday Dec. the 21

... At 5 p.m. saw a sail on the weather bow... At 8 saw the light from the Tryworks. Saw her all night. At daylight, rainy. At 7 p.m., [it] cleared off, the Captain went on board. It was the Barque **Awashonks** of Falmouth, Capt. Smith, with 8 whales on the line...

Lat. 00°20 S, Long. 167°00 E

...

Sunday Dec. the 23

... 2 sails in sight. At 4 p.m. spoke the Ship **Cowper**, Capt. Bowles, of New Bedford, 4 whales this season. Came on board and had a gam...

[Nauru]

Monday Dec. the 24, 1849

... At daylight made all sail, Pleasant Island bearing WNW... The **Cowper** in sight ahead.

...

Thursday Dec. the 27

... At 3 p.m. commenced gamming all 3 ships...

Lat. 00°49 N, Long. 166°55 E

...

Sunday Dec. the 30

... At 6 saw the Island off the lee beam... At 8 spoke the Ship **Superior** of New London, 100 bbls this season...

Lat. 01°00 S, Long. [blank]

...

Monday Jan. the 7 [1850]

... At daylight made all sail heading to the S. At 8 a.m. squared the yards for the land. Got our wood and a number of hogs. So ends lying off and on at Pleasant Island.

Tuesday Jan. the 8

... All hands employed taking in wood... Got all on board and stood off from the land...

...

[Kosrae]

Friday Feb. the 1, 1850

Commences with a fresh breeze, weather rugged, running for Strongs Island. At 4 p.m. the Capt. on shore with the boat, the ship laying off and on the harbour. Saw a

number of ships in the harbour. At 7 came on board, squared the yards for the Island of Ascension Pohnpei]. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 05°20 Long by Chron. 162°58

Saturday Feb. the 2

Commences with a fresh breeze from the SE, course WNW, weather rugged and squally. At 7 p.m. luffed to the wind with the main yard. Latter part at daylight saw the land, squared the yards and run for it. At 10 took the pilot on board. While in the act of tacking ship, a man fell from off the main yard, was killed. So ends.

[Pohnpei]

Sunday Feb. the 3

Commences with a fresh breeze from the NE. At 1 p.m. came to anchor at Ascension Harbour. So ends these 24 hours lying in harbour.

Monday Feb. the 4

All hands employed getting off water and stowing it down. So ends these 24 hours lying in a harbour.

Thursday Feb. the 21¹

At 10 a.m. weighed our anchor and left two other ships, the **General Scott** of N.L.,² and the **Benjamin Tucker** of N.B. So ends lying off and on waiting for the other ships.

Lat. 05°46 Long. [blank]

...

Saturday Feb. the 23

... At 7 a.m. saw the land which was the Raven's Island, run for them. At 1 p.m. a boat came off to us. At 2 the Capt. went on shore. So ends these 24 hours lying off and on.

Lat. 04°40 Long [blank]

Sunday Feb the 24

Commences with a fresh breeze from the NE. At 6 p.m. squared the yards and left the land. Middle and latter parts course NNW.

Lat. 07°21 N, Long [blank]

...

Saturday Feb the 28

Comencnes with fine pleasant weather, course NW. Middle part saw the land which was the Island of Tinian. Run for it. Latter part went on shore trading. So ends these 24 hours.

1 Ed. note: No details given during the visit.

2 Ed. note: New Longono, but the ship belonged to Fairhaven then.

Lat. 12°30 [sic] Long [blank]

Sunday March the 1

Commences with a fresh breeze from the NE, course NW by W, the ship in sight. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 13°00 [sic] Long. [blank]

Monday March the 2

Commences with a light breeze from the NE, course NW by W. Latter part the same. So ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 14°20 Long. [blank]

...

[The ship went northward, with precious details given as to her proceedings. Once again, the log-keeper changed ship, this time to the Ship **Falcon**, Captain Joseph Gardner, for a cruise in the Arctic.]

Document 1849Z

The Henry Kneeland, Captain George H. Clark

Sources: Log 620A in NBWhM; PMB 288; Log Inv. 2214.

Extract from the log

...

Thursday April 5th [1849]

These 24 hours comes in with moderate breeze. Mid part the same, latter part fresh breeze. About 2 a.m. saw the land, the island of Guam & run for it. About 10 a.m. the S. boat went in shore. About 12 meridian came on board & steered NW with all prudent sails. So ends.

Lat. 13°26 North, Long. by Chron. 144°28'30" [East]

...

[They sailed northward to the Japan Sea without bothering with any other island in the Marianas. After a clockwise tour of the North Pacific, they were on the Line at the beginning of 1850.]

...

Thursday January 31st [1850]

... About 4 a.m. saw Ocean [Banaba] Island & steered for it. So ends.

Lat. 00°50, Long. by Chron. 169°25

Friday Feb. 1st

Light breeze. About 1 p.m. got down to the island. Two boats went in shore but found it too rugged to land. Came on board & steered NW...

...

Tuesday Feb. 12th 1850

... At 2 p.m. saw the Monstriter [Mokil] Island, steering W per compass & so ends.

Lat. 6°52' [N], Long. by Chron. 160°38 E.

...

Thursady Feb. 14th

... About 2 p.m. saw the Ascension [Pohnpei] Island bearing NW dist. 30 miles. Mid [part] laying with the main yard aback. Latter part fine weather. Run down to the har-

bor. About 11 a.m. took a pilot. About 12 came to anchor. One watch ashore on liberty. Broke out a raft of casks & so ends. The rager(?) laying to anchor.

Friday Feb. 15th

This day comes in strong breeze & squally. About 3 p.m. the ship dragged down to the reef. Sent down topgallant yards & warped her off. At 9 a.m. dropped anchor, took a raft on shore & filled. Latter part fine weather & so ends laying to anchor.

Saturday Feb. 16th

This day fine weather & a strong breeze. Took a raft of water on board & stowed it down & sent a raft of cask on shore to fill. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Sunday Feb. 17th

This day fine weather. One watch on liberty. So ends this day laying to anchor.

Monday February 18th, 1850

Commences with fine weather. Took on board a raft & stowed it down. Loosened the sails & dried them & unhinged the rudder. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Tuesday Feb. 19th

This day comes in with fine weather. About 8 a.m. a light shower of rain. Took on board a raft of water & keeled ship & cleaned the bends. 2 sails laying off and on. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Wednesday Feb. 20th

This day fine pleasant weather. Employed in stowing down water & coopering break. Took on board 2 bbls of yams. One watch on liberty & so ends.

Thursday Feb. 21st

This day comes in with fine weather. Employed in coopering bread & stowing down. Took on shore a raft of casks to fill with water. Latter part rainy. Took on board 5 bbls of yams. One watch on liberty. Larry Eastman deserted & so ends laying to anchor.

Friday Feb. 22nd

This day fine weather. Took on board one raft of water & one boatload of wood & 5 bbls of yams. Employed in stowing water & other jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Monday March 4th

This day comes in calm & rainy. Employed in fitting the boats & other jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends.

Tuesday March 5th

This day comes rainy. Scraped and painted the stern. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Wednesday March 6th

This day fresh breeze and squally. Took on board a raft of water & heeled ship, sent up topgallant & blackened the bends on the larboard side. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Thursday March 7th

This day comes in calm & hot. Employed in painting the boats & ship. Put John Brighton in irons for stealing. One watch on liberty.

Friday March 8

Comes in with fine weather. Employed in painting & fitting the bob stay. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Saturday March 9th

This day squally & rainy. Employed in various jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends. One kanaka deserted, Joseph Coffee.

Sunday March 10th 1850

Commences with light showers of rain. Employed in fitting the bob stay. One watch on liberty. Shipped 3 men, one kanaka & 2 Portugues & so ends laying to anchor.

Monday March 11th

This day rainy. Took on shore a raft of casks, filled them & took them on board & stowed a part of it down. One watch on liberty. One man in irons & so ends laying to anchor.

Tuesday March 12th

This day fine weather. Employed in various jobs about the ship. One kanaka deserted the ship, Ben Lagoda & so ends laying to anchor.

Wednesday March 13th

This day comes in calm. At daylight the pilot came on board. About 8 a.m. got under weigh. About 11 a.m. the pilot left & so ends laying off & on.

Saturday Feb. 23rd

This day fine weather. Employed in stowing down water & cooping meat. Took on shore a raft of casks to fill with water, 3 kanakas deserted & so ends. One watch on liberty.

Sunday February 24th 1850

Comes in pleasant. One watch on liberty. Caught 3 of the men that run away, took them on board & put them in irons. Took on board 11 bbls of yams. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Monday Feb. 25th

This day comes in with fine weather. Took on board a raft of water & 3 boatloads of wood & 12 bbls of yams. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Tuesday Feb. 26th

This day pleasant. Employed in getting off wood & other jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends.

Wednesday Feb. 27th

This day comes in pleasant. Employed in cutting up wood. Received on board 7 bbls of yams. One watch on liberty & so ends rainy. One sail laying off & on.

Thursday Feb. 28th

This day rainy. About Meridian the **Maria Theresa** came to anchor. Took on board 2 boatloads of wood. Employed in stowing it away. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Friday March 1st

This day fine weather. Took on shore one raft of casks to fill with water & so ends. One man deserted, Ben Lagoda.

Saturday March 2nd

This day good weather. Employed in stowing away yams & fitting the boats. About 10 a.m. the **Rajah** sailed, the **Milton & General Scott** out of sight & so ends this day. One watch on liberty.

Sunday March 3rd 1850

This day comes in pleasant. 3 of the kanakas deserted. Supposed they jumped overboard & took to water for it. The **Milton** and **General Scott** came in today. One watch on liberty.

Monday March 4th

This day comes in calm & rainy. Employed in fitting the boats & other jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends.

Tuesday March 5th

This day comes rainy. Scraped and painted the stern. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Wednesday March 6th

This day fresh breeze and squally. Took on board a raft of water & heeled ship, sent up topgallant & blackened the bends on the larboard side. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Thursday March 7th

This day comes in calm & hot. Employed in painting the boats & ship. Put John Brighton in irons for stealing. One watch on liberty.

Friday March 8

Comes in with fine weather. Employed in painting & fitting the bob stay. One watch on liberty & so ends laying to anchor.

Saturday March 9th

This day squally & rainy. Employed in various jobs about the ship. One watch on liberty & so ends. One kanaka deserted, Joseph Coffee.

Sunday March 10th 1850

Commences with light showers of rain. Employed in fitting the bob stay. One watch on liberty. Shipped 3 men, one kanaka & 2 Portugues & so ends laying to anchor.

Monday March 11th

This day rainy. Took on shore a raft of casks, filled them & took them on board & stowed a part of it down. One watch on liberty. One man in irons & so ends laying to anchor.

Tuesday March 12th

This day fine weather. Employed in various jobs about the ship. One kanaka deserted the ship, Ben Lagoda & so ends laying to anchor.

Wednesday March 13th

This day comes in calm. At daylight the pilot came on board. About 8 a.m. got under weigh. About 11 a.m. the pilot left & so ends laying off & on.

Thursday March 14

Comes in with fine weather. About 4 p.m. spoke the **Marengo**. Mid part fine weather. Latter part the same. About 9 a.m. Capt. Clark went in shore after the runway & so ends laying off & on.

Friday March 15th

Commences with fine weather. About 6 p.m. one of the men came on board, Ben Lagoda. Mid part much the same. Latter part squally, split the jib, sent it in & bent another & so ends bearing down the reef.

Saturday March 16th 1850

Commences with fine pleasant weather. Running down the reef in company with the **Marengo**. At 7 p.m. handed the fore & mizzen topgallant sail & fly jib. Mid & latter [parts] squally, steering NW with all prudent sail & so ends. No obs. today.

Sunday March 17th

Comes in with fresh gales & rainy. Steering NW by N under double reefed topsails and fore courses. At 4 p.m. 3 men came out that was secreted in the ship. Mid part more moderate. Latter part pleasant weather under all sail & so ends. Fourth Mate sick.

Lat. 10°13 [N], Long. by Chron. 156°12 [E]

Monday March 18th

These 24 hours commences with moderate breeze from the E. About 2 p.m. set the fore top mast stud[ding] sail. Mid & latter parts much the same. Unbent the fore topsail & bent another & set the lower stud sail. Employed in mending the fore topsail & so ends.

Lat. 11°00 Long. by Chron. 153°37 E.

Tuesday March 19th

These 24 hours comes in with light breeze from E, steering WNW. Mid part the same. Latter part light air. Employed in repairing the fore topsail & so ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 11°56 Long. by Chron. 151°35

Wednesday March 20th

These 24 hours comes with light air. Mid & latter parts much the same. Employed in mending the fore topsail & other jobs about the ship & so ends.

Lat. 12°44 Long. by Chron. 150°00

Thursday March 21st 1850

Commences with light breeze from the E, steering WNW. About 3 p.m. finished the fore topsail & bent it. Mid part the same. Latter part fine weather. Employed in coopering meat & stowing down water in the after hold & so ends this day.

Lat. 13°18 Long. by Chron. 148°,,,

Friday March 22nd

Comes in with fine pleasant weather from the E, steering WNW. Mid part squally. Latter part strong breeze, steering W by N. Employed in ... breaking yams & so ends.

Lat. 14°04 Long. by Chron. ...

Saturday March 23rd

These 24 hours comes in with fresh breeze. About 3 p.m. saw the Island of Rota. At dark luffed to the wind, took in topgallant sail & double reefed the topsails, heading off shore. Mid & latter parts much the same. About 7 a.m. the Capt. went on shore for recruits & so ends laying off & on.

Lat. 14°.13

Sunday March 24th

These 24 hours light breezes. About 3 p.m. the Capt. came on board with a few yams & one hog. About 5 p.m. steered SW. About 10 p.m. made the land, the Island of Guam. About 8 a.m. the Capt went on shore & so ends laying on & off the town.

Monday March 25th

These 24 hours comes in with light winds. About sundown, Capt. Clark came on board with some sweet potatoes. About 7 p.m. went on shore. Mid & latter parts much the same, laying off & on & so ends this day.

Sunday March 26th 1850

These 24 hours comes in with fresh breeze. About one p.m. the crew refused duty unless they had liberty. Stood in & had the ensign Union down. The Capt. came on board & they went to their duty after the Capt. decided they could not have liberty in the port of Guam & so ends. Latter part strong breeze, too rugged to land & so ends laying off & on.

Monday March 27th

Comes in with fresh breeze. The bark **Cherokee** beating up. Mid part the same. Latter part light breeze. Two ships sailed today & so ends laying off & on, in company with the **Cherokee**.

Tuesday March 28th

Comes with light breeze & squally. About 7 p.m. the Capt. went on board the **Cherokee**. Came on board & stood off in company with **Cherokee**. Mid & latter parts fresh breeze, steering WNW. Employed in various jobs about the ship & so ends these 24 hours.

Lat. 14°28 Long. about 144°00

Friday March 29th

These 24 hours commences with moderate breeze. Set the fore & mizzen topgallant sails & fly jib. Mid part squally. Latter part strong breeze from the ENE. Sent down the main topgallant sail. Employed in repairing it. 2 sails in sight.

Lat. 16°09 Long. by Chron. 143°34'30"

Saturday March 30th

These 24 hours comes in with moderate breeze. About 2 p.m. bent the main topgallant sail & set it. Mid [part] fresh breeze. Latter part much the same. Broke out water & other jobs about the ship & so ends.

Lat. 18°14 Long. by Chron. 143°30 E

Sunday March 31st 1850

Commences with moderate breeze from the E, ship on a wind to the N. Mid & latter parts much the same. One sail in sight & so ends.

Lat. 20°08 Long. by Chron. ...143°39 E.

...

[The ship went to the Arctic. After a visit to Hawaii, they went home.]

Documents 1850A

Visit of the French warship *Bayonnaise* to Kosrae in 1850

A1. Extract from Captain Jurien's book

*Source: VAdm Jean-Pierre-Edmond Jurien de la Gravière. Voyage en Chine (Paris, 1854), Vol. II.
Note: For his visit to Guam in 1848, see Doc. 1848O.*

...

CHAPTER VI Ualan [Kosrae] Island and King George.

From the moment that the colony of Macao no longer had to fear attacks from the troops of the Celestial Empire, our presence along the southern coasts of China was no longer indispensable. Based on some promises that we had avidly collected, we had for some time entertained the hope that the first days of the year 1850 would see the **Bayonnaise** turn her bow towards Europe, but this hope had proven to be a deceptive mirage. The last news that the packet boat of December 1849 had brought to us gave us back all our uncertainties and France had never been farther from us. We had, however to leave Macao; it was the only way to deceive our impatience and to take advantage for our own sake of the delays whose termination we longed to see. The happy harmony that had always prevailed over three years, between the French legation and the naval station, which consisted only in the **Bayonnaise** by herself, had ensured the independence of our movements. Charged with enlightening the legal proceedings upon the circumstances of a maritime disaster¹ that was concluded later before the Assize Court of Nantes and whose dust I should not stir, we conceived the plan to move ourselves as far as the eastern end of the Caroline Island Group.

On 3 January 1850, after a short stay at the anchorage of Whampoa, an appearance designed to remind the Viceroy about our presence in the China seas, we left for Manila where we spent about 15 days. Our now expedition would exceed a little the boundaries of our station, and it was important to pass, so to speak, in review the various

1 Ed. note: The disaster in question was the death of a French citizen, a Mr. Tignol, in 1847, probably at Nauru.

interests entrusted to our kind attention before undertaking a voyage which we had learned would be difficult and take time, when in May 1848 we had gone to the Mariana Islands. Moreover, this time our plan was to go much farther still and reach Ualan Island, situated at almost 1,100 leagues from the port of Macao.

On 28 January, we went to sea once more. We had studied the route we had to follow a long time in advance and calculated with great care the track that might offer the most favorable chances. In another season, we would have tried to cross the channel of the Bashi Islands and we would have sought, along the coasts of Japan, the variable winds that would have pushed us rapidly eastward. However, at the beginning of winter, the navigation under the equator appeared to be preferable. So it is that we entered the Strait of San Bernardino a third time and headed through the Mindoro Sea for the Spanish settlement of Zamboanga, before which we anchored on 3 February. From that point, the route was opened to the Pacific Ocean. On 8 February, we had left behind us the Molucca Sea and we only had 700 leagues more to go before reaching the destination of our voyage.

As far as the longitude of the Pelew Islands, we were progressing rather rapidly; the breeze often blew from the north, sometimes some heavy downpours would bring us a few hours of westerlies, but the longitude of the Pelew Islands had hardly been passed when we had once more to fight obstinate easterlies, heavy squalls and showers so violent that they were forcing us to take in most of our sails. Among all our passages, this one was unquestionably the most tedious and the most worrisome. The sailing profession has its pleasures and its emotions; there is unfortunately also some long monotonous days. When one is dragged heavily along a calm sea, when a stormy sky weighs upon the ocean in all directions, that one sees the hot and nauseating hours follow one another without being able to fight against the inertia of the waves, one is found in spite of himself envying the lot of the prisoners whose eyes at least are not forever limited to the saddening expanse of the seas. Among all cloistered lives, that of the naval officer then seems to be the saddest. The ship that one loved turns into the worst of all convents. One regrets bitterly to see the sterile sands of his life flow in such a torpor. After three years of campaign, such difficult moments subject to rough trials the happiest of characters. Those faces upon which one's look fall periodically at the same hour, those voices whose tone never varies, those blunted sallies that are no longer unexpected, bother the mind and makes it look for secret escapes. Due to lack of work, we seek company but groan after the meeting; it is a kind of moral scurvy that attacks first the strongest organisms. However, as soon as the black vapors disappear from the sky, as soon as a favorable breeze makes the sails quiver, the lhorizon of the sea and the horizon of the soul seem to become beautiful at the same time. We flock together like happy birds coming out from under the foliage; we smile, we love one another, and a universal reconciliation results from the first appearance of land.

On 21 March, 52 days after our departure from Manila, we sighted Ualan Island. The product of a basaltic eruption, this island raises its sharp peaks up to 650 meters above sea level. It is, like Punipet [Pohnpei] Island, from which it is separated by about

100 leagues, one of the highest peaks in this huge submarine mountain chain that, in a space bounded by the 5th and 8th degrees of latitude north, and between 135° and 160° of longitude east, has served as a foundation for the works of the zoophytes and given birth to the long reefs, inhabited today, that a few trees cover and that the seas raised by the hurricanes sometimes invade.

[Footnote:] Punipet [Pohnpei] Island was visited in 1840 by the corvette **Danaïde**, then commanded by Captain Joseph de Rosamel. Two officers of this ship made a chart of the island and one of them, Mr. Garnault, collected curious information upon the traditions and customs of the Carolinian peoples, which he has been good enough to pass on to me. Among these traditions, there is one in particular that would seem to ascribe to Punipet the sad celebrity to have been the tomb of the last remains of the LaPérouse Expedition. After having questioned with religious care the old men of Vanikoro, Captain Dillon and Captain Dumont d'Urville thought they could assert that the crews of the two corvettes of LaPérouse had not all perished on the island whose reefs had broken their ships. A certain number of men had boarded a launch that they had taken six months to build. Some said that this boat must have headed for the Moluccas or the Philippines; others tended to think that it could have gone towards the Marianas. The latter assumption, for purely nautical reasons that would be too long to explain, has always seemed to me to be the more probable one. Be that as it may, the launch left Vanikoro and the shipwrecked people left behind never received news from it. Upon what point of Oceania had this boat perished? The account of the shipwreck of a launch manned by white men, that had run aground, said the inhabitants of Punipet, upon the reefs of their island, some 60 years ago, aroused the attention of the officers of the **Danaïde** who ended up by learning that this launch carried a mortar inscribed with a [French] fleur de lis. The whites had for a long time resisted to the attacks of the islanders, but they had finally been surprised in the middle of the night and slaughtered to the last man. The mortar remained like a trophy on the island. An English trading ship had carried it off, said the inhabitants, a few months before the arrival of the **Danaïde**. If you look at the map, you will see the degree of probability of the version that, according to this account, would place at Punipet the second and last shipwreck of the companions of LaPérouse on their way to the Mariana Islands. Trace a line from Vanikoro to the Marianas and you will see that it passes in the middle of the Caroline Archipelago, some 100 leagues from Punipet. This 100-league error could be easily explained because the Frenchmen would have taken into account the regularity of the tradewinds and currents which they had already observed in the Pacific Ocean. They had therefore probably headed, from the time of their departure, rather east of the point they wished to reach.

Ualan Island can be seen from beyond 50 miles at sea. Placed along the route of the ships that go from New Holland [Australia] to China, it could not have escaped for very long the eyes of the navigator. It was heralded for the first time, in 1804, by the American captain Crozer¹ who gave it the name of Strong's Island, the name still used by most foreign seamen. It seems, however, that no European had landed there before the officers of the corvette **Coquille**. Pursuing the exploration of various archipelagos in

1 Ed. note: Crozer was a misprint for Crocker in Duperrey's narrative. However, unbeknown to Captain Jurien, and almost one month before this Yankee ship, a French ship had discovered Kosrae and tried to land on the island (see Doc. 1804D).

Oceania, the commander of this corvette, Captain Duperrey, sighted, on 5 June 1824, in the middle of reefs that extended one mile offshore from the northwest point, a harbor perfectly sheltered. Captain Duperrey anchored in it and gave the name of Coquille to the harbor he had just discovered. Two officers of the corvette, Mr. Lottin and Mr. Bérard,¹ charged with the task of charting the island, found on the opposite coast a new port sheltered from the offshore winds by the small island of Lele, which the chiefs of Ualan had chosen as a place of residence. This port received the name of Chabrol Harbor. The reef that surrounds the island offered two other passes which gave access to Port Lottin and Port Bérard. Landing was judged to be impossible at any other point. Out of these four anchorages, only Coquille and Chabrol Harbors offer complete safety, but it is difficult to get into the former whose pass turns westward through numerous reefs; it is even more difficult to come out of the latter whose pass is directly opposite to the contrary winds.

The information that I had to find could only be obtained in Chabrol Harbor; we had to go and anchor there, although we might have to stay windbound for many days. I sent a boat to the middle of the pass, a narrow gap around which spurted some high columns of foam, and I went forward with the wind pushing me between two chains of breakers at sea level. A murmur of surprise and admiration was heard aboard the corvette when, carried by a last swell, we had rounded the tip of the reef. Neither Java nor the Moluccas have anything that can be compared to the majestic beauty of the basin that opened up before us. A half-circle of mountains bordered, with a curtain of dark greenery, a calm and deep bay. Linked by a huge bank of madreporas to what could be called the mainland, the small island of Lele whose coast we were skirting completed the gay contour of the bay on the north side. There waved the light foliage of its palm trees and the yellow tufts of its pandanus above the blue waters. Blocks of coral and prisms of basalt offered a shore inaccessible to sea water. Behind this belt, which could have been taken for the work of the Pélages² or Cyclops; there blossomed out like so many flowers whose branches bent all the way to the ground.³ The breeze that made the crest of the waves white outside the bay could not cross the thickness of these fresh cradles. Our sails had fallen back upon their masts and we glided towards the bottom of the bay, counting on a remainder of speed to easily reach the anchorage. A few houses soon appeared through the trees; we kept gently off the shore and the **Bayonnaise** dropped her anchor less than 50 fathoms from the village of Lele.

Since the visit of Captain Duperrey in 1824 and that of Captain Lutke of the Russian Navy in 1827, no warship had, I believe, visited Ualan Island; at least none had anchored in Chabrol Harbor. However, the ships that hunt the sperm whale amid the archipelagos situated under the equator did not delay in calling at the ports discovered by Captain Duperrey. There, they found wood and water, the only things that whaling

1 Ed. note: The latter was probably the same man who later was in command of the Rhin, in 1845.

2 Ed. note: People who inhabited Greece before the ancient Greeks.

3 Ed. note: Some words missing in the original text, I believe.

ships, always well stocked with food, had often a need of. Above all, they found a peaceful and inoffensive population, not an average advantage for commercial vessels. Captain Duperrey had not seen in the hands of these islanders any kind of weapons. Separated by a huge expanse of sea from the other islands whose very existence they ignored, the Ualan inhabitants had never had any foreign invasion to repel. Their canoes never went far off the reefs. If they sometimes devoted themselves to fishing, it was without running any risk and without showing any boldness. They had no real need of seeking adventure. The breadfruit and coconut trees that abounded in the island were amply sufficient to feed them; the natives could add to it by way of an easy cultivation yam, taro, banana and sugarcane.

The social organization of this population which consisted of 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants did not differ much from that which Cook and LaPérouse had observed on the other islands of Oceania. One sovereign, a few chiefs and one inferior class devoted to all the chores and to obedience, such is the organization that is found in all the Polynesian island groups. Retrenched on the small island of Lele, where he lived in the middle of a docile aristocracy, the old sovereign, who had been visited by the officers of the **Coquille**, exercised a tyrannical power upon the inhabitants and the chiefs of Ualan. A schism occurred between the two parts of the kingdom; the kanakas¹ of Ualan invaded Lele Island and one of their chiefs, the Pépin d'Héristal of this revolution,² was invested with the supreme power, in replacement of the old sovereign whom the victors banished to the mountains.

At the moment the **Bayonnaise** was anchoring in Chabrol Harbor, this fortunate soldier still occupied the throne under the nickname of King George that the Sydney whalers had imposed upon him. The sight of a ship was nothing new for King George's subjects; however, with her huge hull, the **Bayonnaise** was all indicated to strike their imagination. Thus, when the cloud of sails borne aloft by the masts had disappeared as if by magic, when her anchor had touched bottom and that, suddenly immobile, she stopped before Lele Island, the Ualan kanakas had at first the idea to flee into their forests, but nothing in our maneuvers would confirm their fears. The **Bayonnaise** was gently rocking upon her anchors, "like a huge lion lying in the sun."

The kanakas did not delay in re-assuring themselves. Before the sun had disappeared behind the high mountains of the bay, the officer staff of the corvette presented themselves unarmed in the middle of the Polynesians squatting on the shore, and, following the gracious image of the poet,

"the new world stretch'd its dusky hand to the old."

King George was absent at the moment of our arrival. Two American whalers, anchored in Coquille Harbor, had attracted the sovereign of Ualan toward that part of

1 Kanaka, a word derived from the Hawaiian dialect which means 'men', is used to denote in general the inhabitants of the islands of Polynesia.

2 Ed. note: Pépin of Herstal had rebelled and taken control of the old country of Austrasia, today Austria.

his domain.¹ A messenger was sent running to warn him that a warship, more powerful by itself than a whole fleet of whalers, was anchored under the walls of his capital.

The next day, King George was back in Lele. We sent word that we would be pleased to see him on board the corvette. Our invitation could not but tempt his curiosity, but the prudent monarch hesitated to deliver his royal person to the perils that a mistrust, not too flattering for us, made him dread. He nevertheless did not dare to take the chance to hurt our susceptibility by a refusal, and he made preparations for his departure with the seriousness of a Curtius ready to throw himself into the chasm. Before letting him leave the palace, the queen of the Ualan Islands [sic] wished at least not to neglect any of the precautions that her tenderness suggested to her. A matron, skilful in exorcising bad spells, was called over; she passed her skinny hand slowly all over the king's neck and shoulders while muttering mysterious words and his majesty, half calmed down by virtue of this magic incantation, turned to go with more assurance toward the boat waiting for him.

King George found us all gathered on the deck to receive him. One would imagine with difficulty the emotion of this leader of savages upon seeing the military apparatus that we had prepared to surprise him. He put one finger in his mouth, like a man powerless to translate his ecstasy, then a long and deep murmur, slowly modulated, was the only expression of the variety of his emotions during a few minutes. Such a ship was so different from any of the vessels that he had seen until then. When he went down to the gun-deck, his admiration seemed to double. That long line of guns, those huge projectiles piled next to the pieces, those sabres, those rifles, those boarding axes that were stowed along the partitions or hung to the massive oak beams, gave him a formidable idea of about our power. However, he had recovered his speech. Thanks to his frequent contacts with whalers, King George could express himself in English as fluently as a merchant from China Street. He therefore placed his hand upon my shoulder and, with a convinced tone, pronounced what I believe was a flattery rather than an artless remark. Savages are not, on this point, as savage as one may think, and King George probably judged that when it came to praise one must never fear to fall into exaggeration.

—“Commodore,” said he, “you are like God!”

Then he added immediately while lowering his hand to the ground and uttering a long burst of laughing:

—“Here are the whalers... and there you are,” said he while stretching himself up as high as he could; if the ceiling of the gun-deck had not stopped his arm, King George would have given us a hundred cubits.

The Polynesian [sic] monarch had given some care to his attire before coming aboard the **Bayonnaise**. To the *maro* that girdled his loins, he had added a cotton shirt with blue stripes which covered his wide shoulders without hiding anything of his herculean shape. His tall size, his very pronounced muscles, indicated a vigor that age had not yet

1 Ed. note: They were the **GoodReturn** and the **Bramin** (see Doc. 1850C).

tempered. King George was possibly from 45 to 50 years old. His face, intelligently ugly, was specially impressed with a fearful meekness. With a little more pride and energy in his features, he would have reminded me of the Chingashgook type.¹ It was, however, easy to discover in the sensual folds of his lips, in the sparkle, ready to brighten up, of his black pupils, all the brutal passions of the savage. Fire-water could have turned this lamb into a tiger. King George did not tarry in passing from surprise to familiarity, and asked me as a first favor a bottle of brandy. I gave it to him, but I accompanied this present by a long sermon about the disastrous effects of alcoholic beverages. King George appeared to listen to me with gravity.

—“You are right,” he told me when I had finished my harangue, “brandy very bad for the chiefs! I’ll drink the bottle by myself.”

The next day when I saw the dazed look on his face, I had reason to believe that he had indeed kept his word.

Rum and tobacco are the only articles sought on the Polynesian market. We fortunately had other means to exercise our liberality toward this host. Each one of us hastened to ring him a present, and soon King George saw himself supplied with a complete wardrobe. As naive as one of the giants of Pulci or Arioste,² the savage was letting himself be dressed. He put on without a word a long striped coat that imprisoned his bust like a straight-jacket; a satin collar that pinched his neck like an iron collar. At every new piece that our fantasy added to his attire, he turned over to the mirror before which we had placed him and looked at himself with self-satisfaction. A flowered sweater and a big pair of cotton pants completed his adornment, but it was impossible to find shoes to fit him. King George had arrived on board the corvette almost as clothed as the lily of the field mentioned in the Bible; he believed that he was going back to his estates more magnificently adorned than Solomon in all his splendor. His subjects, one must say it, shared his illusion. When, disembarked upon the beach, he turned toward his palace at a slow and majestic pace, there was at his passage only one long roar of enthusiasm. The queen, who had run up to meet him, remained dumbfounded and, one finger in her mouth, lifted her eyes heavenward. Only the children threw themselves, crying, into the bosom of their mothers; the cocked hat of one of our midshipmen, teetering on King George’s head, had frightened these timid Astyanax.³

When the sovereign of Ualan, tired of so many emotions, let himself fall upon the mat that covered the muddy floor of his palace, the queen, unable to repress her curiosity any longer, harassed him with questions. What had he seen? What had he been told? What reason brought those powerful strangers upon their coasts? Useless badgering; King George had once again lost his voice. He kept on modulating his eternal murmur, similar to the faraway noise of the breakers upon the beach. He had seen what the Polynesian language could probably not describe, and was enjoying the interior scenery

1 Ed. note: North American Indian.

2 Ed. note: Both were Italian poets.

3 Ed. note: Son of Hector and Andromache.

recorded by his memory. This was putting the patience of his royal companion to a severe test; but the meekness of Polynesian women is proverbial. The queen then sat down in silence in front of her husband and contemplated him in quiet ecstasy like a dutiful spouse. After one quarter of an hour, her lord and master appeared to come back from the spirit world. He narrated with a slow and low voice the wonders that his eyes had contemplated: the deck was full of men; he had gone down where there were more men. The whole village of Lele would have fitted in that vessel. Each chief had his own house and in only one day more wealth than in all the whalers he had seen since his birth had been displayed before his eyes.

One can guess the effect that these emphatic descriptions could have upon the queen's imagination. Her husband had to promise her to lead her aboard the corvette the next day. She came accompanied by the wives of the principal chiefs. Clothed, as the king had been the previous day, with a striped shirt that only half covered the blue lines of their tattoos, the legs entirely naked and most of them having a blackened clay pipe passed through the lower lobe of the left ear, these ladies still wear, as in the days when they saw the officers of the **Coquille**, the narrow *maro* woven with the ligneous fibers of the banana leaf and delicately shaded with native colors. They were all almost lilliputian in size. The queen, already on the decline, had a certain air resembling Urgande the fairy, and, with her small wrinkled face, reminded me of those good old women whom a knight-gallant long ago took upon his horse and who, with a touch of his wand, changed the thatch hut into a palace in the middle of the night and transformed themselves into dazzling nymphs. There was indeed a peculiar distinction in the kind and astonished face, in the voice specially, melodious and plaintive, of this strange creature. She was a flower completely withered but one that once must have had some perfume. Without that awful pipe hanging from her ear, I would willingly have compared her to those roses that a scientist has pressed into his herbarium, or that a forgetful lover has left to wither in his wallet. Unfortunately, this small queen was horribly crippled. By the way, this deformity seemed common to most of the ladies of the court. The Ualan women who were born in a more humble condition do not show such a malformation, but the great ladies, the princesses, crouching all day long upon their mats, having both thighs folded at the same time under their bodies, can hardly support themselves on their emaciated legs when they want to walk. We were feeling a painful sensation upon seeing those poor women stumbling forward along the deck. I would have preferred the small feet of the Chinese ladies.

In looking at the princesses who accompanied the queen, it was surprising to see mixed with the Polynesian type faces almost European. The farce of these women offered,—strange thing— with more regular features that are normally seen in Oceania, I do not know what sickly fragility that heralded a precocious wilting. It was the paleness of the water lily, the failing brightness of a lamp running out of fuel, the morbid look of a race on the way out. King George had privately told me about the sad health condition of his island; the sight of a leper village which I had visited the previous day had more than confirmed that awful information. Fortunate are the islanders with a

roaring reef to protect their shores! Civilization, at least, will not bring them those awful stigmas that it has brought to the population of Ualan.¹

The queen's sensations were as intense as those of her husband. There was not one corner of the corvette that escaped her investigations. She went left and right, nosing about everywhere, and trotting about like a white mouse, and very astonished in turn with the spectacle that had so deeply impressed King George's strong mind. Her companions were following her, howling with surprise at every step, and interrupting their admiring murmur only to break into a happy laugh. The queen did not try to hide her ecstasy. 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'. They give King George whale oil, rum and tobacco. When many months pass without seeing ships, the people and the king are not happy."

I offered a modest snack to the royal couple. The princesses remained crouched at the cabin's door and the queen would throw them scraps from the feast; but, all of a sudden, the king's face appeared to cloud over and the queen sharply moved her chair away from the table. My servant was at that moment bringing in a huge eel that one of our boatmen, while walking along the beach, had killed with a stick.

—"What is it?" I asked King George.

He pointed at the fish that my servant had just placed in front of me. At that moment, I had a vague hunch that some Polynesian superstition was involved. I excused myself as best I could and made it known to the king that if we had knocked out one of the island gods, it was by ignorance and without bad intentions. The king, upon hearing this speech, shrugged his shoulders the way an offended strong personality does.

—"You should not eat this fish," he said, "because it gives leprosy."

The queen was more accurate; she asserted that one must not eat it because it was taboo. Where did this prohibition come from? It is known that it always takes on a religious character in the islands of Oceania, whose violation is without fail punished with death. I had a hard time getting the desired explanation. I finally thought I could understand that, after a hurricane had devastated the island, broken the breadfruit trees and ruined the taro plantations, the inhabitants had lived for almost one year only by eating moray eels which then went to hunt at low tide among the cracks of the coral banks. It was in order to preserve this precious reserve that, from that time on, they had placed sea eels under the protection of public superstition.

The sun was about to disappear when King George finally decided to leave the corvette. For more than one hour, he had found a pastime that seemed to his liking. With a needle and sailmaker's awl in hand, he was gravely busy at sewing a sail that our work-

1 Ed. note: The disease that passed for leprosy was endemic.

men were repairing on the gun-deck. I promised to go and pay him a visit, and that very evening, at the time the Ualan people were squatting and devouring their *popoi*,¹ I landed at the entrance of the village. The first islander I met was eager to lead us to the king's place.

A very low door forced me to bend down to the ground to penetrate into a wide court-yard enclosed by a reed fence. I had already noticed that none of the islanders, even of chiefly rank, dared to remain standing before the sovereign of Ualan. The kanakas, whom this good-natured king called familiarly to come near him did so only by crawling. Such a hard and fast *étiquette* seemed to me to go somewhat beyond the bounds of oriental humility. However, like most customs which at first glance astonish or scandalize the traveller, the position of King George's subjects had its origin in the necessities of a still incomplete civilization. This mysterious origin was revealed to me by the royal house's wicket-door. The Polynesian despots must have made such narrow openings through the enclosure of their home, to force their subjects to adopt such bothersome postures, only to be safer against unforeseen treacherous assaults. They did not wish that an enemy could come to them with their head high and the arm ready to strike. Having no weapon other than the war club to fear, they believed they had nothing to fear from the man who was humbly bowed before them. He who straightened up before the royal majesty, who dared to place himself at the same level or higher than his sovereign, by becoming dangerous was reputed to be a criminal. A rough mat covered the floor of the court-yard I had just entered. Facing the entrance there arose King George's hut. Upon seeing this building with a pointed style, consisting only of reeds and pieces of plaited straw, one would have thought of a huge hive destined for bees. This rustic palace was however a masterpiece of industry and patience. Out of all the Indian huts I had ever seen, this one was without a doubt the most stylish and the most ingenious. As for the furniture, I must say that it was extremely simple. Two wooden benches, a rather fine mat, a chest upon which a lamp full of whale oil had been placed, that was all the objects that adorned the nakedness of the royal home. The evening was magnificent. The moon was rising slowly in the sky. King George and the queen were crouched upon a corner of their mat. I sat near them. We lit our cigars, and conversation was not slow in coming. The English used by King George was unfortunately not always understandable; that of the queen was a babble difficult to decipher. I would therefore have left Ualan Island with very imperfect intelligence about the points I was trying to clarify if the king had not had the excellent idea of calling two linguists attached to the court, who not only served us as interpreters but soon took an active part in the conversation.

King George—the moment has come to pay him homage—practices hospitality like a Medicis. His court was open to all the strangers that fate brought to his island. It often

1 *Popoi*, usually served on a banana leaf, is simply pounded breadfruit with coconut. This mixture is given the shape of a huge ball into which each guest dips his fingers in turn. Ed. Comment: Since "popol" is a type of breadfruit in the Kosraean language, the author may have recorded it as *popoi* only because it reminded him of the similar Hawaiian *poi*.

happened that a vessel from Sydney or the United States, bereft of part of its crew because of desertion, had picked up reinforcements on different points of Oceania. When the fishing was over, this ungrateful ship threw upon the first island that came up the Indians whose services had become useless. King George would welcome these castaways with eagerness and thanks to the considerable revenues from his civil list, his guests, however numerous they were, did not have to fear the lack of "popoi". Such islanders, abandoned at Ualan, were people who had seen the world. Their experience would often help to clarify King George's somewhat confused ideas about everything beyond his realm. Moreover, the distrustful despot saw in them a means to keep away from business a few chiefs who were too rowdy and in whom he had recently discovered secret competitors. Thus he had transferred most of the high offices of the Crown into their hands. An Indian from Rotuma, with black skin and frizzy hair, had become Captain of Chabrol Harbor. During his adventurous career, Tom had been carried as far as the coasts of America and had served in the Peruvian cavalry. He spoke Spanish and English. Another stranger came from the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands. A third one, Antonio, was born in the Tonga Islands. An American ship had abandoned him, after an unsuccessful voyage, on Pleasant [Nauru] Island. That island, surrounded by an almost impenetrable reef, is found strewn in the middle of the Pacific Ocean like a danger to navigation. Few ships dare to go near it. An English convict, Big Bill, ruled by might and violence. After having poisoned a French deserter who was for a long time his rival and lone curb, he had managed to exercise an absolute authority over the natives. Antonio seized the first opportunity offered to him to escape from this fierce despotism and paid for his passage aboard a whaler with five pigs and was deposited on Ualan. This unfortunate man, thus tossed from island to island, expressed himself in English with marvelous ease. I owe to him most of the information I was able to collect during my conferences with King George.

Power is not necessarily hereditary on Ualan Island. When a sovereign dies, all the chiefs gather in the communal house, where the big canoes are kept hanging from the ceiling. They cannot leave it until after they have elected the new king. The two candidates likely to succeed King George were, in 1850, his brother Canker, and his son, Cesar. However, we were unable to have the most circumspect monarch in Polynesia [sic] admit which side he personally favored.

The attributes of the king do not, in this puny empire, consist of worthless prerogatives. The land of Ualan and Lele belongs to the king alone. He also exercises a monopoly on trade. As soon as a whaling ship appears, whether in the eastern or western side of the island, King George is always first to go on board. He offers fruits, taro and yams. He asks for tobacco and rum in exchange. Invariably, he keeps the lion's share, specially of the rum. His subjects, however, moved by his generous gifts, declare that he is an excellent king, a skilful politician, in one word, according to the queen's expression, a man who has flair and sees far: "a good lookout." As far as the land is concerned, King George divides it among different chiefs. He has his own share; besides, he has the tithe he levies on the others' share. The lower class cultivates the domain of

the aristocracy, and those who live on the land appear restricted to one right: not to die of hunger. The privileges of the chiefs are more serious; as soon as they have paid the tithe, they owe nothing more to the sovereign. The latter may call upon this devotion, and explain to them the necessity of voluntary contributions, but more often than not, whenever the civil list is insufficient, he has to draw from his kasbah. This great chest, the gift of a whaler, which I had noticed upon entering King George's chamber, contains the secret resources to enable him to provide for everything. There are kept his striped shirts, tobacco packets, two or three handfuls of dollars which King George does not know what to do with, and, among these objects of little value, the precious mother-of-pearl fish-hooks that are still considered today as the only currency of the island. These fish-hooks are brought to Ualan by European ships that obtain them cheaply in the Marshall and Gilbert Islands. They are made with two pieces of mother-of-pearl, one big and flat, the other rounded and pointed, held together by a thread made of coconut fiber. King George has slowly amassed a large number of these fish-hooks; they will become the heritage of Cesar, if Canker usurps the throne.

[Kosraean religion]

What I had intended above all to ascertain was the religious feelings of King George and of his subjects. Antonio maintained that the Ualan natives had by way of religion only a few rude superstitions. "When the wind blows violently," he said, "and big clouds roll in the sky, I have seen them arm themselves with guns or stones to chase away the spirits of the dead, which they believe unleashed. As for the god they worship, I have seen them arm themselves with guns or stones to chase away the spirits of the dead, which they believe have become unleashed. As for the god they worship, I have never been able to know of him, unless it is found in the moray eels of the reef, the only object in this world which the people here appear to venerate." Would the Ualan natives then have no suspicion of a superior being, not even a rough idea about the divinity? I doubted it. However, try to talk to King George about a God, almighty creator of this world, creator of the whites and kanakas, he will answer you, with a smile: "I have never seen him." However, the American whalers have reported to him something of the sort. As for the queen, she will retort more bravely that all those ideas do not have common sense: "All humbug!" she said without hesitation. Moreover, both of them will agree that once a man is dead and buried, with big stones upon the body, he had nothing more to receive nor to expect.

—"When you will be dead, King George, what will become of you?"

—"They will put me in a hole."

You may twist your question a hundred ways, you will not get another reply. I guarantee that King George has never suspected the immortality of the soul. There may exist, in this respect, a few superstitions more or less rough among his subjects; one thing is certain, his brutal philosophy is far from being a subject of contention among them. If King George shows himself to be good-natured and peaceful, if he is generally reputed to be a "good belly man," a kind-hearted man, it is not because he expects a

reward in the afterlife for his conduct upon this earth. His political virtues have their origin in a happy nature, and specially in an excessive circumspection. To respect the white men and live peacefully with the ships that bring to Ualan tobacco, mother-of-pearl fish-hooks and above all the precious rum, those are the great moral principles from which no circumstance has made him deviate from.

King George's sceptical indifference seemed to have won the heart of his subjects. Nothing, in the island we had landed on, revealed to us the existence of a religious cult. The Ualanese, as Antonio maintained, believed only in witches, in ghosts, and respected only the eels. The legends so dear to the Polynesian races, the national traditions, preserved everywhere else in popular dances and songs, seemed to have disappeared from here without leaving any trace or causing any regret.

[Pohnpeian history and religion]¹

It is 100 leagues away from Ualan, upon another point of the Caroline archipelago, in Punipet Island, that a few memories survive of a primitive history that must have been common to the peoples of both islands whose origin is obviously the same. The Punipet traditions go back to the fabulous days when a race of giants inhabited the islands of Polynesia. It was an active race, a tireless family of workers. Some busied themselves with shaping mountains, others dug meandering channels and ports, surrounded Punipet with a wide belt of coral, or moved big basalt blocks around as if playing with them. It is from that era that the monuments date from, whose ruins will one day end up by being erased by impetuous vegetation, but that still remind the astonished navigator of the works created by the Aztecs and by the Egyptians. A whole town built without cement with pentagonal prisms covers with its debris the soil where the present generation has placed its tombs. These ruins are the indestructible work of the giants. The Punipet Indians do not go near them without trembling. They narrate that the architects who built these solid walls, when they ran out of stones to pile one upon another, indulged themselves in fighting among themselves and did not think of anything else but killing one another. Only three survived, one father and his two sons. The children undertook to raise a sharp peak that would reach to heaven. The father spent his spare time cutting the island in half; he first opened a channel that forms the port of Metalanim: the two rocks that divide the pass were used by him to keep his two big feet above the water. When he had pushed his work as far as the bottom of the bay, he wanted to make his channel go through the mountain that his sons were building with difficulty. Each one of them insisted upon preserving his work, an unnatural fight developed and the race of the giants disappeared.

At that moment, there disembarked upon the beach at Metalanim, fifty men who had been brought by a canoe from faraway shores. They contemplated with fright the

1 Ed. note: The author got his information from another French navy officer, named Garnault, who made a chart of Pohnpei in 1840.

huge works of their predecessors, and built their straw huts on the seashore. From them came the five tribes of Punipet.

Thus were the traditions of two distinct migrations preserved a few leagues from Ualan. The first one had erected the monuments that Cook and LaPérouse observed on Easter Island, that Anson and the officers of the **Uranie** admired in the Marianas, that are also found on Punipet, in the most varied places throughout Oceania and as far as the forgotten island that we had come to visit. To this industrious race have succeeded new colonies; the latter immigrants seem to have known only rudimentary civilization. Their predecessors, if one judges them by their works, had brought with them the actions and the requirements for a more advanced social life.

What the officers of the **Danaïde** were able to glimpse about the religious ideas of the Punipet inhabitants during their stay at the island indicated a kind and peaceful people. No human sacrifices, none of those bloody mutilations with which so many other Oceanian peoples imagine to pay homage to the Divinity. Each inhabitant seems to have chosen his protective deity. For some, the pigeon is the object of a superstitious cult; for others it is, as in Ualan, the moray eel. They surround these gods of their choice with an inviolable respect. Every Indian, guilty of a sacrilegious murder, even when this murder is involuntary, must flee from his tribe. Such a simple cult calls for no temples nor ministers. The tribes of Punipet have nevertheless men skilled in reading the future and in conversing with spirits. The mysterious power attributed to them grants upon these miracle-workers a consideration and an authority hardly inferior to those of the chiefs. In all the important ceremonies, they are invariably called upon to play a role. A place is reserved for them at feasts and the first cup of "kawa" is for them. It is specially in curing the sick that their knowledge is applied. If one were to search, by studying popular superstitions, for the origin of the nations spread over the surface of the globe, he would not recognize without a certain surprise in the medical practices of these Polynesian witch-doctors, the procedures of the Chinese monks and those of the Mongolian magicians. As soon as an Indian complains of being sick, his relatives hasten to call the great tribal physician to his side. Should the illness be light, some infusions that he orders may suffice. However, if the case be serious, recourse must be made of supernatural means. There exist in Punipet Island some sacred peaks, near which the Indians never go. It is to such high places that the soul of the sick has fled. It must be forced to return and animate the body that it has abandoned. It is specially important not to lose one moment because some huge wings that grow in size rapidly will, unless haste be made, carry away this erring soul to heaven. The physician therefore takes to the road and dares to climb the mountain. If he succeeds in grabbing the soul that he has come to get, he carefully encloses it inside a coconut shell, and upon his return, pours it with the milk upon the head of the sick person. Too often, alas, the soul has left the Earth, it has left; the physician saw it flying, beating the air with its black membranes. Where would these wings—very difficult question—have taken the soul?

—"It has gone very far," answer the natives of the country, "very far, very far from here. The souls that have preceded it wait to welcome it and do the honors of this new

abode. However, one must pray for them, must prepare for the relative being mourned a kind welcome; one must recite his virtues, his goodness, his courage, so that the dead may rejoice at receiving such a companion from the Earth. That is why the vassals, the friends, the relatives, must gather often around the tomb of the deceased to sing his praises with long mournful hymns.”

In these naive discourses, who would not recognize the old children of the steppes of Asia, the honest and credulous Mongols, under whose tents our two heroic missionaries, Father Huc and Father Gabet, lived for so long?

I had had an intimation of the interest that might be tied to the mystical theology of the Carolinians; however, it was not King George who could satisfy my curiosity on this point. We could communicate better when we spoke about the agricultural resources of his island. King George was justifiably proud of the marvellous fertility of his estates, and, as if to impress me with it, he never stopped praising it. After his second visit aboard the corvette, he had summoned all the chiefs in the communal hut; he had given an account of the splendors of the **Bayonnaise**. He also had made them feel that their sovereign had been obliged by the welcome and the presents that he had received from these formidable strangers. Soon indeed some canoes loaded with taro, breadfruits, yams, sugarcane and coconuts came to flood the deck of the corvette with King George's liberalities. I tried to protest, to express to this generous prince that he would end up by starving his people. He smiled at my fears, and counted upon his fingers ten species of root plants that could if needed supplement the breadfruit and coconut. Sugarcane was the only rare product in the island, the only property that was subject to taboo. To all these riches, I wished to supply, for hurricane years, some new resources; I offered to the king one basket of potatoes, two or three bags of mountain rice and one barrel of Cantonese beans. Alas, I doubt that, in spite of the reiterated promises that were made to me, these seeds have been entrusted to the earth. The Ualan natives are unable to give one thought to the future; for them, the present day represents their whole life. They are as careless as children, and they yield effortlessly to the indolence that the enervating climate of the tropics engenders. The search for a new pleasure is not worth, according to them, the fatigues that would be necessary to obtain it.

The animals that have been given to them on many occasions by whalers have recovered their independence a long time ago; the pigs run loose through the woods, the abandoned chickens live in a wild state. With the magnificent pigeons whose throats are opal and ruby in colors, and which fill the island forests, those chickens gave us some abundant and easy hunting. They were surely one of the most delicate prey our cosmopolitan palates had ever tasted. The wild hens of Ualan do not come out second, in taste and aroma, to the pheasants of Europe.

The purpose of our mission was however accomplished; we only had to wait for a favorable circumstance to get out of the port. Some whalers had been trapped for whole months, and these ships had decided to anchor only in the bay situated in the lee of the island, the one Captain Duperrey had given his vessel's name to. In Chabrol Harbor, the breeze, which sometimes blows from the land at night, comes to die at the entrance

of the bay. One finds within the pass a sea heavily agitated, outside the reefs a bottomless chasm. We could not therefore think of passing this narrow channel between two breakers, neither with the help of our cables nor with the insufficient assistance of our boats. The wind alone could provide us with the means of reaching the open sea, but the wind was always contrary. What was perhaps worse is that under such circumstances any attempt made to get out had to be successful, or else would bring a fatal outcome. A low-tonnage whaling ship could very well, if it failed to get out, spin around and return to port, but such a maneuver was more or less forbidden to the **Bayonnaise**. How impatiently our eyes did follow in the sky the advance of big clouds that the trade-winds constantly pushed ahead of them! How anxiously, when tricked by a deceptive puff, did we go to the pass to observe the direction of the breeze! King George was promising us a few hours of more propitious wind for the day of full moon. Watching for this favorable moment, if we went ashore, we did not dare lose sight of the corvette; however, without going beyond the bay itself, we found majestic shady spots where we could, for whole days, relieve our boredom. The banyan tree, with its forest of roots that hang down like hair from its long branches, covered with its tufted shelter the sandy soil upon which the arums and the pandanus grew helter-skelter. The barringtonia, whose leaves are hard and dark like those of the laurel, shed upon the ground its thousands of fruits similar to a bishop's miter that could be seen sprouting everywhere and pushing their countless shoots upwards. A few paces away from the seashore, all traces of the path disappeared. The virgin forest, with its intertwined branches, its trunks close together, extended all the way to the top of the mountains. One had to give up trying to penetrate these inextricable mazes. The islanders who had not been able to find space on Lele Island occupied the shore of the big island. They cultivated without effort some root crops for food or some sugarcane and lived from the produce of their coconut trees. A few of them, having only the native *maro* as clothing, reminded me of the beautiful Carolinian type that I had admired in Guam. It was the same perfect shapes, the same pure lines radiating both energy and suppleness; this must be how man must have come out of the hands of the Creator. A sculptor would not tire of contemplating those savages in the calmness of their poses, in the inborn nobility of their attitudes; it was the ideal of sculpture, the male and strong beauty that could inspire some genius.

Next to those men, whom the hereditary leprosy, fatal gift of civilization, had not touched, there could be seen living corpses, slowly eaten by awful ulcers. The eyes would look away from those unfortunate people who seemed to bear the scourge that devoured them with an apathetic resignation. It was a hideous spectacle that could not but excite a deep compassion in our hearts. As a result of what crimes has this innocent race been able to deserve this heavenly punishment? There has been some emotion toward the peoples of the African coast; the peoples of Oceania should, more deservingly so, arouse the impulses of our sympathy. It is perhaps not known in Europe that awful disorders and criminal violence have appeared upon the theater of the Polynesian archipelago. Convicts from Sydney and deserters from whaling ships have infested those islands; they have associated mild, inoffensive populations to their heinous excesses and their

bloody quarrels; they have victimized them. Some tribes have been massacred. Some ships have come to take away loads of bêche-de-mer and mother-of-pearl with the musket in hand. Summary executions have been held. The puniest European has taken upon himself the right to apply civil and criminal justice to those defenceless peoples. A whole generation of freebooters, under the guise of being "brothers of the coast" have planted the flag of a vile tyranny on archipelagos that were happy and free less than half a century ago. It has been said, not without reason, that our warships should show themselves more often in those seas. I add that it is not enough; the Polynesian peoples can no longer live without the tutelage of Europe. The spurs of their civilization are broken today; they could not possibly be the naive savages whom Cook has depicted. They must be saved from the burden that some adventurers without a mandate have imposed upon them; above all they must be saved from the fatal passions that devour them. As for me, I eagerly wish that France might have a role to play in this providential work; however, if more pressing cares were to make her deviate from such an enterprise, I call upon the protectorate of any other power; there is none whose intervention, under those desperate circumstances, cannot be other than useful and beneficial.

It has not been forgotten, no doubt, the time when France seemed to have conceived the project to secure for her commerce some point to seek refuge and refreshments in those seas, when England, Spain and Holland had already grabbed all the important places. Ualan, explored for the first time by a French ship,¹ could have taken its place in a system that tended not so much to create agricultural colonies but rather to place some milestones along the great trade route of the globe. This island, that the crew of a warship could easily have kept in check, would admirably have linked Tahiti, Basilan [in the Philippines] and Mayotte [in the Indian Ocean]. I do not know of any pretensions which, in this case, could have prevailed against ours. Our beneficial action would have spread upon these archipelagos. The Caroline and the Marshall Islands would have seen better days in the shadow of our flag, and perhaps the trade in bêche-de-mer, mother-of-pearl and tortoise shell would have rewarded, by important profits, the generous planners who might have decided our occupation. This system of expansion was ruined, in the bud, by the embarrassment that the protectorate of Tahiti gave rise to; a new political situation could open new horizons for France. If the European world would ever put a stop to their sterile quarrels, no-one would even think of limiting our influence within the narrow boundaries of the Mediterranean. That day, I request that the so very interesting Caroline archipelago not be forgotten.

In spite of the attraction that this entirely-new phase of our expedition inspired in us, we could not but curse the delays that kept us at Ualan. Finally, on 28 March, a light westerly breeze arose from the bottom of the bay. I immediately went in my whale-boat to observe which wind was blowing in the pass. The swell was more or less down

1 Ed. note: He did not know that it had also been first discovered by a French ship; otherwise, he would not have failed to mention this fact.

and, beyond the reefs, the breeze was variable from NW to NE. It was a precious moment not to be missed. In a few minutes, we were under sail. Our four boats were towing us with eagerness and the tide was favorable. Thus we entered the pass. For one moment, the breeze failed us completely; our topsails fell heavily upon the masts. The tide and the effort of our men hardly kept us against the swell. All of a sudden, the breeze that prevailed offshore hit our high sails; the yards were quickly orientated, and the corvette sprang forward, but the bow was turned towards the southern reef. The roaring waves broke upon this bank of madrepores towards which we had already drifted. All the maneuvers that could be done were done; we could only await the result. A deep silence prevailed aboard the **Bayonnaise**. Our anxiety was already relieved; the corvette had veered to windward and, like a dolphin that cleaves the sea, she happily plunged her bow into the foam that she created. The last dangers were soon behind us, and we sailed without fear upon the deep sea.

Our return voyage was as quick as our passage from Manila to Ualan had been difficult and hindered. A few days after our departure, we were passing between the Islands of Rota and Guam; we were cutting the line of the Bashi Islands on 12 April, and on the 17th we were dropping anchor in Macao Roads.¹

1 Ed. note: Jean-Edmond Jurien de la Gravière (1818-1892) was born at Brest. He became Admiral and commander of the French forces in Mexico in 1861. He was aide-de-camp to Napoleon III.

A2. Some scientific observations made by the officers of the Bayonnaise

Sources: ANP Marine 5JJ431; for the officers' logbook, see 4JJ365, part 2.

Note: A complete record exists of readings of the thermometers (air and sea), barometers, and wind strength and directions, for every day and hour of the voyage from Zamboanga back to Macao. Since this is voluminous, only the above reference is given (for interested parties); the track can also be plotted accurately, as this data was also recorded, as follows:

Track of the Bayonnaise from Zamboanga, to Kosrae, and onwards to Macao.

Date Lat. N. Long. E [of Paris]

6 Feb	4°45'	122°32'
7 Feb	4°27'	123°44'
8 Feb	3°55'	124°18'
9 Feb	3°33'	125°32'
10 Feb	4°20'	127°33'
11 Feb	3°50'	129°20'
12 Feb	3°40'	129°50'
13 Feb	3°35'	130°50'
14 Feb	3°23'	131°17'
15 Feb	3°27'	132°47'
16 Feb	3°22'	133°48'
17 Feb	3°41'	135°07'
18 Feb	3°46'	136°07'
19 Feb	3°51'	137°27'
20 Feb	4°02'	138°18'
21 Feb	3°48'	139°17'
22 Feb	3°23'	140°39'
23 Feb	2°57'	141°55'
24 Feb	2°44'	142°58'
25 Feb	2°12'	145°05'
26 Feb	1°36'	146°05'
27 Feb	1°59'	146°47'
28 Feb	1°50'	148°03'
1 March	2°08'	148°19'
2 March	2°53'	148°56'
3 March	2°47'	149°24'
4 March	2°20'	150°31'
5 March	1°59'	151°49'
6 March	2°03'	152°05'
7 March	2°09'	152°37'
8 March	2°32'	154°42'

9 March 3°06' 155°46'
10 March 3°01' 156°51'
11 March 3°17' 157°25'
12 March 3°54' 158°00'
13 March 3°28' 157°55'
14 March 3°30' 157°50'
15 March 3°32' 157°53'
16 March 4°40' 158°08'
17 March 4°36' 158°47'
18 March 4°46' 158°56'
19 March 4°50' 159°40'
20 March 4°54' 159°54'
21 March 4°57' 160°44'
22 March 5°20' 160°45'
23 March At anchorage at Oualan until
28 March 5°13' 160°47'
29 March 6°09' 159°29'
30 March 8°13' 158°10'
31 March 10°59' 155°29'
1 April 13°12' 151°58'
2 April 14°32' 148°03'
3 April 15°02' 144°08'
4 April 15°27' 140°51'
5 April 16°36' 137°13'
6 April 17°46' 134°13'
7 April 18°09' 133°05'
8 April 19°17' 130°06'
9 April 20°38' 126°37'
10 Apr 21°17' 123°13'
11 Apr 20°59' 120°29'
12 Apr 20°40' 118°19'
13 Apr 20°31' 117°12'
14 Apr 21°37' 115°12'
15 Apr 22°31' 113°29'
16 Apr 22°15' 112°07'
17 Apr Anchorage at Macao.

Document 1850B

Trouble between Governor Perez and Father Acosta

Source: Former Agaña archives; transcribed and translated by Lieut. Safford, now in LC Mss. Div., Washington: Safford's Note, pp. 293-297.

1850, 9 November.

Beginning of trouble between the Governor and the Parish Priest of Agaña, Fr. Vicente Acosta. The Governor was very zealous in constructing roads and bridges. The priest claimed that he was authorized to direct the public works. Don Pablo writes as follows:—

“On the 11 of October 18 1831 there was published in these islands the official orders of the Superior Government & Captain General of October 1827, which among other rules provided for communal work; and in spite of the provisions of articles 5 and 6 the Governors, my predecessors have been the ones to direct and carry on the necessary work, and have met with your superior approval on 17 July 1843, in answer to a communication of Governor Casillas dated 1 August 1840, accompanying a report dated 1 August 1837 concerning these works.”

“In article 14 of the instructions issued 1 August 1843, the Governor is given exclusive charge of the preservation of bridges, roads, and causeways, the opening and construction of others by communal labor, and in view of these authorizations as well as of the custom of my predecessors in respect to what they considered expedient for the good of these islands, I have continued exercising this function and as my residence is in this capital, in which nearly the whole population of the islands resides, the Rev. Parish Priest has not had anything to do with the *intervención* [auditing or verifying] of the said communal labors, since they are directly under the Chief of the Province. It is not the same in the case of the other little villages, in which the work has been carried on and is still carried on under the inspection of the Parish Priests, although directed also by the Governor.”

“In view of the provisions of articles 5 & 6 of the official order of 30 October 1827, cited above, the Priest of this City claims that to him alone together with the Town Mayor and the heads of Barangays, belongs the direction and execution of the communal labors, without the Governor concerning himself further than that the men are em-

Document 1850C

**The Good Return, Captain Cook, visited
Kosrae**

Source: Log 268 in the NBWhM; Log Inv. 2047.

**Log of the Ship Good Return of New Bedford, Captain
Christopher Cook****Extract of logbook kept by Benjamin F. Wing, First Mate.**

...

Sunday March 17th [1850]

... At 2 p.m., raised land, Strong's [Kosrae] Island... Latter part, steering W for the land. At 10 a.m., got the cables up. At 1/2 past 11, spoke Ship **Levant**, Capt. Lowen, 27 months out, 2100 bbls, S. Harbor. Barque **Columbus**, 12 months, 1100 bbls. Got up the cables, bent them.

Monday March 18th

Kept off for the Island. Capt. went on shore.

[Tuesday March 19th]

Lying off and on North Harbor. Got a hawser and two lines on shore ready to go in. Got a Kanaka Pilot on board.

Wednesday 20th

... At 2 p.m., ran into the passagethrough the reef. Luffed into the wind. Took the end of the hawser on board. Hauled in taut. The hawser was fast to a rock. Took in sail. Hauled in on the tow lines fast to the reef. Let go the hawser. Floated the lines several times. Hauled into 12 fathoms. Anchored.

Wednesday, civil account.

Starboard watch on liberty. The other got a raft on shore of 28 casks for water. Cleaned the ship outside.

Thursday 21st

... The Shjip **Bramin**, Capt. Butts, came in with 400 bbls, 27 months.¹

Friday March 22nd

... At anchor. Got off a raft of water, 18 pipes, 12 short casks. Stowed some down...

Saturday March 23rd

... One watch on liberty. The other wet hold,² blacked the bends one side, got 2 boatloads of wood on board.

Sunday March 24th

... One watch on liberty and part of the other.

Monday March 25th

... At 6 a.m., hove up our anchor, shifted our anchorage a little. One watch on liberty. The other blacked the bends one side and getting off wood.

...

Thursday March 28th, Sea Account.

Took the Starboard anchor on the bow. Took in one old boat. Got ready for sea. At 5 p.m., ran an old cutting fall to the Ship **Bramin**. Hove up the anchor. Got under way. Stood outside the reef... Middle part, off and on. Latter part, Captain went on shore at the E Harbor.

Friday March 29th 1850

... At 3 p.m., Captain came on board. Kept off round the lee side [of] the island with 350 bbls of water and about 16 boatloads of wood on board...

...

[The ship went straight North to the Behring Strait.]

1 Ed. note: The **Bramin** of New Bedford, voyage 1847-51 (ref. Starbuck, p. 442).

2 Ed. note: Water was sprayed on the oil barrels already stowed down, to keep them cool and to reduce leakage.

Document 1850D

The Bowditch, Captain Waldron

The log kept by Samuel L. Wood

Sources: Log 727 in NBWhM; PMB 296 (or 577, or 836d): Log Inv. 670.

Note: There exist two other accounts (see Log Inv. 671 and 672).

Extracts from this log

...

[After crossing the Ellice, or Tuvalu, group on the way northward, the ship came to the Gilberts.]

...

25th [March 1850] Monday

... Ship heading NW, this morning, the cry of Land Ho! was again heard from our masthead, bearing SW, having passed it during the night. It is a long, long piece of land stretching from N to S. This isle is called Achilles [sic] and is one of the Kingsmill Group inhabited by cannibals. Nothing more worth notice today.

...

30th Saturday

... Today, according to observation, we passed close to a small island, name not known to me, but did not see it. Wore Ship at 12 o'clock last night to keep clear of it. The sea is quite calm...

...

[A visit to Kosrae in 1850]

The month of April Year 1850

7th. Lat. 5°10 N. Sunday.

This day begins with a fine breeze from the NE. We altered our course today from NW to W in order to peek at Strongs Island, the place where our Capt. intends to recruit, which lies in Lat. 5°12 N & Long. 162°58 E. The weather is thick, we did not get our Long. today, so not know how far land is from us, our Lat. is out, the wind shifted into the SW tonight with heavy rain.

8th. Lat. [blank] Long. 164°48 E. Monday.

This day begins with a light breeze, ship headed to the westward, nothing in sight. All hands on the lookout for land, but the Capt. made a mistake in his reckoning and found that he is 100 miles out of the way but we shall look for it tomorrow if we have wind. Nothing more today.

9th. Tuesday.

This morning at daylight the joyful cry of Land Ho was heard from our masthead bearing W 50 miles distant. It proves to be Strongs Island. Today at 2 o'clock we fell in [with] & spoke our old consort the Ship **Falcon**. She is trying out a blackfish & is bound in with us tonight. Took in sail, land is 6 miles distant. There is another ship, name not known, lying off and on in company with us. Cannot get in tonight. The passage is bard to navigate. Nothing more.

10th. Lat. 5°12 N. In port. Wednesday.

This morning there is a fine breeze & at daylight squared the yards & made [it] in shore, the Ship **Falcon** in company. Ran into a fine little bay & came to anchor within a quarter of a mile of the shore. The natives came off in great numbers to the ship. They are friendly & peaceble, brought fruits & fish to us. They are mostly naked & wear but little or no clothes. This Island is thickly wooded yielding many kinds of fruits & vegetables. It affords plenty of good water, as much as we want. Broke for casks & sent one raft ashore to fill. The Capt. is very good to us, giving us plenty of stuff to trade. So goes the times nowadays.

11th. In port. Thursday.

Hands employed getting off water from shore and stowing it away in the hold. The weather is itensely hot but there is frequent showers of rain which cools the air and makes [it] more comfortable. The natives are aboard in great numbers all day. Nothing more today.

12th. In port. Friday.

The larboard [watch] is employed on board, stowing water, painting ship &c. The starboard watch is on liberty ashore today. Brought the last of our water this morning. Saw one ship laying off & on today, name not known, does not intend to stop here. Nothing more.

13th. In port. Saturday.

The starboard watch employed aboard mending sail and other ship's duty. The larboard watch has their liberty on shore & I have just returned from on shore having been cruising all day for shells on the reef on the other side of the island where they are very plenty, the reef is a natural curiosity, the breakers real mountains high, it extends all around the island. The passage for the bay where we lay is very narrow but it affords good anchorage when once in. So goes the times with us, tired as the Devil.

14th. In port. Sunday.

Today there is one watch on shore on liberty. The other is aboard, nothing doing today, we have easy times for once more. The king brought off a hog this morning as a present to the Capt. The weather is squally & rained several times today. Nothing was worth notice.

15th. In port. Monday.

This day is wet & disagreeable. The larboard watch is ashore on liberty, the starboard is employed aboard ship. Last night most of the men aboard the other ship run away from her & only 3 remain forward to work her. The Capt is a damn ruffscuff or they would not have left, but the worse is his own. So, let them go.

16. In port. Tuesday.

The larboard watch is employed aboard of ship, one different kind of work today. The starboard is on liberty ashore. The Capt of the other ship caught 2 of his men today. The natives are on the lookout for the rest. Some of the men of our ship went pigeon hunting & they shot a large number. They abound in great abundance here. Nothing more.

17th. In port. Wednesday.

This morning all hands were called for the purpose of getting the **Falcon** under way, she not having men enough to get her anchor up. We took her in tow with our 4 boats & towed her out clear of the reef. In the meantime we raised a school of sperm whales at the mouth of the passage. We left the ship & gave chase to them. Pulled till 10 a.m. Gave them up when 3 of our boats returned to our ship & our starboard boat remained & tonight it had not got back. The larboard watch had this afternoon ashore. We received news from the king that they had captured the deserters of the **Falcon** and are in safekeeping. This is what I expected but they have kept clear of getting their ship under way. Nothing more worth notice today.

18th. In port. Thursday.

The larboard watch employed aboard getting ready for sea, Our starboard boat returned last night, having been chasing whales all day. One of the **Falcon's** boats got just to a large whale but the irons did not hold. So they lost him. The Capt of the **Falcon** came ashore this morning & took his men to his ship which lies outside. This afternoon the Bark **Mary Frazier** of New Bedford arrived at this place. She is 5-1/2 months out with 67 bbls of sperm & is bound to the North Sea. We received papers to the first of November. We have been getting off coconuts, yams & various kinds of stuff today. Nothing more.

19th. In port. Friday.

The starboard is employed repairing sails &c. The larboard is on liberty ashore for the last time for we leave on the morrow. The weather is wet part of the time. Today the king sent off some hogs & yams for us & we're most ready for sea. Good news for us.

20th. At sea. Saturday.

This morning at daybreak all hands was called to get the ship under weigh for sea. Hove up anchor & took the ship in tow with 6 boats, the **Mary Frazier's** crew lent us a hand to tow her out. Got the ship outside at 9 a.m. when they returned to their own ship. We have been lying on east side. This afternoon one of our boats has been ashore to take the pilot. At 5 we then squared away the ship heading to the northward with a fair wind. We are now once more at sea & that is the place for me. We leave this island not caring much about seeing it again. So goes the times.

...
25th. Thursday.

... Today, our Capt. deemed it prudent for the Ship's company & for their safety to put one of our boatsteerers into irons. He has been more or less deranged since we have left port. It was caused by his having fits in the first place of which he had several in port & has not got over them.

...
[The ship sailed straight to the Arctic and as far north as Lat. 76° N. on 20 July, where she met many other Yankee whalers.]

...
The month of November Year 1850

7th. Lat. 11°52 N. Thursday.

Begins with a strong breeze from the SE accompanied with thunder & lightning & rain. Hands employed washing & cleaning ship. Passed a small group of islands called Browns Range [Eniwetok] both bare & desolate.

8th. Lat. 10°36 N. Long. 164°46' E. Friday.

... Nothing in sight but the quiet waters of the Pacific. Saw several spots of land, belonging to Browns Range, a long way off to the Eastward of us. Layed the main top-sail to the mast last night, it being dangerous to run in the night amongst these Islands...

9th. Lat. 9°38 N. Long. 165°15 E. Saturday.

... The Ship is headed to the Southward...

...
11th. Lat. 7°41 N. Long. 165°07 E. Monday.

... Steering S, nothing in sight... The heat is intense, almost to melting...

...
19th. Lat. 2°09' N. Long. 167°30 E. Tuesday.

... Wore Ship tonight , standing NW for the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] with a fair wind but light. The weather is very warm & uncomfortable...

...

25th. Lat. 5°12 N, Long. 162°58 E. Monday.

... Steering NW, this morning, we again raised the lofty peaks of Strongs [Kosrae] Island bearing WNW some 30 miles distant. Stood in towards land till 4 p.m. when we altered our course running down the coast close in shore. Nothing more in sight.

26th. Tuesday.

This day begins with a steady breeze from the SE, steering WNW. Strongs Isle still in sight but tonight disappeared in the SE... So ends this day, headed for Isle Ascension.

27th. Wednesday.

... Standing to the westward with a fair wind, the Isle Ascension distant 100 miles today at 12 o'clock. We expect to be up with it by morning...

28th. Thursday.

... Passed a small island called Wellington's [Mokil] Isle. This land is quite low, is not seen a great distance. It is 70 miles from Ascension of which we are close to. This night took in topgallant sails. Looming up land was seen 15 to 20 miles ahead. Calculate to go in on the morrow. The weather is fine. So ends this day the same as it began.

29th. In port. Friday.

This morning at daylight raised land right ahead with a fair wind. At 10 o'clock we came to anchor in what they call Lee Harbour about 2 miles from shore. The passage is bad & we had a pilot to take the ship in. We are now waiting for a calm so that we can warp the ship in farther. The natives came off in great numbers & we found that the different tribes are at war with each other. This island is large & high. We found no ships lying here. We furled the sails & cleaned up for the day.

30th. In port. Saturday.

This day begins by heaving up anchor & commenced by warping the ship farther so as to be handy to wood & water. Finished at 10 & let go anchor. The rest of the day hands employed washing ship & wetting hold. Bark **Emma** of New Bedford arrived here today. She is a sperm whaler, is 46 months out 2400 oil. She came to anchor outside the reef tonight. We lend them a hand to tow her in. The natives are alongside in great numbers offering shells, fish &c. for a trade.

The month December Year 1850

1st. In port. Sunday.

This day there is nothing doing aboard, all hands are on liberty ashore cruising for their health. The natives still swarm around the ship trading in various wares. Easy times once more. The day ends as it began.

2nd. In port. Monday.

This morning, all hands were called & commenced the day by washing decks. The remainder of the day hands employed tarring down Ship's rigging, getting off wood & water, etc. The weather is rainy in the forenoon. The natives still continue to swarm around the Ship, though not so thick...

3rd. In port. Tuesday.

This day, hands are employed in getting off wood & cutting & stowing it away & drying & bundling bone. The weather is fine though very hot...

4th. In port. Wednesday.

Hands employed mostly the same as yesterday getting off wood & water. The weather is very hot in this part of the Island for the tradewinds are broken off by a part of the land extending out into the sea. The natives are not on friendly terms with each other. They are divided into tribes & are governed by Chiefs & now are warring against each other most part of the time...

5th. Thursday.

This [day] there is nothing worth notice. Hands employed getting off water & breaking out for provisions, stowing away water, etc...

...

8th. In port. Sunday.

This day all hands are on a stroll among the hills & vales of Ascension. There is nothing doing aboard today. The weather is fine but terribly hot...

9th. In port. Monday.

This day is rainy most part of the time. Brought off 2 boatloads of wood from shore. Nothing more is done aboard today. Hands are getting shells, etc. of which this Isle abounds in great abundance upon the reefs...

...

11th. In port. Wednesday.

... Rafted some casks ashore for water & brought off some yams from shore. The Whaleship **Barclay** of Nantucket arrived here today. She is a sperm whaler & is 37 months out, 1300 bbls. She is from the Southward.

...

13th. In port. Friday.

This day there is not much doing aboard. We have got everything ready for sea and will soon leave the most beautiful Island of the Pacific...

14th. In port. Saturday.

This day, finished getting off water. Wet down the hold & finished by washing off Ship's decks & making ready for sea. Everything now is ready & we expect to sail on the morrow if wind & weather permit.

15th. In port. Sunday.

This day, the weather is wet with headwinds so that we will not leave today... Hands not doing anything but gamming with the other Ships.

16th. In port. Monday.

The wind still continues ahead so that we are unable to get clear. The weather is fine. Hands are doing nothing today. Easy times but want to get under way for all hands are getting tired of this port...

17th. In port. Tuesday.

This day the weather is calm. The Barque **Emma** got under way this morning & we lent them a hand to get her out but the breeze sprang up so that we were left blocked in with head winds. Hands are doing nothing today...

...

19th. At sea. Thursday.

This morning we were prospered with a fair wind. Hove up anchor & took our departure from the Isle of Ascension bound to the NW for the China Coast. The weather is wet & disagreeable this afternoon but the wind is fair & we are now making good headway for Hong Kong. We passed several small islands this afternoon belonging to the same group but at sunset they sunk to be seen no more by us in the Southward horizon. So ends the day with a wet jacket.

...

26th. Lat. 12°50 N. Long. 145°30 E. Thursday.

This Morning at daylight raised land right ahead. This Island is called Roter [Rota] & is inhabited by Spaniards. We touched at this place to get hogs but they are but few to be got. This Island yields various kinds of fruits, such as oranges, limes, coconuts, yams, etc. Brought off 3 boatloads of this kind of stuff. The Captain came off tonight & we squared away steering NNW...

...

Document 1850E

The ship Marengo, Captain Devoll

Source: Log in the New Bedford Public Library; PMB 346; Log Inv. 3005.

The log kept by Captain Zebedee Augustus Devoll

...

Thursday March 14th [1850]

... At 10 p.m., hove to for the night. Land by Chro. 30 miles dist. At 4 a.m., made sail. At 5 a.m., made the land 25 miles dist. At 10, spoke Bark **Venice** of New London, 7 mo. out, two right whales.

Friday March 15th

... At 1 p.m., went into the Middle Harbor at Ascension [Pohnpei] with the boats to get wood. Could not obtain any without coming in with the ship. Would not indulge them in their imposition. At 2:30 p.m., kept off for the Lee Harbor. At 4 p.m., spoke Ship **Henry Kneeland** just out of the harbor. Four ships in the harbor: **Milton** [of] New Bedford, **Elizabeth** do., **Maria Theresa** [of] Fairhaven. The middle part, lay off and on. The latter part, took off 2 boatloads of wood...

Saturday March 16th

... Laying off and on trying to obtain yams. At 10 a.m., gave it up and made sail for Rota, Ladrones Islands. Ship **H. Kneeland** in company.

...

Saturday March 23rd

... At 12 [noon], landed at Rota to get refreshments. Could not obtain anything. At 4 p.m., steered for Guam.

Sunday March 24th, A.D. 1850

... At 9 p.m., hove to off Guam. At 7 a.m., landed at the town. Three ships laying off and on. At 11 a.m., came to anchor in Port Apra, furling sails, etc. Three ships in port.

Monday March 25th

From Monday March 25 to Sunday March 31st, employed painting ship, getting off wood and recruits. Sunday March 31st, ship ready for sea, five men not on board, 21 hours over their liberty. At 11 a.m., returned on board. Undertook to get under way and broke the potent gear to the windlass...

...

Monday April 1st

... Getting the windlass fitted on board of a French frigate. Had to pay 8 dollars and a half for fitting it...

Tuesday April 2nd

... AT 6 a.m., got all ready, took the anchor and went to sea. Ran a kedge anchor out to get under way with. Shipped it and got it with the boats after the ship was outside. At a.m., hauled down the tacks for the Arctic Ocean...

...

Tuesday April 16th A.D. 1850

... At 1 p.m., picked up a Japanese barrel full of fish oil... Lat. 35°22 [N]. Long. 145°16 [E].

...

Sunday April 21st. A.D. 1850

... Spoke Ship **Dover** [of] New London, 1550 bbls, 45 bbls sp. oil since leaving Guam.

...

Note 1850F

The Gratitude and the Marcus near the Gilberts

Source: Log in the New Bedford Public Library; Log Inv. 2079.

One entry from the log, kept by Captain Preserved S. Wilcox

...
[The **Gratitude** crossed the Equator east of the Gilberts on the way from Samoa to the Northwest Coast.]

...
Thursday Frbruary 28th [1850]
... At 1 p.m., spoke Bark **Marcus** [of] Sag Harbor, 30 months, 500 bbls sp. Lat. 45 miles North [near 175° E].

...

Note 1850G

The Mount Vernon, Captain Willis

Sources: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, 12 July 1850; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 5.

Many of her sailors deserted at Guam

Desertion.

Capt. Willis of whale ship **Mt. Vernon** of New Bedford, writes from Guam, Ladrões Islands, March 25, as follows:

“On the evening of the 23rd, John C. Bailey, 4th mate, Robert Ellis, and John M. Kincaid, boatsteerers; Wm. P. Hall and Mansfield Taber,, seamen, and Summerfield Stocking, carpenter, took the starboard [boat] with provisions, water, etc., and deserted. They are supposed to have gone to Manila, in the hope of getting thence to California.¹ Since they left, I have learned it was the intention of these deserters to have taken the ship and steered for the coast of California, and when near the land to scuttle the ship and take to the boats. Why they altered their minds is not known. I shall ship a full complement of men if they can be obtained here, and sail with all despatch for he Arctic Seas.”²

1 Ed. note: To join the gold rush.

2 Ed. note: There is a logbook of this voyage, kept by James Monroe Willis, in the Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 814; Log Inv. 3409.

Document 1850H

The William Melville attacked at Kwajalein, etc.

Article in The Friend.

Sources: The Friend, Honolulu, 1 Sept. 1850; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Kusaie 19.

Polynesia [sic].

Strong's [Kosrae] Island.—Capt. Caloft, commanding **Hobomok**, 67 days from Strong's Island, informs us that he came nearly direct and that 60 days would be about an average passage from thence to Honolulu. He estimates the population at 1400 natives; and reports 4 foreigners living there, and thinks a Missionary would be well received and protected by the King. He thinks that the passage hence to Strong's Island would not exceed 15 days. The island is fertile and mountainous, and about 60 miles in circumference. The population is now decreasing through the prevalence of colds, consumption and other diseases.

Ascension [Pohnpei].—Capt. Hall of the **Romulus** visited this Island last spring and reports, from information that might be relied on, a Missionary would be well received and protected by the Chiefs. There are about 150 foreigners residing upon the Island. Ships can be well supplied with yams, hogs and fowl at low prices. Ascension Island is about 5° to the eastward [rather westward] of Strongs.

Catherine [Kwajalein] Island.—The *Pacific News* reports: "The ship **William Melville** arrived late from Lancaster [rather Launceston], Van Dieman's Land [Tasmania]. On the voyage she touched at Catherine's Island, (one of the Patterson's Group),

on the 13th May for the purpose of getting a supply fresh water and the natives decoyed the crew to the bush and murdered two men, passengers, Mr. Francis Lecoy [sic] and Daniel McQueen, of Lancaster [rather Launceston]. The other four men who were ashore escaped by swimming off to the vessel, as the natives had captured the boat and hauled it ashore. We should not much wonder if John Bull¹ will give these savages a severe chastiment for this outrage.”²

-
- 1 Ed. note: A reference to a British warship. The *Friend* of 1 March 1853, has an account of a search for a Joseph Oliver Lacy, or Francis Oliver Lacey, said to have been left on Catherine's Island, April 1, 1850. The Francis Lecoy, mentioned in the above text may have been the same individual.
 - 2 Ed. notes: There is a follow-up article in *The Friend*, dated 1 March 1853. There is also a log or diary kept by H. Lipscombe, kept aboard the *William Melville* which has been preserved in the Crowther Library in Tasmania (ref. C8277). This bark had a capacity of about 219 tons. She left Launceston on 27 March 1850 and arrived in California on 28 July (ref. Nicholson's *Log of Logs*).

Document 1850I

The Freak's hurricane near the Marianas in 1850

Sources: Sydney Shipping Gazette; reprinted in Nautical Magazine, 1851, pp. 272-275.

The narrative of Captain Simpson in a letter to Rev. Clarke

Brig Freak, Hong-Kong, July 18th, 1850.

1. Sunday, April 28th.—We passed the Marian Group, between Tinian and Saypan, when the north-east trade hauled to southward of east, at intervals so far as south-east by east, and occasionally blew strong in squalls, the weather gloomy.

2. During the several passages I have made in this locality, through the north-east, I have invariably found, that the further the trade blew from the northward, the finer the weather and lighter the trade. In the present instance it was the **contrary!** The wind freshened as it southed.

3. From the 28th, to the morning of the 1st of May, the wind rather increased, the weather continuing hazy. The barometer was steady, rising and falling with the atmospheric tides, averaging about 29.80.

4. May 1st, noon.—A fresh gale, variable, from E.b.N., to E.b.S., with light rain and dark gloomy weather. Barometer 29.75, rather lower than usual at this hour. I did not apprehend at one time, anything more than a fresh gale for a few hours, and hesitated whether I should take in one reef or two. I, however, took in the two. At noon our position by account was 19°28' N., 138°44' E. No observations.

5. At 1h. 30m. p.m., a most curious phenomenon was observed, which I did not see. The mate gives the following description of it: "The sky was entirely white with light hazy clouds; suddenly to the W.S.W. the clouds rose, leaving a bright clear sky for a considerable height above the horizon." The mate reported it to me, but before I could get on deck, it was clouded over again. It was like the rising and falling of a gigantic curtain.

6. P.M.—The breeze increasing from E.b.S., the sea rising; light vapoury clouds flying to the westward, a dense mass of clouds to east and south-east all dark hazy vapour.

7. On one occasion when the vapour lifted a little, I observed in the upper stratum of clouds to the eastward, about thirty degrees above the horizon, some dark slate-col-

oured cirrus clouds, apparently stationary, lying east and west. A little higher above the horizon, and more to the southward, I saw others lying north and south, showing there must have been in the upper air, two different currents of wind, at right angles to each other, and not far apart.

8. The wind increasing from east and E.b.N., and more sea; I observed the heaviest did not come in the direction of the wind, but from about S.E.b.E. At 4 p.m. barometer 29.67.

9. At sunset, blowing a fresh gale, with a heavy sea.

10. At midnight, the barometer still falling, at 29.50, blowing very hard at times, due east, with a heavy sea; making scudding, deeply laden as we were, very dangerous. I now began, for the first time, to suspect we were approaching a cyclone, or rotary storm. From the rules given by scientific men, the centre bore from us south; and, in our present position, the probable track of the storm would be to the north-west. I had been steering west since noon, and with this course, presuming the storm was travelling to north-west, we should be nearing it at an angle of 45 degrees. I considered it, therefore, prudent to heave-to on the starboard tack, which would be the coming up tack as the storm progressed and passed to the westward of us. I was borne out in my conclusions that the storm was going to north-west, by the fact that we had run so many hours to the westward without altering the bearing of the centre. I accounted for this circumstance, by our having run on the above angle with the course of the storm; but the making the same quantity of westing, supposing us to be going eight or nine knots due west, the storm must have progressed eleven or twelve on a north-west course.

11. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I hove to. I could not send longer. The sea was so fearfully heavy, I expected some monster sea would have swept our decks and disabled us. It was about 1 a.m., when getting sails well secured, we hove to on the starboard tack, the main-topsail split in clewing up, but we managed to pick up the fragments. Our top-gallant yards were still aloft, but the wind increased so much that it was impossible to send them down. I was not prepared to encounter a hurricane at this season, and in our position.

12. May 2.—From midnight the barometer falling steadily about 0.25 in the four hours; it stood at 4 a.m., at 29.40. The wind, since heaving to, steady at E.b.N., heading N.b.E.; drift a mile and a half an hour. Both wind and sea increasing rapidly.

13. Shortly after 4 a.m., blowing a hurricane; from 4 to 6 a.m., the barometer oscillating 0.05. At 6 there was a decrease of wind, and the barometer rose 0.05.

14. I had now hopes that the wind had blown its heaviest, but at 8 a.m., the barometer fell to 29.30, and the hurricane continued with increased violence. The sea was awful; the masts were bending like twigs, I expected them to go every minute.

15. The barometer still falling, at noon stood at 29.22, equivalent to 0.02 per hour, since 8 a.m. Shortly after noon, the houses I had on deck were drowned in the lee-scupper, and one washed overboard. The quarter-boat, which we had taken in on deck, filled, and split. Found the brig making no water, and behaving well, proving herself an excellent sea boat; the combings of the main hatch were very frequently under water.

16. From noon to 3h. 50m. p.m., barometer 28.87, having fallen 0.035, a tenth per hour.

17. Between 2 and 3 p.m., we had the strength of the cyclone. The fore topmast, and main top-gallant-mast were broken sheer off by the force of the wind, and most of the sails well furled blew adrift and went to pieces. The spars going, relieved the vessel much. The force of the wind at this time was beyond description. I could never have believed it could have blown so hard.

18. The wind remained steady to a point from midnight till noon, when it began to haul to the northward, and was E.N.E. from this time till nighth. The wind veered a point an hour, it then became steady for a time at N.N.W. The strength of the hurricane we had from about N.E.b.N., when its centre was bearing S.E.b.E.

19. After noon when the wind began to veer, I found to my surprise, that we were on the left or north-west quadrant of the circle, and that it was to north-east astern of us. The track of the storm when at its height, must have been N.E.b.N., had it been going more to the northward we should have had the strength of the wind, when the centre bore north of us.

20. At 4 p.m., the barometer was stationary at 29.87. From that time it began gradually to rise, and the violence of the hurricane to decrease. At 8 a.m. the barometer was at 29.08; at midnight 29.26; at 4 a.m. on the 3rd, at 29.45; at 8 a.m. 29.55, at which time the wind had moderated to a strong breeze, which gradually died away, and the barometer rose to its usual height.

21. I have my doubts, which you will most likely be able to solve, as to the track of this storm. I am still under the impression, that on the 2nd, at noon, it was going to north-west; and that we were approaching on the angle before mentioned, when it must have taken a course to the north-east. From midnight till noon, from the fact that the wind remained so steady to a point, we must have been directly on its track. Had I scudded longer I should have been leaving it, consequently have had less of it. Under the circumstances, although I was calculating from erroneous data, what I fortunately did, proved in the end the best course I could have adopted; to run longer would have endangered the lives of all hands. Had I rounded to on the north track, I should have drifted nearer the centre, consequently have been under its influence and force.

Another fact that proves the storm must have been going to the northward and eastward, was, the drift of the vessel was inconsiderable, and not allowing for the storm tide, would not have been sufficient to alter our relative position with the storm.

I shall be able to give you more particulars when we meet. Would you kindly send your account of it to the *Sydney Herald*, as the more all the information is spread abroad, the more likely we are to procure fresh data. I shall send an account of it to Piddington.¹

I hope soon to see the time, when the theory of the law of storms, will be as well understood by practical seamen, as a day's work aboard ship is at present.

1 Calcutta author of the *Sailor's Horn Book*, &c.

While scientific men take such a lively interest in collecting data, we have much to expect from their praiseworthy exertions, and with such indefatigable men there is no fear but the science must progress.

T. H. Simpson.

To Rev. W. B. Clarke, St. Leonard's.

¹
...

1 Good accounts of Pacific storms are very rare indeed, and the Commander of the **Freak** has supplied a very useful one.—Ed. N.M.

Document 1850J

The Sea Breeze, Captain George Newell

Source: From the Book entitled: Two Brothers: Narrative of a Voyage Around the World in the Bark "Sea Breeze", Captain George Newell, 1850 (Norwall, Conn., priv. printed, 1961).

Note: The book title says "Two Brothers", because Captain George Newell had a brother who was then captain of the Hawaiian yacht Kamehameha III.

Extracts from the log kept by Captain Newell

...
[The bark Sea Breeze has left Honolulu and was heading westward to the Northern Marianas.]

...
Thursday 17th October 1850—21 days
Had light winds from the Eastward & passing thin clouds... At daylight in the morning we found ourselves not more than four or five miles from the Stranger, striving hard to get away from us with all his surplus light sails spread, but striving against all hope...
Ther. 93° [Fahrenheit]. Lat. Obs. 18°58' Nth. Long. by Chro. 157°30' East.

Friday 18th—22 days
We had light air from the Eastward all this day. Weather intensely hot & clear. On the latter part of the day were near enough to the Stranger to read on her stern **Wisconsin** of New York. Steering W by S under all sail.
Ther. 89° Lat. Obs. 18°47' Nth. Long. by Chro. 156°22' East.

...
Monday 21st—25 days
Had fine clear weather and a moderate breeze from the N East throughout these 24 hours. Steering West. At 3 p.m., a strange sail was seen "hove to" about 3 miles ahead of us and soon after a Boat was discovered coming from her. She was alongside in a few minutes and the officer came on board reporting the Ship as the **Eliza L. B. Jenney** of Fairhaven, 46-1/2 months out with 2600 bbls. sperm oil, bound to Guam, Manilla & home. The Captain's name was James Allen. The officer left in my charge 3 letters which he wished me to send home by the overland India Mail & three dollars to pay the postage. At 3:30 the Boat left and on reaching his vessel she bore up for Guam. At

Noon of this day the **Wisconsin** was 8 or 10 miles E.N.E. of us under a cloud of sail. Wind light.

Ther. 90° Lat. Obs. 18°40' Nth. Long. by Chro. 152°00' East.

Tuesday 22nd October 1850—26 days

We have had very fine weather throughout this day and a high rolling swell of the sea from the North East. Wind in a moderate breeze from the same quarter. Steered W by N until 8 a.m. when I steered West until noon, when the **Wisconsin** was dist. from us 5 miles, astern.

Ther. 90° Lat. Obs. 19°10' Nth. Long. by Chro. 149°30' East.

Wednesday 23rd October—27 days

Had a continuation of the breeze [of] yesterday and fine weather throughout. Steering W by S, under all sail. The **Wisconsin** has been gradually gaining on us since 8 o'clock last evening and at noon this day she was N.W. of us 2 leagues. I think she must have had her trim altered and improved her sailing qualities thereby. At 11:15 a.m., the Island ... [2 lines missing]

Thursday 24th—28 days

Had pleasant gales from East N.E. & fine weather through the night. At 6 p.m., passed Island Grigan [Agrigan] on north side 3 or 4 leagues dist. Steered West through the night. **Wisconsin** ahead 5 or 6 miles, also another Ship which we appear to be coming up with. Ends squally weather. No observation. Both ships in same position as on last evening.

Ther. 80° Lat. D.R. 19°00'. Lat. Obs. none. Long. by Chro. 143°54' East.

Friday 25th October 1850—29 days

Commences cloudy with a good breeze from the East, under all sail, steering West & coming up with the strange sail which we suppose to be the **Jphn Quincy Adams** which vessel left Oahu in company with the **Wisconsin** four days in advance of us. At 7 p.m. we had hard squalls from E.S.E. Sharp lightning & heavy thunder attended with "compesants" at the mast heads. Took in all light sails. Before dark we notices that the **J. Q. Adams** had carried away her main topgallant mast and was getting up another in its place. When last seen she bore North by West 4 miles dist. & the **Wisconsin** N.W. 6 miles...

No Obs. for Lat. D.R. 19°00' Nth. Long. by Chro. 139°27' East. Ther. 78°

...

[The bark saw the Bashi Islands on 30 October, and soon reached Canton.]

Document 1850K

The Ganges, Captain Thomas Coffin, 1850-52

Sources: Log 1014 in NBWhM; Log Inv. 1857.

Note: The ink used by the log-keeper was diluted so much as to be unreadable most of the time.

Extracts from the log

...

Ship Ganges cruising on the Line in July 1850

...

Wednesday July 17th

... In company with the **Nar[r]agansett** ... the Island of New Nantucket [=Baker]
... Spoke Barque **Woodlark**, Capt. Thendak(?)

...

Saturday August the 3rd/50

... Ship **Omega**...

Sunday August 18th

... Ship **Swift** on our weather beam...

Lat. 01°00 S Long. 179°24 East

...

Saturday August 31st

Commences with light airs from the eastward. Steering to the S.S.East. At 4 p.m. spoke ship **Swift** of [blank] and 15 months from New Bedford with 750 barrels sperm oil. Middle and latter parts fine weather with a light breeze. Saw the **Swift** steering off, steered her towards her, supposing they saw whales. Saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing WSW dist. 15 miles.

The latitude of this island [blank]

[Here in the logbook there is a color sketch of the island with the ship surrounded by 27 canoes.]

Sunday September 1st

Commences with light breezes from E.S.East. Steering towards Barings Island. At 1 p.m. got handa [i.e. handy, or near] and the Natives came off with hats and coconuts

and some fowl. At 4 p.m. left the island and hauled by the wind to the South. Ship **Swift** off our lee bow. Middle part the **Swift** tacked and bout(?) a light and came very near coming afoul of the **Ganges** lee bow. Both put their wheels down for opposite tacks and both came round and cleared one other. At 10 a.m. saw Chases [Onotoa] Island bearing S. West by West dist. 15 miles.

Latitude 2°28 South

Monday September 8/50

Commences with fine breezes from the E.S.East. At 1 p.m. had got quite handy to Chases Island and steered off towards it. At 2 p.m. many Natives had come off with fowls, nuts and other things. At half past 3 all had left the ship...

Lat. 02°49 South, Long. 176°02 East

...

Ship **Ganges** 24 months out with nine hundred and thirty barrels of sperm oil.

...

Monday September 9th

... Saw two vessels, the **Swift** and **Omega**...

Lat. 05°00 South, Long. 177°25 East

...

Saturday September 28th

... At 2 p.m. got handy to Byrons Island and traded with the Natives for hats, fowls and nuts. Shipped one native to go in the ship with us. At 4 p.m. left the land and hauled to S.East..

...

Ship **Ganges** cruising on the Line in October 7/50

... At 3 p.m. saw a vessel ahead steering towards us... At 9 p.m. spoke Barque **Roscoe**, Captain Gor[h]am of and 16 months from New Bedford with 300 bbls of sperm oil..

Lat. 04°30 South, Long. 177°07 East

...

[This ship worked down to New Zealand, but was back near the Line in July 1851.]

...

Thursday July 3rd

... At 4 p.m. spoke ship **Desdemona** of and 23 months from New Bedford with 1175 bbls of sperm...

Lat. 00°15 South [Long. 172° West?]

...

Saturday July 5th [1851]

... At 12 p.m., spoke ship **Richard Mitchell** of and 24 months from Nantucket with 1000 bbls of sperm oil.

Lat. 00°27 South, Long. 171°39 West

...

Tuesday July 29/51

... At 2 p.m. saw Hope [Arorae] Island to the west of us dist. 15 miles...

Lat. 01°44 South, Long. 177°22 East

...

Saturday August 2th

... At 5 a.m. saw Henderville [Aranuka] Island and Woodle [Kuria] Island. Steered off towards Woodle. At 9 a.m. luffed by the wind between the two islands and traded with the Natives from both islands. Got some fowls and coconuts and other things.

Sunday August 3th

... Layed off and on Woodle Island. Saw and spoke Barque **Smyrna** of and 19 months from N. Bedford with 215 bbls of sperm oil...

...

Thursday August 7th

... At 3 p.m. spoke the Schooner **Sophia**, Capt. [William] Baldwin, of and 37 months from Nantucket with 675 bbls of sperm oil...

Lat. 00°08 North, Long. 171°56 East

...

Tuesday August 12th

... At 7 a.m. saw Ocean [Banaba] High Island bearing S by W dist. 28 miles. Passed and signalled ship **Hector** of N. Bedford.

Lat. 00°38 South, Long. 169°58 East

Wednesday August 13th

... At 2 p.m. went to the island with a boat. The Natives did not come off. Layed off and on the land with the ship. At 5 p.m. the boat came off with 30 pumpkins and as many fowls...

Thursday August 14th

... Saw a barque to leeward and a ship to windward. At 3 p.m. tacked to SSE. At 4 p.m. spoke ship **Hector** of and 38 months from N. Bedford with 2000 bbls of sperm oil... At 11 a.m. spoke ship **Hector** and **Mohawk** of and 14 months from Nantucket with 215 bbls of sperm.

...

Thursday August 21st

... Saw and passed Schooner **Sophia** of Nantucket and **Hector** of N. Bedford on the opposite tacks.

Lat. 00°43 North, Long. 169°38 East

...

Saturday August 23/51

... Saw a vessel to windward. At dark saw it was a brig cutting a whale...

Lat. 00°34 North, Long. 169°44 East

...

Thursday September 4th

... At 8 a.m. saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing to the West of us dist. 30 miles.
Lat. 00°30 South, Long. 167°52 East

Friday September 5th

... The island in sight to the westward. Saw a barque to the west of us... At 9 a.m. the Natives came off and traded some with us. Saw a barque off the island trading.

Saturday September 6/51

... Lay off and on the island. At 3 p.m. finished trading and boarded Barque **Smyrna**, Capt. Taber [rather Tobey], of and 20 months from N. Bedford with 230 bbls of sperm oil... Saw one ship to the East of us and another to the West of us. Pleasant Island ahead dist. 25 miles.

Sunday September 7th

... At 4 p.m. passed handy to the island. The Natives came off with 10 small pigs and some nuts. At dark saw a bark maneuvering handy to the land and got some whale... Lay handy to the land, saw the barque cutting to the west of us. Saw several vessels, Pleasant Island bearing North dist. 20 miles.

...

Tuesday September 9th

... At 2 p.m. spoke ship **Montauk** [rather Monticello],¹ Capt. Folger, of and 12 months from Nantucket with 250 bbls of sperm oil...

Lat. 00°40 South, Long. 167°42 [E]

...

Tuesday October 21st

... At 5 p.m. ship **Phocion** spoken, of and 23 months from N. Bedford with 1100 bbls of sperm oil...

Lat. 01°10 South, Long. 167°57 East

...

Saturday November 1st

... Saw Ocean Island bearing E by South dist. 30 miles.

Lat. 00°24 South.

Monday November 3rd

Commences with breezes from the eastward, working up to Ocean Island bearing East dist. 12 miles. Had 3 canoes off to the ship. Saw blackfish and many other things.

1 Ed. note: The only Nantucket ship to depart that port in September 1850 was the Monticello, Captain Folger (ref. Starbuck, p. 472).

Tuesday November 4/51

Commences with light breezes from the eastward, lay by the wind to NNE and SSE, Ocean Island bearing ESE dist. 25 miles... At 8 a.m. got up handy to the island and lay off and on for vegetables. Saw blackfish.

Wednesday November 5th

Commences with fine trades, lay off Ocean Island and got very little. At 1 p.m. left the land and steered by the wind to the North... At 6 p.m. had the whale in and spoke the ship **Emily Morgan** of and 24 months from N. Bedford with 500 bbls of sperm oil.

Thursday November 6th

Commences with fine weather. Got and cut the whale in on the 6th and spoke the **E. Morgan**, Capt. Your [i.e. Ewer]... Ship **Phocion** in sight far off.

Lat. 00°08 North, Long. 169°30 East

Friday November 7th

... At 3 p.m. spoke the ship **Phocion**. Saw the **Emily Morgan** far off...

Lat. 00°19 North, Long. 169°33 East

...

Wednesday November 19th

... At 2 p.m. spoke ship **Emily Morgan** with the same oil as before...

Lat. 02°25 South, Long. 172°47 East

...

[The ship finally headed away from the area and headed for the Bay of Islands, but returned to the Line in July 1852.]

...

Monday August 2nd

... At 12 p.m. passed the Ship **Oliver Crocker** of N. Bedford...

Tuesday August 3/52

... At 3 p.m. spoke ship **Canton** of and 12 months from N. Bedford with 400 bbls of sperm oil in all...

Lat. 35 miles South, Long. 171°50 W¹

...

Wednesday September 1st

... Saw a barque to windward maneuvering and a ship to the west of us boiling. At 5 p.m. spoke ship **Commodore Morris** of and 36 months from Falmouth with 1200 bbls of sperm oil...

Lat. 00°18 North, Long. 179°25 [E]

...

1 Ed. note: They were inded near Baker Island to the east of the Gilberts.

Saturday September 4th

... At 6 a.m. the **Lillaruw** [Lalla Rookh] of and 48 months from N. Bedford boarded us, being all well, and had 1100 bbls of sperm oil.

Lat. 00°50 North.

...

Friday September 10th

... At 3 p.m. spoke ship **Canton** of and 13-1/2 months from N. Bedford with 500 bbls of oil in all...

Lat. 00°21 South,

...

Monday September 13th

... At 8 a.m. saw Hope Island bearing N.West of us dist. 16 miles. Steered towards it.

Lat. 02°47 South, Long. 177°00 East

Tuesday September 14th

Commences with moderate winds from the N.East and squally looking weather. At 1 p.m. had got handy to the island and layed off and on Hope Island. Discharged 2 natives which left a complement of 28 men on board. At 6 p.m. spoke ship **Canton** of and 13-1/2 months from N. Bedford with 530 bbls of sperm oil in all... At 10 a.m. lost sight of Hope Island far to the N.East.

Lat. 02°47 South, Long. 177°00 East

...

Friday September 17th

... At half past 12 p.m. saw Hope Island ahead. The ship **Canton** in sight about the land...

Lat. 02°40 South, Long. 177°20 East

...

Saturday September 25th

... At 7 p.m. saw the light on Chases Island bearing N.N.East dist. 10 miles... At 9 a.m. the Natives came off with their trade and the ship bought 25 fowls and two hundred coconuts and shipped one native of Tahiti for to have a hundred and fourths lay and be discharged at New Zealand or Navigators Islands.

...

Monday September 27th

... At 5 p.m. the Natives were coming off. Tacked ship from the island... working to the North past the island and there were several canoes [on] board a long way from the land. At 12 p.m. Chases Island bearing E.N.East dist. 18 miles.

...

Thursday September 30th

... At 12 a.m. saw Byrons Island to N.N.East of us dist. 2 miles... Layed off and on Byrons Island trading.

Lat. 01°30 South, Long. 177°13 East

Friday October 1st

Commences with fine trades, set all sail and steered by the wind to the North head of Byrons Island. Saw a vessel to the N of us. At 6 p.m., spoke ship **Roscoe** of and 14 months from N. Bedford with 550 bbls of sperm oil in all...

Lat. 00°58 South, Long. 176°46 East

...

Sunday 17th Monday Oct. 18th [sic]

... At 9 a.m. spoke ship **Commodore Morris** of and 38 months from Falmouth with 1400 bbls of sperm oil.

Monday October 18th

... In conference with the **Commodore Morris**. At 4 p.m. spoke ship **Roscoe** of and 14-1/2 months from N. Bedford with 450 bbls of sperm oil in all...

Lat. 00°11 North, Long. 176°45 East

Tuesday October 19th

... At 8 a.m. spoke the **Woodlark** of and 4-1/2 months from Sydney with 150 bbls of sperm oil...

Lat. 00°01 North, Long. 176°35 East

...

Saturday November 13th

... At 4 p.m. spoke with the Barque **Woodlark** of Sydney...

Lat. 00°07 South.

...

Thursday November 18th

... At 8 a.m. saw Byrons Island far to windward and Perote [Beru] far to leeward..

Lat. 01°19 South, Long. 176°53 East

...

Monday November 22th

... Saw Byrons Island to the eastward of us and Perote Island to the S.West.

...

Wednesday November 24th

... Steered past Byrons Island. The Natives on board. Traded. At 3 p.m. the Natives left the ship...

...

Friday November 26th

... At 12 a.m. spoke the brig **Pronet** [sic] of and 4 months from Sydney with 30 bbls of sperm oil...

...

Saturday November 27/52

... At 6 p.m. spoke ship **Susan** of and 11 months from Nantucket with 300 bbls of sperm oil and 50 bbls of blackfish... Saw Chaises Island to the East.

...

Document 1850L

The Roscoe, Captain Joseph R. Gorham

Sources: Log 682 in NBWhM; Log Inv. 4158.

Note: This ship crossed the Indian Ocean and visited Tasmania before going to Micronesia.

Extracts from the log

...

The Barque cruising on the Line 1850

Monday July the 19

This day begins with strong winds, steering by the wind. The watch employed in breaking out for provisions. At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Swift** of New Bedford 13 months out 500 sperm.

Tuesday July the 20

... At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Swift** of New Bedford.

Saturday August the 3. Lat. 00°01 Long. 176°30

This day begins with light winds, steering by the wind. At 11 a.m. saw the ship **Swift's** boats down. Kept off for her,. At 1 p.m. lowered for the whales the waist and starboard boats, took one to the ship. At 4 p.m. the larboard fastened and lost the line.

...

Wednesday August the 7. Lat. 1°08 Long. 179°42

This day begins with light wind. At 10 a.m. spoke the ship **Swift**. So ends.

...

Tuesday August the 27. Lat. 2°19 Long. 177°15

This day begins with light winds. All hands employed in stowing down oil. Finished at 2 p.m. At daylight saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Two canoes came off from shore.

Tuesday [rather Wednesday] Aug. the 28. Lat. 2°27 Long. 177°04

This day begins with light winds. At daylight made Hope Island, ran down to it, bought a few mats and hats. Stood off shore.

...

Thursday Sept. the 5. Lat. 1°27 Long. 177°30

This day begins with light winds, steering by the wind. The watch employed in ship's duty. At 4 p.m. saw Francis [Beru] Island 4 points off lee bow.

...

Saturday Sept. the 7. Lat. 2°00 Long. 177°06

This day begins with light winds. At daylight saw Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island. 4 canoes came off from shore with hats and mats. At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Boy** of Warren, R.I. 34 months out 700 Sp. oil. The Capt. went on board. So ends.

...

Saturday Sept. the 21. Lat. 3°10 Long. [blank]

... At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Swift** of N.B. Had taken 100 bbls since we spoke her last.

Sunday Sept. the 22. Lat. 4°40 Long. 177°40

This day begins with strong winds, steering NE. The watch employed in ship's duty. At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Ocmulgee** of Nantucket 16 months 150 bbls.

...

Tuesday Oct. the 1. Lat. 1°02 Long. 176°48

This day begins with strong winds, steering by the wind. At 2 p.m. saw Rotchs [Tamana] Island. At sunset tacked offshore.

Wednesday Oct. the 2. Lat. 2°23 Long. 176°31

This day begins with light winds, steering by the wind. At 9 a.m. the starboard and waist boats went on shore, brought off two loads of coconuts. Tacked ship, stood offshore.

...

Monday Oct. the 7. Lat. 4°55

... At 4 p.m. spoke the ship **Ganges** of Nantucket 13 months out 500 Sp.

...

[The ship slowly worked her way to Rotuma, then to the Bay of Islands.]¹

1 Ed. note: There exists another anonymous logbook in the Kendall Whaling Museum, ref. Log Inv. 4157.

Document 1850M

Life and Adventure in the South Pacific—Aboard the Emily Morgan, Captain Ewer

Sources: John D. Jones [attributed author]. Life and Adventure in the South Pacific, by a Roving Printer (New York and London, 1861); Chapter 22 reproduced in the Guam News Letter, March and April 1921, reprinted in the Guam Recorder, June, July-August and September 1925, and again in July, September and October 1936, where it appeared as an article entitled: "Whalers in Guam in 1850 [sic]."

Note: These are extracts from the log of the Emily Morgan of New Bedford, Captain P. W. Ewer, on a whaling voyage that lasted from the 23rd of October, 1849, to April 12th, 1854. Captain Ewer had already made two voyages with the same ship.



New Bedford from a whaleman's point of view.

Extracts from the book, edited by John D. Jones¹

...

CHAPTER I.

New Bedford.—Fitting out a Whaler.—Shipping a Crew.—Green Hands.—Shippers.—Outfitters.—A Sailor's Wardrobe.—All Hands on Board.—Good-by to Yankee Land.—The Pilot taking leave.—The last Farewell.—Captain's Speech.—Choosing Watches.—The Modus Operandi of Ships' Watches.—Sea-sickness.

...

After a ship has her provisions, water, and every thing necessary for the voyage on board except her crew, she is "hailed into the stream," ready for sea as soon as the ship's company can be got on board, which generally occupies a day or two, as many of them are having their last "spree," spending their "advance," and often coming on board half intoxicated. Some of them, when they ship, are in that condition, and hardly know, until they are at sea, their true situation and how they came there. The majority of a whaler's crew (foremast hands) are "greenies," hardly any of them ever having smelt salt water, and knowing nothing of a seaman's life, its hardships, its exposures, its joys, or its sorrows. But the poor fellows soon learn, and many of them, before they have been clear of the land a week, vainly wish themselves at home. Many of them are picked up by "shipping agents" throughout the country, who send them on to their respective shipping houses in New Bedford. They are then furnished by the shippers with second or third rate boarding-houses, the board to be paid out of their advance. It is a common practice for the shippers to make contracts with owners to furnish them with so many "green hands" at so much per head; the shipper receiving his price from the owner, and then, in addition, charging poor "greeny" ten dollars for "getting him a ship."

...

Generally speaking, the outfitters of New Bedford are, politely speaking, gentlemen robbers.

Our ship was to sail on the 23d of October 18[49]. Accordingly, on the morning of that day, every thing on board was in a glorious state of confusion. Chests, bundles, bedding, etc., were strewn about the decks until the lawful owners should take charge of them.

As soon as the crew were all on board, orders were given to "man the windlass," and in a few moments the anchor was on the bow, and our last hold on American soil broken. Many an hour must pass, and many a mile of the blue wave be plowed, ere we could again drop our anchor in this port. The captain now came on board, accompanied by his wife and son, the huge sails were loosed, and we left the city of New Bedford with fine breezes and pleasant weather; many of us with gloomy forebodings, vainly endea-

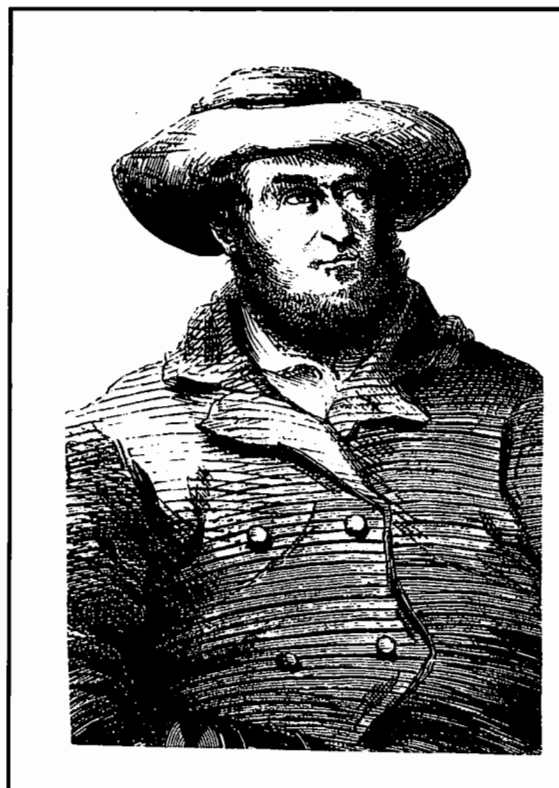
1 Ed. note: The preface of the book mentions that the story was edited from the logbooks and recollections of two young men. Therefore, John D. Jones, who calls himself the "roving printer", or arm-chair traveller, was the editor of this book.

voring to penetrate the dim veil of the future and conjecture as to whether we should be spared again to tread our native shores; again to clasp in our embrace those dear friends we all shrouded in mystery, and we could but sigh farewell, and place our trust in Him who "doeth all things well."

...
The captain and chief mate then proceeded to choose watches. On the *modus operandi* of ships' "watches" we presume a great many are conversant; but, for the benefit of those who are not, we will here relate it. The ship's company is first divided into two equal portions, called the larboard, or mate's watch, and the starboard, or captain's watch, which is commanded, or, technically speaking, "headed" by the second mate. At 8 P.M. the "watch is set," one watch remaining on deck, and the other going below until twelve. They then change, those on deck going below, and remaining until 4 A.M., when they again change for four hours more, until eight. At that time they are again changed, the watch that had "eight hours out" having the "forenoon watch below," from 8 till 12 M.; and in the afternoon the watch that had but "four hours out" the night before have the afternoon watch below, from 12 to 4 P.M. The time from 4 to 8 P.M. is divided into two short watches, called "dog-watches," for the purpose of regulating or keeping them in proper succession.

...
[After passing Cape Horn and whaling up the coasts of Chili and Peru, they went to the offshore ground and down to the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Rarotonga, before heading northward to the Gilbert Islands.]

The Chief Mate.



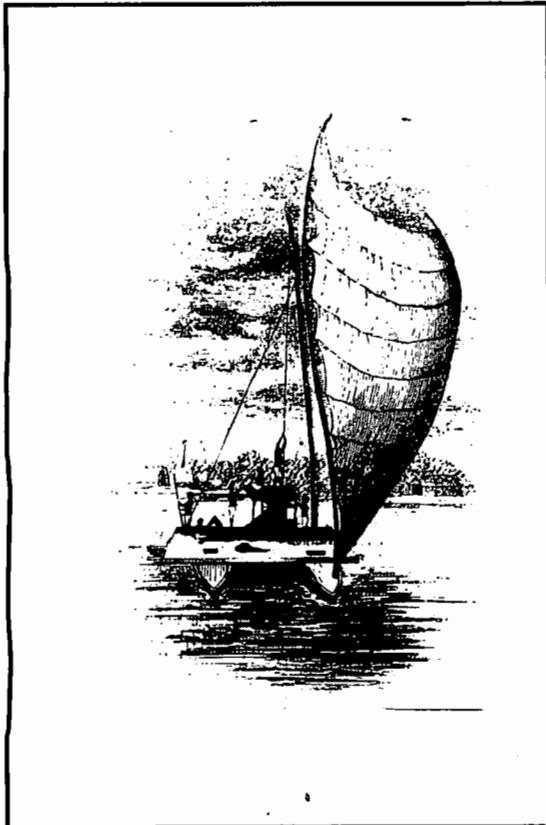
CHAPTER XIII.

Making Passage to King Mill Group.—Fourth of July.—Byron's Island.—Perote Island.—Drummond's Island.—Sydenham's Island.—Visit from the Natives.—Their Canoes.—Themselves.—Trade.—"Dittoes."—Taking of the "Triton."—A treacherous Portuguese.—A Bloody Massacre.—A just Retribution.—The Kanaka's Stratagem.—The Natives frightened.—Prisoners ashore.—A young Hero.—Hostages.—The Prisoners released.—Proceed to the Sandwich Islands.—Henderville's Island.—Woodle's Island.—Natives again.—"Tekā moi moi."—Young Cocoanuts.—Decidedly Jewish.—Easily satisfied.—Description of Natives.—The Females.—A large Fleet.—Comparisons.—Simpson's Island.—Ship "Narragansett."—Stove Boat.—Fisherman's Luck.—Experiments in Mesmerism.—Somebody "sold."

We were now making passage for the "King Mill Group" [Gilberts], which is a group of small islands greatly celebrated for being a good sperm whaling ground. Our captain had filled the same ship in which we now were on this ground but a few years before, and it was to be our principal place of cruising for a year or fourteen months, at least.

...

On Tuesday, July 23d [1850], we saw the most eastern [sic] island of the group, Byron's [Nukunau] Island, and the next day sighted Perote [Beru] Island. These islands are all coral formations, very low, are inhabited, and thickly covered with cocoanut-trees.



Sydenham [Nonouti] Island canoe.

On Saturday, the 27th, we passed Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island, and sighted Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island. From the latter the natives came off in great numbers to trade. Their canoes are strips of wood, the cocoanut, fastened with small line made from the cocoanut husk; are sharp at both ends, very narrow, and are prevented from capsizing by a long piece of wood placed parallel with the canoe and made fast to it, called the "outrigger." They have a mast, with a three-cornered mat sail, made from the leaf of the cocoanut-tree,¹ and rigged in such a manner as to admit of sailing in either direction without turning the canoe. They have them of all sizes, from the small ones carrying but one person, to the large war canoes carrying one hundred.

The natives are a wild-looking set of copper-colored beings, in a complete state of nudity, their bodies tattooed, and covered with cocoanut oil, which is their perfumery. They are of medium size, but very powerful. They are all merchants, bringing with them, to trade with ships, shells, fish, mats, cocoanuts, and a species of fruits called "dittoes." They grow in large bunches, very compact, and similar to figs packed in a bos.² On the outside of the bunch they are green; on breaking them apart, you find about two-thirds of the length, from the inner end, is of a bright golden color, and of an excellent flavor. The *currency* here, as at most of the Kanaka Islands, is tobacco and pipes, and for this they will follow a ship for miles. As it was near night, we made sail and motioned them ashore.

[The Triton Incident, Nonouti, 1847.]

At this island a few years since, the natives, led on by a Portugee, who was living among them at this time, attempted to take the ship **Triton**,³ of New Bedford, Captain Spencer. The plot was well laid and matured, and the natives went off to the ship and informed the captain, by signs, they had a fine "fluke-chain" ashore, and wanted to sell it. He asked them where they got it, when they replied, "Kiabuka broke" (ship broke), conveying the idea that a ship had been wrecked here some time previous. As the captain was desirous of obtaining a chain of this description, he immediately, without suspecting their dark and bloody designs, ordered his boat to be lowered away and manned. On arriving on shore, and before they suspected any treachery, they were seized and bound. The Portugee then, with a large number of natives, went off to the ship to trade, as they intimated. The crew, when they arrived, were mostly down below, and the third mate was asleep in one of the boats. When the natives had collected on deck in sufficient numbers, they made a rush for the "spades," which hung overhead on the quarter-deck, and, before any one was aware of what was transpiring, had possession of the deck. They killed the man at the helm, two or three foremast hands, the second mate, steward, and cook, and then proceeded to the cabin, where the mate was lying asleep.

1 Ed. note: Actually, the leaf of the pandanus, or screw-pine, tree.

2 Ed. note: Pandanus fruits, called by the Gilbertese "... " [see 1841L2].

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1847T.

He was aroused by the noise, but too late to offer any resistance; they, attacking him, cut and mangled him in a horrible manner, and left him, as they supposed, dead.

The Portugee, who led on the savages, now proceeded to the deck in order to make a finish of the bloody job, massacre the remainder of the crew, who were confined in the fore-castle, and then work the ship ashore into the breakers. The third mate, who had become aroused by the noise, but wisely kept quiet until he saw the Portugee passing abreast of him, suddenly darted a lance with such unerring aim that it was driven completely through his body, killing him instantly. The natives were greatly frightened at this, and attacked the third officer, but he managed to elude them, and escaped below. They now fired muskets, which they had taken from the cabin, already loaded, down the skylight, until they saw it was useless, when they directed their whole energies to getting the ship into the breakers. One of the crew happened to be a Kanaka, and they ordered him to the helm, and to keep the ship headed for the land, threatening him with instant death if he failed. But he was secretly determined to thwart their horrible purposes, and accordingly kept the ship headed nearly in contrary direction. As soon as the natives discovered they were leaving the land instead of approaching it, they were about to put their threat into execution; but he made them to understand that he could not steer the ship, knew nothing about it, etc.

One of the chiefs then told him to go to masthead and keep a look-out, and he would steer the ship ashore. He immediately mounted the rigging, and with the agility of a monkey was soon aloft at masthead. Not deeming it prudent to make known his purpose too soon, he waited; the ship was gradually approaching the breakers, where she would soon be more than ever in the power of these blood-thirsty cannibals. But the time has come for relief: "Sail ho!" is the cry from aloft; and the rascals are jumping overboard into the water and their canoes, and paddling for dear life to the shore, with fright depicted on every countenance. The brave Kanaka, who had by this stratagem succeeded in saving the ship, now came down on deck and released the men in the fore-castle, who, with the third mate, immediately headed the ship off shore, and, supposing the captain and his boat's crew all murdered, made all sail. The mate, who was left for dead, recovered gradually. After a long passage, they made the port of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.

The captain, together with his boat's crew, whom we left on shore bound, were, for some unknown reason, kept still alive as prisoners. The natives finally, at a council held, determined to murder them all. The arrangements were all completed. The captain was first led forth, firmly bound, and, in imitation of our North American Indians, they laid his head upon the fatal block; the executioner, with his massive war-club in readiness, awaits but the word from the chief which is to send a soul into eternity. But who is this rushing forward, and, Pocahontas-like, braving the ire of that dread chief, and proudly, firmly demanding the life of Captain Spencer and the white men with him? 'Tis the son of the chief, who, with fire in his eye and determination in every line of his features, tells them "they **must** not murder the white men; if they did, plenty America

Fire Kiabuka come, kill all Kanaka." The bravery and reasoning of the brave boy-chief prevailed, and their lives were spared, though still kept "in bounds."

After some weeks had passed a ship came to the island to trade, and, through some one of the natives, the captain ascertained the fact that Captain Spencer and his men were held prisoners. The captain and crew of the ship trading immediately seized and bound a number of the natives on board as hostages, telling the remainder that if Captain S. and his men were not instantly forthcoming, unharmed, those detained on board as hostages should swing at the yard-arm. This threat had the desired effect. Captain Spencer and his men were liberated from their cruel bondage, and kindly received by all on board. The captain proceeded to the Sandwich Islands, where he now resides; and when narrating to us the above particulars, although an *old sea-dog*, the tear would trickle down the weather-beaten cheek as he recalled to mind the fate of those who were so cruelly murdered, and his own miraculous escape.

On Wednesday, July 31st, we saw Henderville's [Aranuka] and Woodle's [Kuria] Islands. We headed for the latter, and when two or three miles from land our decks were crowded with natives, all bringing something to trade. A lively scene now presented itself, equalling any of our large trading marts, though not, perhaps, on quite as extensive a scale. Here might be seen a native offering a hat to a sailor, and each one endeavoring to get the best of the bargain; another was offering mats, another shells, and so on to the end, all for "baccy" [tobacco]. At this island we found something in the shape of molasses that we had never yet seen. It is made from the milk of the cocoanut boiled down, and called by them "teka moi moi."¹ It resembles maple molasses, both in color and flavor, more than any thing else, and was quite a treat to our ship's company, who purchased large quantities—five coconut shells filled with it for one "plug" of tobacco.

Those who have never tasted the **young** cocoanut may be excusable in eating, and drinking the milk of the miserable things called cocoanuts which are exposed for sale at our fruit-stands. But, to enjoy it in all its delicious fullness, one must eat them when they are green, and when the shell is so soft as to admit of a knife being passed through the husk and shell, as one would "plug" a melon. In this state the nut is full of the rich milk, and, on breaking them open, some are so young that no meat has yet formed; in others it is like jelly; and, as it advances in age, the milk loses its rich flavor, and the meat becomes hard and oily.

The natives of this island are shrewd customers, and drive a bargain with all the tightness of a Jew, bantering until they find they can obtain no more, and then sell. In one respect, however, comparatively speaking, they are easily satisfied. A "head" of tobacco goes a great way with them; and he is considered a rich man among them who becomes possessed of two or three "heads." They appear, also, to be much better na-

1 Ed. note: Made not from coconut milk but from coconut toddy, or *tuba*, and is called *te kamuimui* in Gilbertese.

tured and better looking than any we have yet seen; have more of that noble, manly appearance than those of Sydenham's Island. They are much larger, also, and many of them wear the "tappa" about the loins. The females are very fair-looking, with regular features, small and delicate in size and structure, and appear very graceful and sprightly. They are very cleanly, and when they come off to ships have their heads decorated with wreaths of wild flowers, and generally a bunch in each ear as a substitute for earrings. They are merry creatures, always laughing, and showing teeth of pearly whiteness, that any woman might be proud of, which are not manufactured for the occasion by a dentist. Were they white, they would create no small sensation among the belles and beaux of America; and we have seen some who have just color enough in the cheek to make them truly beautiful. In fact, it is rather a dangerous affair to be placed amid such fascinating creatures after a long cruise, and having seen none but our own ship's company. From the affectionate glances bestowed by some of our sailors upon the dark-eyed beauties, we fear they will leave their hearts behind as well as their tobacco.

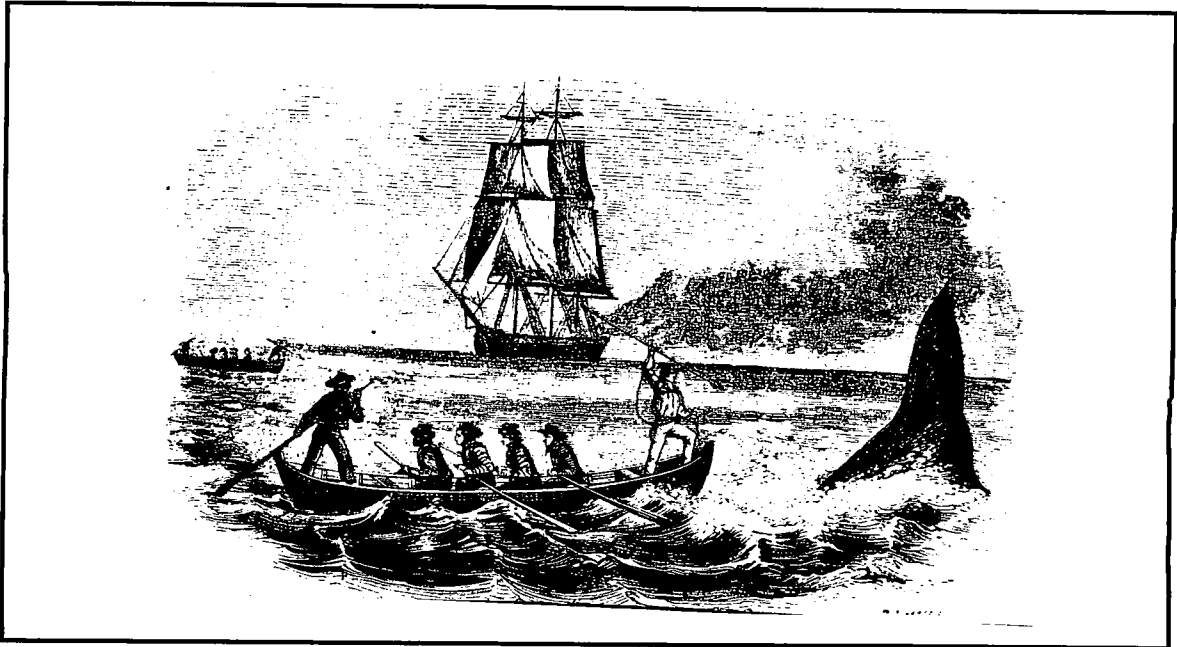
The sea between the ship and the shore was completely covered by myriads of canoes, some going ashore, and others paddling for the ship. We were thus trading about four hours, till, having procured all we desired "in their line," we bid them adieu, and turned our thoughts to whaling.

Thursday, August 8th, we again sighted Sydenham's Island, the natives coming off as usual to trade. One can not but notice the difference in the appearance of the natives of this and Woodle's Island; yet they are only sixty miles apart. Those of the latter have a noble, manly look, are smooth-skinned and good-natured, while those of the former are a sullen, inferior-looking set of beings, many of them scaly or rough-skinned. They have a regular hang-dog, villainous expression, that plainly says "plunder and murder." The females are even worse than the men, being very masculine in appearance, manners, and speech, with high cheek-bones, and mouths that would drive a hungry man crazy. They are very indolent, and seldom bring off any trade, a few fish or shells generally comprising the whole assortment.

The next island we saw was Simpson's [Abemama], but passed it without stopping. On Friday, August 16th [1850], we spoke the ship **Narragansett**, Captain Rogers, soon bound home. We enjoyed a very pleasant "gam" with them, they all feeling very happy, thinking they would so soon be homeward bound. We could but wish them joy, with a safe and quick passage home.

On the 21st, Tuesday, we lowered for whales. One of the boats succeeded in fastening to a "cow," and, after some running, sounding, etc., she began to think it "boys' play," and hoisted the boys a pretty good distance in the air. Appearing perfectly satisfied with this part of the performance, she departed for "parts unknown" with two irons and about eighteen hundred feet of line attached to her. The crew were picked up after a bath of about an hour.

The next day saw whales, and concluded to try our luck again. The waist-boat finally succeeded in fastening to a large fat cow, and all hands were chuckling over the idea of having outwitted this one, when lo, and behold! her majesty turns and bites the



“Give it to him!”

line in two as coolly as you please, and makes off. The boys returned on board, acknowledging that “there’s many a slip ’twixt the cup and the lip” in whaling as well as every thing else.

About this time Mackey and Tom W. had quite an extensive argument on mesmerism. Mackey was a great skeptic, but finally agreed to become a sound believer and disciple if Tom would mesmerize him. To all this Tom readily consented, and preparations were accordingly made with the gravity and demeanor of a regular professor of the humbug. Strict silence was imposed upon all hands; not a word was to be uttered, not even in a whisper, or the spell would be broken. Two tin pans were introduced as “mediums,” and Mackey was instructed to hold one with the bottom toward the mesmerizer, and look him steadily in the eye, while he took the other in the same manner. Tom now informed Mackey that he must do exactly as he did—go through with the same motions, etc.; to all of which he readily consented, and the manipulations commenced. Unfortunately, it *happened* that the bottom of Mackey’s pan had been *smoked* considerably, if not more, and as Tom would draw his fingers around on the bottom of his own pan (which was clean), and then over his face, Mackey would “follow suit,” and by this operation his face soon began to assume the appearance of a striped zebra. The hands were then changed, and the other side mesmerized in the same manner. After Mackey was nicely blacked, so that it was almost imposible to tell whether he most resembled an Indian painted for the war-dance or the aforesaid striped zebra, Tom said he guessed he would have to give it up; there was too much noise on deck, and his “mediums” did not work well; but asked him if he did not feel sleepy, Mackey stoutly denied being sleepy, and said he knew it was all a humbug—couldn’t

fool him; saying which he started aft for a drink of water. The watch on deck were employed mending sails, and, as Mackey rolled along, they all broke into one simultaneous roar on beholding his comical physiognomy. The mate asked him if he "was sick."

"No, sir," replied Mackey, boldly.

"Well, then, what is the matter with you? You look *very pale*."

Mackey knew hardly what to say to this, but finally replied, "One of the watch has been trying to mesmerize me, and it *might* have affected me some."

The mate told him he had better go below and turn in instantly, as he was sure *something* ailed him. This frightened Mackey, and he hastened down, got out his looking-glass, and, aall the first sight, dropped it. However, he mustered enough courage, and looked again; then at the watch, who had all assembled about him in perfect silence; then at the pan; and, after a few moments, the light broke in upon him, and he exclaimed, "Sold, by thunder!" and rushed on deck to try the virtues of salt water and oil soap, greeted with a perfect storm of laughter from the watch. It is useless to add that Mackey never after, so long as he remained with us, had any thing to say upon the science of Mesmerism.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pitt's Island.—Knox and Charlotte's Islands.—Base conduct.—Thieving.—Jack and Manuel.—Almost a "dead Nigger."—Bark "Belle."—Ship "Boy."—Wreck of the "Flying Fox."—Plundered by the Natives.—Hall's Island.—Desertion.—My Man Friday.—A wet Berth again.—Ship "Hector."—Anxiety for Letters.—A Canoe in distress.—A heart-rending Sight.—Gratitude of the Natives.—Pleasant Island.—Its Natives.—Murder of white Men.—Brig "Inga."—Thieves again.—Search-warrant issued.—Property found, Culprit tried and punished.—A heavy Squall.—Strong's Island.

We were now getting down to the more westward of the group, and on Sunday, the 25th [August 1850], saw Pitt's [Butaritari] Island. This is one of the finest-looking islands of the whole group; the land being higher, with more verdure. The next day we saw Knox's [Tarawa] Island. The natives of this and Charlotte's [Abaiang] Island are now at war, instigated, we are sorry to learn, by the base conduct of an American whaling captain, who has taken sides with one party, and who takes great pleasure in slaughtering those of the other side.

Whenever the boats are off after whales, a certain number of the ship's company remain on board to work the ship, who are called "ship-keepers." One of these ship-keepers was "Nigger Jack," whom we had shipped at Payta, [Peru]. It appears he was in the habit, at those times, of going down into the fore-castle, and pilfering whatever he saw that would strike his fancy. He also was troubled very much with a sweet tooth, and would help himself to the other men's allowance of molasses, not touching his own. This kind of work went on for some time, and, as the men could prove nothing, they kept quiet, and waited, Micawber-like, for something to "turn up." The opportunity soon came. The boats were all off after whales, and our Spanish darkey was, as usual, spending his time below, when one of the other ship-keepers, going into the fore-castle, caught him in the very act of helping himself to molasses from the allowance of Portuguese Manuel. He said nothing to him, however, but waited until the men returned for the opportunity of "opening the ball." It so happened that, on this occasion, the men were down all day, from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., with little or no food, and came on board, without having fastened, nearly exhausted with pulling, hungry as bears, and in none of the best of humors. Supper was sent down, and Manuel went to his keg to get some molasses for his "duff," but in his surprise, found it empty! His Gee blood was up in an instant, and he sang out, "What man been takey my molass?" Some one replied, "Nigger Jack;" and, before the darkey could contradict it, the heavy molasses keg struck him, bim! full in the face. The blood flew on all sides, and he ran for the deck, and, fully believing that he was about to "kick the bucket," commenced chanting the Pater noster, occasionally interspersing it with exclamations of "Muerto! muerto!" signifying "Killed! killed!" in a most pitiful tone. But he was suddenly interrupted by an order from aft to present himself. He crawled off, and, after a long time, succeeded in making the captain understand what the difficulty was. Manuel was now sent for, who sputtered out his side of the story, in half English and half Portuguese, to the no small amusement of the captain and officers, and appeals to the person who saw the theft committed. The old man reprimanded Manuel for throwing molasses kegs, and told

the Spaniard [sic] that if the men caught him stealing again, they would, in all probability, kill him outright, and sent him off about his business. There is nothing so much despised on board ship as these petty thefts, and he who commits them generally leads a hard life.

We here saw the bark **Belle**, of Fairhaven, Captain Handy. This vessel was engaged in trading at the different islands for cocoanut oil, which was sold in Sydney, New South Wales.

On Thursday, September 26th, we picked up part of a ship's topmast, and, on sighting Sydenham's Island, discovered the hull of a vessel fast ashore on the reef, with her lower masts standing. Our captain intended to take a boat and ascertain something in regard to this ill-fated vessel, but the wind died away before we approached within a proper distance, and the current soon drifted us far away.

The next day we spoke the **Boy**, of Warren, Captain Luce. From him we ascertained the vessel ashore at Sydenham's to be the bark **Flying Fox**, of Hobarton, Van Diemen's Land, Captain Brown, who, with his lady, and several of the officers and crew, were on board the **Boy**. It appears, by the captain's statement, that on the morning of the 25th they were sailing along with a fine breeze, all sail set, when they were suddenly startled by the ship striking a reef which projected two or three miles from the island, and was not laid down on the charts. The topmasts were all carried away by the shock; the ship was fast on the reef; and, had there been a heavy swell, she would have gone to pieces immediately. As all hopes of saving the ship were at an end, on seeing their situation they took to their boats as soon as possible. Already were the decks crowded with natives, who had begun the work of plunder, helping themselves to whatever they wished. They obtained possession of the spaes, and were ready and willing to fight, if necessary. The captain had to work very cautiously to get his wife into the boat without being seen by the natives; and, closely veiled, she was placed in the boat, choosing the mercy of the winds and waves rather than that of a barbarous set of cannibals, in whose hands she would have suffered worse than death.

The next day, the boat containing the captain and lady, with some of the crew, were picked up by the **Boy**. The remainder of the crew, it was supposed, had gone to Woodle's [Kuria] or Simpson's [Abemama] Island. The captain of the **Boy**, on learning the particulars of the sad accident, proceeded immediately to the wreck; but the natives had not been idle; they had carried off every thing of value, and that which they valued not had been destroyed by them. The water and oil casks had been stove for the sake of the iron hoops which bound them.

On Thursday, October 3d, we traded with the natives of Hall's [Maiana] Island. Cocoanut oil is the principal trade brought off here. The natives on the islands north of the equator look much better than those of the same group situated south of it.

We were now getting short of water, and the captain determined to land a raft of casks at Pitt's [Butaritari] Island, leave them for the natives to fill, and return for them in a few days. Accordingly, on the 16th, we sent a raft ashore, three boats towing it. We had now been out of port nearly seven months, and most of the crew were becoming

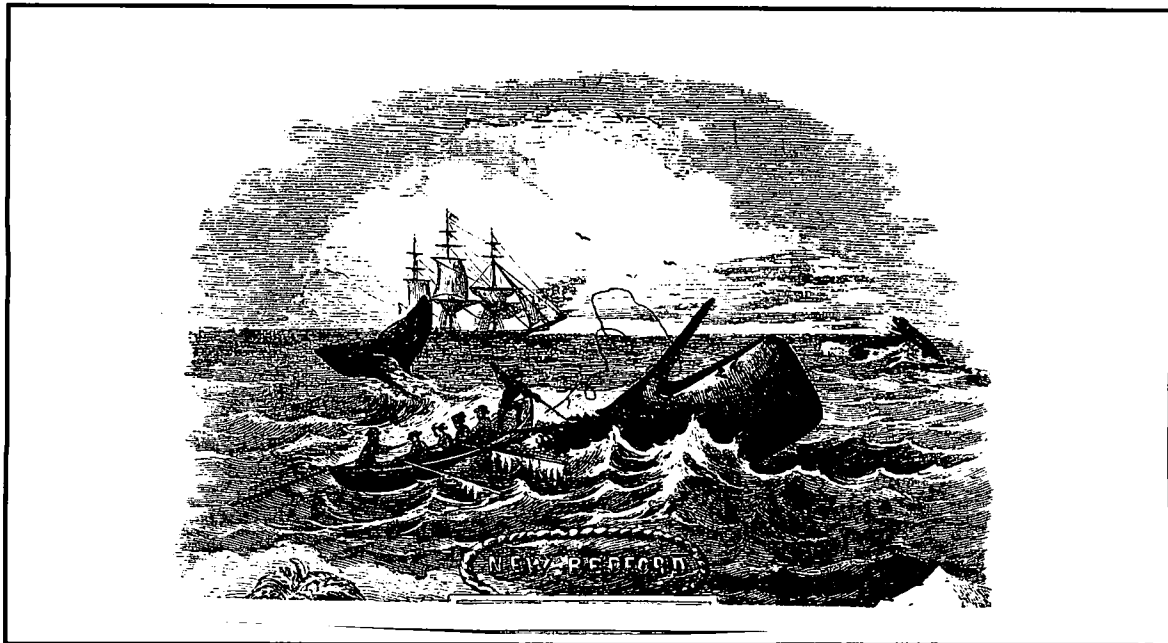
discontented—though it was about time they had a run ashore, etc.; and some of them expressed the determination to have it, if the opportunity offered, at Pitt's Island. The officers having charge of the boats were ordered not to land, but to deliver the raft to the natives and return immediately to the ship. The third mate, however, who was one for the disaffected, instead of doing this, pulled close in shore, and told his men, if they wished, they could go; he should not hinder them. Two of them immediately jumped out of the boat and went ashore; the boats returned to the ship; and the captain and third mate had some rather plain conversation in regard to the affair. It ended, however, in the old man's leaving a reward for them, and we made sail.

We took from this island a noble-looking, fine-built native, who is a chief of some importance; but he wished to try his hand at whaling, as near as we could understand by his signs, for he could speak but little English. The captain bestowed upon him the name of Friday, which suited him just as well as any other. He soon became a general favorite with all hands, was very good-natured, quick to learn, as spry as a cat, and as strong as a giant.

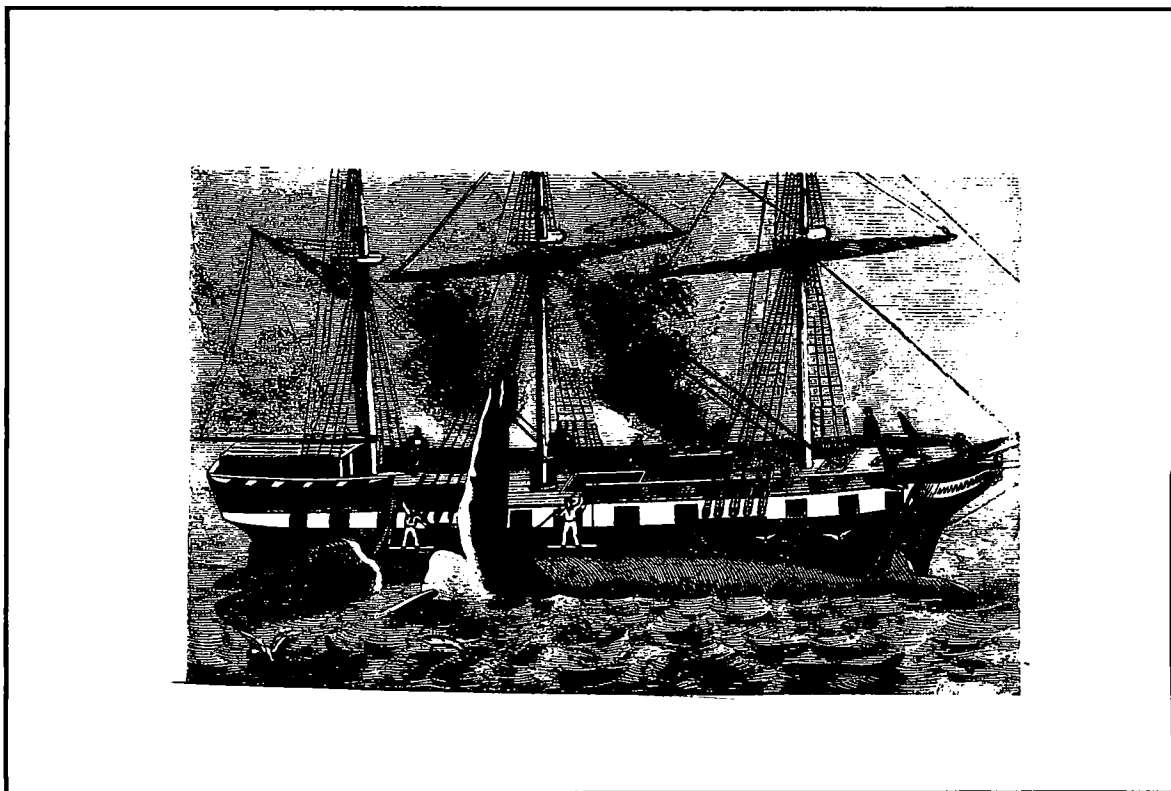
We visited the island again on Tuesday, the 22d, for our raft of water. We there learned that the two deserters had sailed in the bark **Belle** for Sydney, the day previous.

An amusing little incident, common to whaling, but still enough of interest to make it worth relating, occurred on Saturday, 16th of November. The waist-boat had fastened to a cow whale, and was going along very smoothly, when she suddenly sounded, and, by some means, drew the bow of the boat down with her sufficient to "end it over," and spill out the whole crew very unexpectedly. It happened that two of the men were unable to swim, and, strange as it may appear, they were the first to scramble on to the bottom of the boat (which was upset), and that without *wetting a hair on their head*; and so anxious were they to *keep dry*, that they kept the boat rolling over and over, they meanwhile scrambling in the most ludicrous manner. After a little time, and partly by the threats of the second mate and their own fears, they became quiet, and remained so until they were picked up. The whale was killed by one of the other boats, and was soon cut in and tried out.

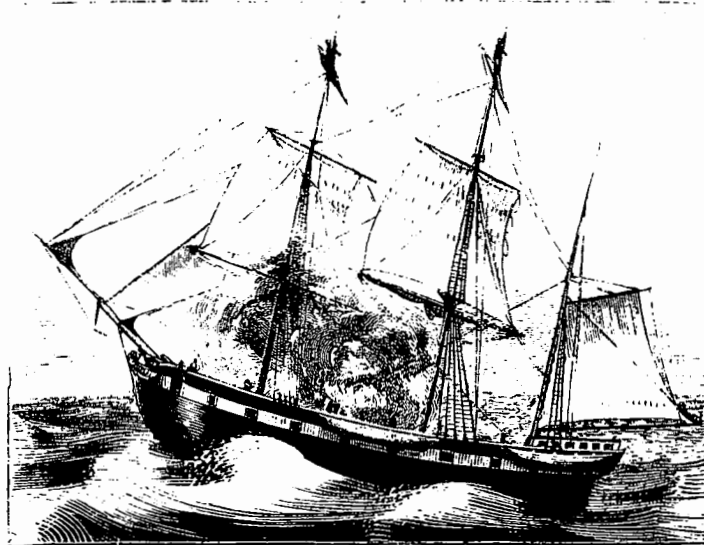
Monday, November 18th, was a very clear and calm day, not a breath of air stirring, and "old Jamaica" coming down with a vengeance. At daylight the look-out from mast-head raised a sail a long distance off. About 1 P.M., "Boat ho!" was the cry, and it proved to be a boat pulling to us from the ship in the distance. About 3 they came alongside, and reported themselves to be from the ship **Hector**, of New Bedford, Captain Smith. They had pulled about sixteen miles, under the scorching sun of the equator, with not a breath of air stirring, merely to ascertain if we had letters for them. They were about three years out, and had heard that we were on the cruising-ground, and on raising us that morning hoped it might prove to be the **Emily Morgan**; and such was their anxiety for letters from their friends at home that they gladly pulled this long distance. We were glad that their labor met with its reward, for they received a large package, and soon forgot their fatigue amid the excitement incident to receiving news after



Catching a sperm whale.



"Cutting in."



“Trying out.”

so long an absence. About 5 P.M. a light breeze sprang up, and they left us in high spirits.

As we were cruising along on Wednesday, November 19th, with no land in sight, we saw a large canoe, which appeared at the mercy of winds and waves. We immediately bore down to it, and found that it contained twenty-two natives in a starving condition. We lowered a boat, towed them to the ship, and found them so much reduced as to be hardly able to speak, and could get them in on deck only by slinging them in a “Boatswain’s chair” and hoisting them in. The canoe was cut adrift after taking out and sinking the dead body of a boy, apparently about fourteen, which it contained. Some of them presented a wretched and distressing appearance; they were nothing but skin and bones, and scarcely that. In several cases the skin on the joints was broken, and the bones had worked through. We went to work and cleared out the “Blubber-room,” and by spreading mats around made it very comfortable for them. Their constant cry was “Ki ki” (eat).¹ We prepared some farina, and fed them cautiously; but they acted

¹ Ed. note: The Gilbertese word for ‘food, to eat’ is *Kana*, not *Kiki*. Perhaps they were saying *ni ni*, good, good (Doc. 1841L2).

more like a pack of ravenous wolves than like human beings. By the aid of Friday, our Pitt's Island native, we learned the following particulars: They left their island (Charlotte's [Abaiang]) for another on account of the war raging there, but lost their reckoning, and the current, which sets very strongly to the northwest, swept them off. They had been so drifting for six weeks, and during that time had no food except a shark, which they captured. Four of their number had died, two men and two children. Seven of them were females, two of whom had nursing infants. The poor creatures would fall into a short slumber, and awake crying for food. It was truly a heart-rending sight, but we felt assured every thing that could be done had been done to render them comfortable. They endeavored, too, to express their heartfelt gratitude to us by signs, and would cry, "Mortakee kiabuka" (good ship).¹ As we were near Pleasant [Nauru] Island, the captain determined to land them there.

Accordingly, we sighted it on the morning of Friday, the 21st. About 9 A.M. canoes began to flock off to us in great numbers, and the natives whom we had picked up were sent ashore in them. They had so far regained their strength as to be able to move about quite briskly. The chief addressed the captain in his own language, which was translated by Friday as far as lay in his power, to the effect that they were very grateful to the captain and all hands for the kind treatment they had received; and as the poor grateful beings shook hands with us on passing over the gangway, tears of gratitude trickled down their tawny cheeks. They were placed in the canoes, waved their hands feebly, and started for the shore.

Pleasant Island is a very beautiful island, and well does it deserve its name, if we say nothing of its inhabitants. It is moderately high, and more thickly covered with verdure than any island of the group. The natives are the most finely-built of any we have yet seen—large, athletic, and ferocious-appearing, presenting quite a contrast to some of the diminutive natives of the Windward Islands.² They speak a different language, also, from that of the natives of the other islands, though but a few degrees apart. They appear far superior to them in shrewdness and cunning, it being much harder to drive a trade with them. The females are very small, very good-looking, and some of them quite handsome, several shades lighter than the men, and much lighter than those of the other islands. We bought quite a number of fowl, and some hogs of the regular *racer* breed, Berkshires not having been introduced here.

A white man came off from this island, and wished the captain to ship him, as he was afraid to remain on shore. He reported that, the day before, five white men had been murdered by the natives. A part of them were from the ill-fated **Flying Fox**. It appears that they had landed at this island perfectly destitute, and some of the white men residing there, fearing the chiefs would take them under their protection and allow them to remain, thereby diminishing their chances of trade with ships, persuaded the leading chiefs that they came there for the purpose of taking the island and poisoning

1 Ed. note: Perhaps *matay kaibuke*, or *wa-ni-matay kiabuke*, good foreign ship.

2 Ed. note: The Southern Gilbert Islands.

all the Kanakas. They are so superstitious that, no matter how absurd the story, they believe the white man capable of doing any thing. At the instigation of these rascally "beach-combers" residing on the island, the poor fellows were butchered in a manner too horrible to relate. This man informed us that his life had been repeatedly threatened, and, had not he had the influence of one of the highest chiefs on the island, he would have shared the same horrid fate as the others. The captain informed him he could go with us, at which he was greatly rejoiced.

We spoke the brig *Inga* of New Bedford, Captain Barnes, on Sunday, the 24th. We had here an opportunity of sending letters home via Sydney, New South Wales, as she was bound there with a cargo of cocoanut oil. Captain B. reported that, a few days previous, his steward and seven of his crew took a boat in the night-time and deserted. The steward stole about three hundred dollars from the captain's state-room, a sextant, quadrant, and charts; the crew took provisions and water. He supposed they had gone to some of the Windward Islands.¹

Our "Spanish Jack" has got himself in trouble again. For several weeks complaints had been made by nearly all of the crew that their tobacco was disappearing very fast and very mysteriously. From the fact that Jack never bought any, had but little when he came on board, and was continually smoking, he was strongly suspected. One fine morning the captain ordered the mate to go forward and search the Spaniard's chest. Accordingly, the chest was hauled out and opened. It was well filled with clothing, all new, that he had bought and never worn, which he was keeping, he said, to wear ashore. On looking *deeper*, several knives were found, which were claimed by some of the crew, and various small articles, which he had pilfered at different times from different persons. Finally, the mate found a large quantity of tobacco, and a tin box belonging to the captain's son, which he had taken from the binnacle while at the helm. The guilty Spaniard was brought aft, seized by his wrists to the mizzen rigging, his back bared, and a slight dose of "hemp-tea" administered, said to be a very excellent remedy for the disease which troubled Jack so much, viz., sticky fingers. He called on all the saints in the calendar to come to his assistance, but they very politely refused, as it is believed they did not *strongly* object to the medicine being administered. It had one good effect, to say the least; it made him *promise* that he would never steal again while on board the ship, no matter how small the value of the article. And, in justice to him, we will say that he kept his promise, not from want of a *desire* to steal, but from *fear of punishment*.

The idea of flogging a human being is certainly shocking, and the poor fellow who receives it generally has the pity and sympathies of his shipmates; but in this case all hands felt that the culprit got no more than his deserts, for the true sailor *despises* a thief. The sailor is proverbially charitable; he will see a shipmate want for nothing so

1 Ed. note: The *Inga* was to come to an untimely end two years later, also at Nauru, when she was cut off by natives, the crew all killed, and the ship abandoned.

long as he can supply that want, even to dividing his last crust; and it is not given grudgingly, but with his whole heart.

We were now making the passage to Strong's [Kosrae] Island, and, on the night of Friday, December 8th [1850], were struck with a severe squall, laying the ship almost on her beam ends. All hands were called to take in sail, but, before the men could get on deck, away went main-sail, fore-topsail, and jib. Whew! how the wind whistled and howled! It was impossible for the captain to make himself understood amid the deafening roar of the winds; and the waves, madly pitching and tossing the ship to and fro, seemed to wish to engulf her in their bosom. It was grand, yet terrible. By dint of hard labor we succeeded finally in reducing the sail, so that she rode easy through the night, the gale continuing with almost unabated fury.

The next day a tremendous whirlwind passed astern of us about a mile, and it was through the mercy of God alone that we escaped it. The gale continued, with more or less rain, until Wednesday, December 11th, when Strong's Island hove in sight, distant about eighty miles.

CHAPTER XV.

Strong's Island.—King.—Canker.—Dress.—Chiefs.—Description of the Island.—Large Island.—Small Island.—Productions.—Wild Game.—Canals.—Stone Walls.—Who built them?—Ruins.—Suppositions.—A Rebellion.—Customs.—Queen.—Princes and Princesses.—Sekane.—Cæsar.—Natives.—Females.—“Strong's Island Trowsers.”—Employments.—Houses.—Marriages.—Sports.—Canoes.—Carva.—Banyan-tree.—Religion.—“Blueskin.”—Traditions.—Priests.—Rites and Ceremonies.—Funeral Ceremonies.—Rotumah Tom.—Food of the Natives.—Blueskin and his Procession.—Friday's Opinion.—The Feast.—“Very good,” but think we won't indulge.—Choose our “Hotel.”—An unpleasant Surprise.—“Planter.”—Mutiny and its Consequences.—Desertion.—One kind of Navigation.—A Stroll to Large Island.—Friday and the Taboo.—Incidents in Port.—Weighed Anchor.—“Mary Frazier.”—Death and Burial of Mr. S.—A few random Thoughts.

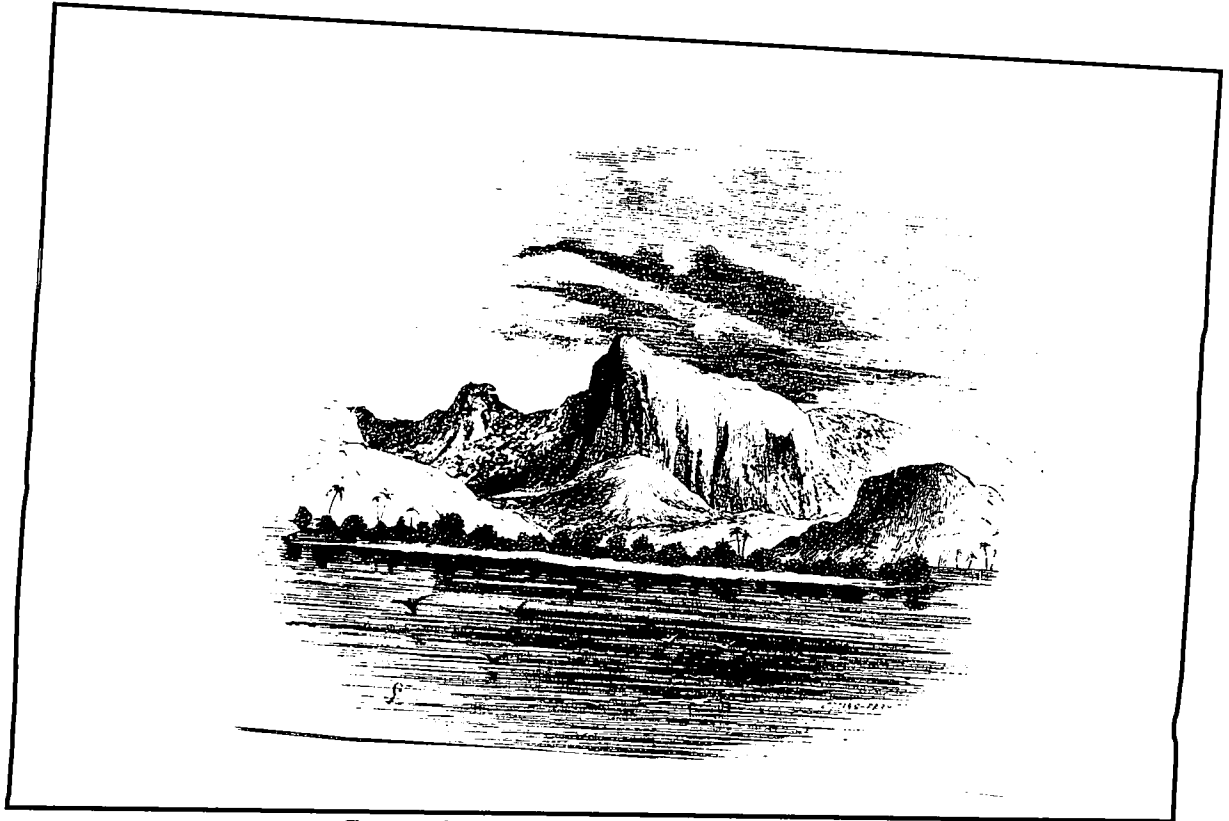
For nine long and weary months had the **Emily** been from port. During this time but few of the ship's company had put foot upon land, and glad indeed were we when Strong's Island hove in sight. We were experiencing heavy weather, but on Thursday, December 12th [1850], the wind gradually grew less boisterous, and as we neared the land, steering for the passage, died away, leaving us at its mouth in a dead calm; but we down boats, and every man “pulled with a will,” and soon towed the old ship in, and at 7 P.M. we once more dropped anchor, weary with labor, but refreshed at the sight of the land, and the prospect of “stretching our legs” on shore once more.

His majesty King Tocasaw [Tocsa, or Tocusa], *alias* King George, accompanied by his eldest son, the Canker, heir-apparent to the throne, and some of the most distinguished chiefs, came off to visit us and welcome us to their island. King George is a fine, intelligent-looking native oa about fifty. His court dress, which is only worn on *great* occasions like the present, consists of—a red woolen shirt! Canker has the appearance of a shrewd, unscrupulous fellow, with a most rascally expression of countenance. He is second in command to the king, Cæsar, the king's brother, is also an intelligent-looking chief, and appears to be full and running over with fun. We were much surprised to find them speaking such good English.

The next mornng, on looking about us, we found ourselves in a most beautiful harbor, completely shut in from the sea, lying about fifty yards from the shore. The beach is entirely covered with cocoanut-trees, and the mountains, rising with a gradual slope, expose to view the brilliant foliage of the bread-fruit and mangrove trees.

This island is entirely surrounded by a reef, varying from a few rods to half a mile from the shore. Through the reef Nature has left an opening of about fifty fathoms, or one hundred yards, which admits of the passage of ships of the largest size. The main island is some thirty miles in circumference, and on the north side the shore forms a deep lagoon. Immediately in front of this lagoon is the “small island,” which extends from one extreme point of the bay to the other, being separated on the westerly side from the large island by a few hundred feet of shallow water, of not sufficient depth to admit the passage of a craft of any size, and this is bordered by the reef. On the easterly side of the small island is the passage.

The highest peak of the large island is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The king and most of the high chiefs reside on the small island, with many of their



Strong's, or Kosrae, Island.

tribes, forming quite a settlement. We called at the palace to pay our respects to his majesty. He appeared very pleasant and kind to us, and, after presenting us to the queen and two princesses present, set before us such fruit as the island produces. The bananas that grow here are certainly the most delicious we ever tasted, being very small, and are called "sugar bananas." The productions of this island are the cocoanut, bread-fruit, banana, mummy apples, dittoes, plantains, *fayees* (a coarse species of banana),¹ oranges, yams, and tarra. The bread-fruit serves as their principal food. It is rendered very palatable by being split open and baked, and tastes very good to us, after having lived on hard bread, "duff," and "salt-house" for nine months. From the tree they manufacture all their ordinary utensils and canoes. The island abounds in game, wild pigeons and wild hogs forming the principal part.

After partaking heartily of the fruit the king had set before us, we left, promising to call and see him often during our stay, as he gave us a cordial invitation to do so. We then proceeded to call upon some of the chiefs. On rambling over the small island we found numerous canals cut through in all directions, which at low tide would be nothing but small streams, but at high tide of sufficient depth to float the largest canoes.

¹ Ed. note: Probably the type called *fisi* nowadays. The original text has it written 'layees', but this is a misprint for 'fayees', as written below.

These canals, as well as some of the roads, are walled up from fifteen to thirty feet high. They are well built, and range from six to nine feet in thickness. We noticed many large stones, which would weigh several tons, placed in the wall some distance from the ground. There is something very mysterious about these walls and canals. As the natives know nothing about them, they say the Evil Spirit built them; and one of the most intelligent chiefs on the island informed us that the oldest records or traditions they have give no account of them whatever.

We also came in contact with what appeared to be the ruins of a large building. It was surrounded by a stone wall, six or eight feet high, on all four sides, with but one entrance, which was by stone steps. We then came to a second wall, somewhat smaller, but similar to the first; and, on ascending a few more steps, came to a level place paved with large flat stones. In the centre were two square deep pits, from eighteen to twenty feet deep, walled up with stone. The natives know nothing concerning this pile of ruins, and only answer your questions with the English word "Devil." We think there is no doubt but that this island has once been the stronghold of a band of pirates, as every thing about it would seem to indicate. The admirable situation, beautiful and snug harbor, with but a small entrance, in which a vessel might easily be completely shut out from view at sea; the mild and salubrious climate—all these combined would render it a desirable rendez-vous. This supposition is not improbable, as it is well known that the Pacific, years ago, was infested by herds of Chinese and Malay pirates, and these very natives bear a strong resemblance to the Malays.¹

About twenty-five or thirty years ago the island was governed by a king, who, from the accounts given by the chiefs, must have been a perfect tyrant; and during his reign two or three ships were taken and plundered, and all hands massacred. This tyranny had the effect of creating a rebellion, which was headed by Tocasaw, the present king.² After a severe struggle the rebels came off victorious, and Tocasaw was crowned "King George." He is very mild in his rule, and appears to seek the welfare of his subjects, who love him much. They are under complete subjection, however, and whenever in the presence of the king or chiefs, whether in the roads or houses, they immediately stoop low, and remain in this posture until he passes or bids them go about their business. The chiefs pay the same homage to the king as the natives. Even his own children crouch down in his presence, and bend their heads like so many whipped spaniels.

The queen is a small, shriveled-up old lady, and looks as though a good strong nor-wester would blow her away. She is a very greedy creature, and just as vicious withal, and is thoroughly detested by those who are so situated that they can speak their mind freely, without fear or favor.

1 Ed. note: There is absolutely no historical evidence to support such a hypothesis.

2 Ed. note: Tokusa, now written *tohkohsrah* is the title, not the name the man had when the island was first visited by the French, at the time he was about 25 years old. His individual name was supposedly Awane Lupulik. He did depose the former king in 1837, or 1838. However, the cutting off of whaling ships had taken place during his own reign, with his tacit approval.

They have six children; the eldest son, Canker, as we have already remarked, is next in rank to the king. He is about twenty-six years of age, and is reported to be a perfect villain, yet is very kind to the natives under him. He is a shrewd fellow to trade, and is always begging from the sailors. The second son, Aleck, is a young man about nineteen, and is a remarkably intelligent native. He is universally beloved by all, both chiefs and natives. He speaks better English than any native on the island, and appears to have a strong desire to know "all 'bout 'Merick." Although so young, he is the father of three fine children, two noble boys and a girl; and his wife is a very kind, good-natured creature. He resides on the north side of the island, and has a beautiful place. The other children of the king are young, two daughters and two sons. Even these children command the same respect from the common natives as the chiefs, yet they play with them in common.

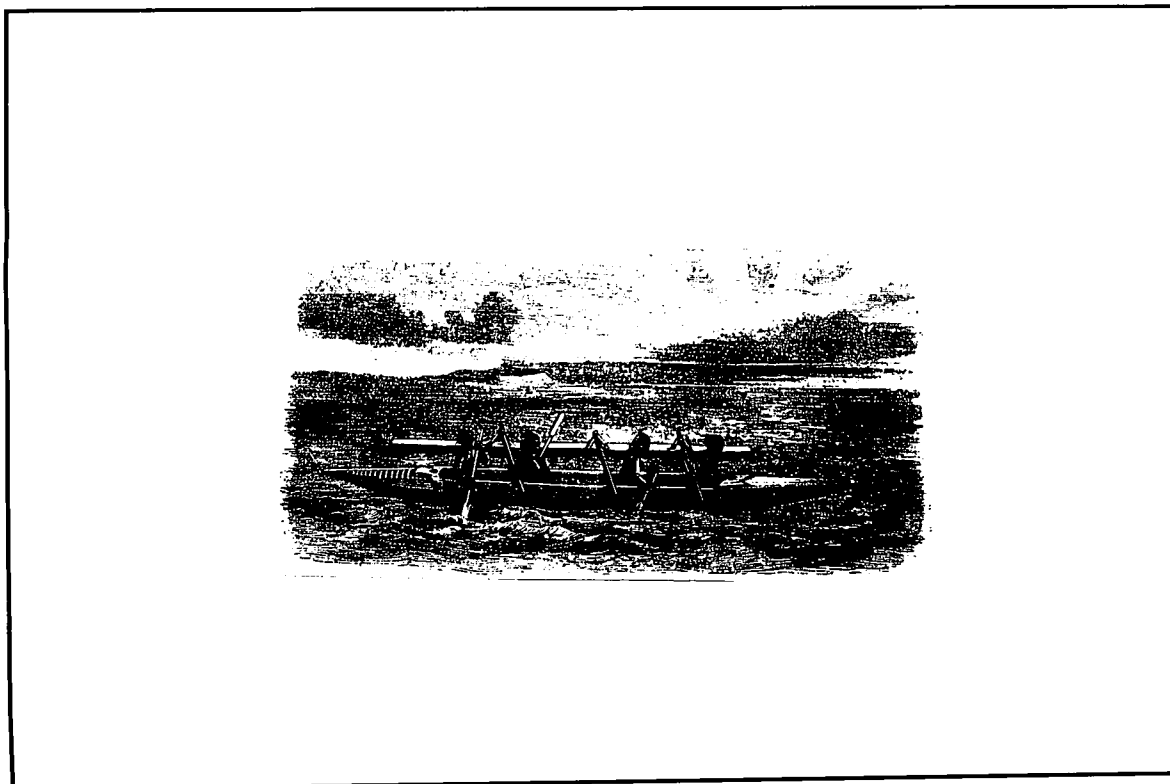
The first, or war-chief, is Sekane, who is the king's half-brother. He also is a very intelligent native, very active, and is considered the king's prime minister and counselor. Next comes Cæsar, who is also half-brother to the king—a large, noble-looking native. He is the grand executioner, and when any poor native has violated a law, the punishment of which is death, he officiates. There are two or three other high chiefs, possessed of no remarkable traits.

The natives are rather diminutive in stature, but active when occasion requires. They live in great simplicity. The females are remarkably good-looking; but, owing to their practice of *squatting* to their work, and remaining in that posture most of the time, are very awkward in walking. Their ears are bored when quite young, and the hole is made larger by inserting in it a roll of leaves, which causes it to enlarge as they advance in years. They generally have them fitted with a bunch of flowers, of which they are passionately fond. Many of them have their noses pierced, and flowers inserted therein. They are generally employed making *tappas*, or, as they call them in English, "Strong's Island trowsers," for the chiefs to whom they belong. Tappa is manufactured from the fibres of the banana-tree, colored with different barks to suit their taste, and woven, by means of a small but ingenious loom, into bands of four or five feet in length, and eight or ten inches in width, with the different colors very ingeniously and beautifully intermixed. The body and principal part of the tappa is black, and comprises all the dress worn by the men or women, from the king down. Sometimes, however, the king and chiefs indulge in the luxury of a calico shirt; but the "court dress," the red woolen shirt, is only worn on *great* occasions. The females, also, will sometimes sport a *gingham shirt*, if they are lucky enough to be presented with one by the chief to whom they belong. Their *crinoline*, however, is not very extensive.

The men are employed cutting wood for their respective chiefs, building houses, making canoes, gathering fruit, etc. Their food consists principally of fish, bread-fruit, *fayees*, coconuts, and other fruit. The fish are generally eaten raw, and smell rather *high* before they use them.



Kosraean houses.



Kosraean canoe.

Their houses are built of bamboo, thatched with cocoanut leaves. The king's house is very large, being fifty or sixty feet high, and about forty feet square. Some of the chiefs have also very large, roomy houses. The common ones for the natives are from thirty to forty feet high, and about twenty feet square. They are kept very neat. In the centre of the house is a square stone fire-place. The king and chiefs have large cook-houses, where all the cooking of the different tribes is done, and each family is served once a day. Each chief has from fifty to two hundred natives under him, including men, women, and children.

No-one of the natives is allowed more than one wife, and when the marriage ceremony is performed (which is done by the king for the chiefs, and by the chiefs for the common natives), the girl is "given away" by the one who officiates, and is then *ta-booed*. The penalty of breaking the taboo is death; therefore, there is not much fear but that she will remain faithful to her husband.

Each chief is allowed a certain portion of land, which is cultivated by the natives under him. The produce is taken to the king, who retains a portion for himself and ships, if any are in the harbor, and the remaining portion is distributed to the chiefs for their tribes.

Their sports consist of songs, dances, and feasts. They do not appear to be a very warlike people, as they have no weapons of any account, and but four or five war-canoes. These are about sixty feet long and three wide. They are supplied with large outriggers to prevent their capsizing, and will carry from sixty to seventy natives. They are built very true and sharp, the bow and stern considerably elevated, and are fancifully decorated with shells and other ornaments. The smaller canoes are generally bread-fruit tree logs shaped properly, and burned and dug out. They build them of all sizes, from those that will carry but a single person to larger ones that will carry twenty. It is indeed surprising to see with what dexterity they manage them.

On this island is a root, which grows wild, called "carva."¹ They pound this root, extract the juice by squeezing it in their hands into cocoanut-shells, and then drink it. By taking a sufficient quantity, it operates very similarly to opium, causing a sleepy intoxication. It tastes very much like the extract of sarsaparilla root. This is a great article with them, and, on calling from house to house, you are first presented with a shell of carva. There are those on the island who have used it so much that they resemble in appearance the worst class of opium-eaters.

There is a tree here which is a great curiosity, being a species of the banyan-tree of India. Its branches, bending to the ground and taking root, make beautiful shady groves, and pleasant retreats from the sultriness of the scorching sun.

In the matter of religion the natives have a singular belief. Their deity, whom they call "Blueskin," was thus described to us by Aleck: "All the same white gal, only he got wing all the same pigeon," which is as near a description of an angel as we could have

1 Ed. note: Not locally (the local word is *suhka*), but a reference to the Polynesian word "kava," even then used in English as well.

given him. They say, "If a man be good, he go there," pointing to the sky; "s'pose he no good, he stop here," pointing to the earth. It is certainly very singular where or from whence they received these ideas; nevertheless, they sincerely believe them. They have no regular places of worship, neither have they any prescribed form. Some years since a famine visited the island, and swept off many of the inhabitants. According to their traditions, a great quantity of eels, which had never before been seen by them, suddenly made their appearance, and prevented them from entirely perishing with hunger. They have now great veneration for these eels, and they are tabooed, as they believe Blueskin sent them; and, although the waters abound with them, they will neither harm them nor suffer them to be harmed, if in their power to prevent it.

They also believe in evil spirits. Once per year, or oftener, if any thing remarkable transpires, the high priest is followed by his train of natives, carefully and plentifully oiled with cocoanut oil, wreathed with flowers, and each one carrying fruit of some description to appease the angry spirit, while the priest blows away upon a large conch-shell, making a most hideous noise, to which is added a continual wail by his train, which sounds truly mournful. They go along the beach, and to each chief's house, taking what has been collected as an offering to Blueskin, generally consisting of pure white tappas and the general productions of the island. These articles are deposited by the priest in a house, tabooed to all but himself, on the mountain, and are left there for Blueskin to take whenever he chooses. The priest only enters this place once a year, or when the island appears to be threatened with some dire calamity. At such times he goes in and has a *talk* with Blueskin.

On the death of any person, all the friends and relatives meet at the house of the diseased, where they join in singing, wailing, screeching, and weeping for about twenty-four hours, after which the body is buried with much solemnity, with the head to the west. We inquired the reason of this, and were answered, "Very good; 'nother day's sun he come all right." The articles most highly prized by the deceased while living are always buried with them. A small fence is erected around the tomb of a native, and the friends every morning carry fruits and flowers, and place them on the grave, for they believe the spirits of the dead linger for a time upon the earth before departing for the skies. If the deceased is a chief or a member of the royal family, a house is erected over the grave, and all the chiefs on the island remove to the place, build small houses, and remain there for three months, the usual term of mourning, during which time they present offerings very bountifully, and with a great deal of state. After the ceremony of offering the fruit every morning, the nearest related chief makes a feast, and all the chiefs gather and eat, and drink carva. The females are excluded from these and all other public feasts. The women belonging to the departed chief have their heads shaved, and present a most comical appearance; also all the relatives cut their hair short.

One Saturday evening a native from the island of Rotumah, called Rotumah Tom, came on board with a large number of fine pigeons for our Sunday dinner, which we found very fat, and fine eating. We received a present of a mess of flying-fish also, on Sunday morning, from the king, which were caught the previous night. He is very kind

to us, sending bread-fruit, smoking hot, every meal, for all hands, and other food which the island produces. A favorite dish with them is "poey," and is prepared as follows: They bake a quantity of tarra (which is something like our potato),¹ and then pound it on a large flat stone, mix in some roasted bananas, and, after working it sufficiently, grate up the meat of old cocoanuts, and, inclosing the gratings in leaves, by squeezing extract the white milky substance, and cover the poey in such a manner as to resemble frosting. Some of the poey is made from the banana and bread-fruit, and is truly excellent. After it is prepared it is placed on large banana leaves, and is then ready for consumption.

We were fortunate in being at the island at this time, as Monday, December 16th, was the day for the annual visit of the high priest of Blueskin, with his train, and we had an opportunity of witnessing the whole affair. The occasion was one of great excitement among the natives, they looking upon the proceedings with a great deal of solemnity and awe. Our crew were all ashore, and appeared to be highly amused, nearly all going to the opposite side of the small island from the harbor to meet "Blueskin" and his train as they arrived from the large island. When we expressed to some of them our intention of joining the procession, they exclaimed, almost horror-stricken, "What for? 'spose you do all the same, Blueskin he strike; kill 'em very quick!" Nevertheless, some ten or twelve of our men did join the procession, and "howled" in the most scientific manner possible, to assist in driving the evil spirits from the island, without interruption from Blueskin. Yet we imagine the high priest thought if there were any greater "evil spirits" than some of the **Emily Morgan's** men, it was high time they were driven off. After making the tour of the island, and consigning every thing evil to the spirits of the deep, the priest proceeded to the house of young Aleck, and, after many ceremonies, gave him a new name, "Zegrah,"² which is considered a great honor, and raises his rank a peg or two.

Our Pitt's Island native, Friday, could hardly suppress his astonishment and laughter during the whole proceeding, and, on our asking him his opinion of the show, exclaimed, "What for all the same? All the same Kanaka pool!" We proceeded to the house of Cæsar, where a feast was to be held after the ceremonies at Zegrah's, as we will now call him. We had received an invitation the day before, so that we felt ourselves "perfectly at home" among the "nobility." On arriving, we found his large cook-house filled with natives, who were waiting for the ceremonies to commence. Cæsar was seated on a mat in one corner, with some of his petty chiefs about him. He very kindly offered us seats at his right on the mat, and we accordingly "squatted." He asked us, "You been see Blueskin?" and on our replying in the affirmative, he wished to know how we liked him. We gave him our opinion in as few words as possible, and expressed ourselves as being highly pleased with the performances. He laughed heartily, and ap-

1 Ed. note: Here again, the Polynesian words *poi* and *taro* are used, instead of the Kosraean words, possibly *fahfah*, and *pahsruhk* respectively, but there are many other varieties, and words.

2 Ed. note: Now written Sigrah.

peared to treat the whole thing as a good joke—an excellent humbug. He now clapped his hands twice, and, speaking in his native language, the petty chiefs passed the leaves of different articles to him, and at the same time others helped the natives. We ate heartily of poey, baked bananas, bread-fruit, sugar-cane (which we had forgotten to mention grows here in great abundance), cocoanuts, fish (which were baked for our company, as they know white men will not eat them raw), with large shells of carva to wash it down. After these courses had disappeared, the dessert made its appearance in the shape of an animal of some kind, piping hot, which had been baked whole. We supposed it to be a wild hog, and were about to partake, when, curiosity getting the better of our appetites, we inquired if it was “hog,” Cæsar replied, “No, dog;” at the same time urging us to help ourselves, and saying “very good.” We did not doubt it; but, suddenly recollecting that we had eaten very heartily, concluded that we wouldn’t “indulge,” and excused ourselves by saying we were full, and could eat no more. He seemed loth to let us off in this manner, but, finding it no use to urge us, gave it up. It was evident he was not pleased in our refusing to partake of his favorite dish, but we could not go “dog.” After he finished his “dessert” of baked dog, he sent several choice parcels to his wife and daughters, and women belonging to his tribe, and after washing, which they always do at the close of a meal, we retired to his house, and enjoyed a quiet smoke, spinning yarns, singing songs, etc., which appeared to greatly amuse Cæsar, and then stretching ourselves upon the large cool mats, enjoyed a refreshing sleep.

The next day we called upon Zegrah, and, after talking with him some little time, he urged us to take up our quarters with him as long as the ship remained; and he had a nice, comfortable house, which he would taboo to the natives, and give us, and we should have every thing at our command. When we wished to go aboard the ship a large canoe was at our service, with natives to paddle. Of course, we thanked him for his kindness, and accepted his generous proposals. We accordingly went into our “hotel,” and arranged our beds, etc., which consisted merely of mats spread upon the bamboo floor, with pillows which we had brought from the ship, and soon found ourselves in comfortable, pleasant quarters, but a short distance from the beach, with a fine sea-breeze, and the never-ceasing roar of the breakers sounding in our ears, as the huge rollers come combing, dashing, breaking along over the rocks. It was, indeed, to the lover of nature a magnificent scene.

On going *home* the first evening we thought best to take a stroll across the island, then take the sand-beach to the house. On arriving at the beach, behold! it was high tide, and we must either climb stone walls or take the water, which was some three feet in depth. We concluded to wade it, and prepared ourselves accordingly by assuming Strong’s Island costume, and then “pitched in.” Occasionally a roller would come booming along, dashing over and almost taking our feet from under us. It was just dark, and as we were plodding along, consoling ourselves with the thoughts of a good night’s rest after we reached our “hotel,” we suddenly perceived a large shark dart between us toward the wall, turn himself round very easily, and then swim away. We made all the noise possible to frighten him, and then ensued some of the tallest “walking in the water”

that we had ever seen. We could only go ahead. There were high stone walls along shore, water ahead, water behind, and water to our right; so we e'en made the best of it, and "put" as fat as our legs would carry us through three feet depth of water. We were fortunate enough to escape with whole limbs, and arrived safely at our stopping-place, congratulating ourselves upon our escape from "John Shark." Friend Zegrah had prepared for us a quantity of baked bananas, roasted fish, etc., and, setting them before us, with plenty of fruit, we had a very sociable and jovial time. His wife was present, and seemed to enter into the spirit of the evening with a hearty good-will. Zegrah himself, as we before remarked, was young and full of fun, but, living on a remote part of the island, was very lonesome, and made us promise to spend all the time we possibly could with him, and he would pilot us over the island.

The next morning, Wednesday, December 18th, "Sail ho!" was the cry. On looking, we saw a ship off the passage, and presently a boat made its appearance and came ashore. The ship proved to be the **Planter**, of Nantucket, full, bound home. Captain [Isaac] H. [Hussey] came ashore in the boat, and brought his clothing and some goods. He informed the king that he wished to reside on the island for a short time, as he did not like to go to America at present. We learned the following particulars in regard to Captain H. and the **Planter**: While the ship was cruising off Pitt's [Butaritari] Island, a barrel of bad meat had been opened, which created considerable dissatisfaction among the crew, and they finally threw it overboard, and said they would do no more work until they had good meat. The captain told them they should have no more until the regular time, as they had no right to throw the other overboard. Upon this, the men refused duty. The captain ordered them to work, but they firmly refused. He then ordered them to come aft, and this they refused to do, when he ordered the mate to go forward and bring the ring-leader aft. Upon this, one of the crew threw out a threat that, if he came forward and laid his hands upon any of them, they would break his head, or something to that effect. The captain, thinking it [was] time something decisive was done, ordered some muskets to be loaded and brought on deck. They were accordingly brought, and he then told the men distinctly and firmly that unless they went below he would fire. Some one of them replied, "Fire, and be hanged to you!" After waiting a sufficient time, and repeating his orders, he fired, and one of the mutineers instantly fell dead, the ball taking effect in his brain. The men instantly rushed pell-mell for the fore-castle. The mate now came forward, and ordered them up one by one, and, being perfectly *tamed*, they came and submitted to being placed in irons and stationed aft. The body, after a suitable time, was buried [at sea]. Upon the men promising to resume their ditties and behave themselves if liberated, the irons were taken off, and they were allowed to go forward.¹

These events transpired but a few weeks² before the ship visited Strong's Island, and the captain, thinking it better to wait a year or two before returning home, wished to

1 Ed. note: See below, for further news about Captain Hussey. See also Doc. 1848H.

2 Ed. note: In fact, the mutiny had taken place one and a half years earlier (see Doc. 1848H).

remain on this island during the interim. The king, after some conversation with our captain, gave his consent, and, accordingly, Captain H. had his property transferred from the ship to the shore, leaving her in command of the mate. The ship did not anchor, but the things were brought ashore in boats.

When the last boat was about leaving the shore, "Smut," *alias* the blacksmith, and our friend Mackey, stepped in, and, accordingly, *stepped out*, as that was the last we heard of them. We were sorry to lose Mackey, as in doing so we lost one great source of amusement; but he was gone, and, before it was known on board that they had deserted, the **Planter** was off, with square yards and a stiff breeze.

Some of the crew one day started for the shore in a small canoe, and before they had got half way it capsized, slightly spilling them out. They had a fine ducking, as well as a long swim for it. The same day, we, in company with another shipmate, undertook to navigate one of the canals in a small canoe, but, not exactly understanding the crooks and turns of the "ditch," had the misfortune to be capsized in the mud, and received a good soaking before we "made the land."

Hardly a day had passed since our arrival in port that we had not turned our eyes large-islandward, and longed for a stroll among its mountains, valleys, and groves, but had delayed the intended visit from the want of a suitable guide. On Friday, the 20th, however, that want was supplied by Zegrah offering his services for the occasion. We accepted them with pleasure, and, in company with two other shipmates, crossed the channel in a canoe. In low tide this channel is fordable. We found the houses were not so large nor comfortable as on the small island, nor so neatly kept, and are more scattered. We encountered many ruins and walls here also, but no canals. After rambling over hills and rocks, through woods and swamps, and finding ourselves completely covered with mud, we made our way back, having encountered nothing worthy of note, and our bright anticipations, which we had long cherished, just about as near realized as thousands of others that we have had. But we must learn wisdom by experience, we thought, and thus consoled ourselves.

Our man Friday we find a capital fellow to stroll on shore with, he having a perfect fund of wit and drollery to draw upon at pleasure. Wherever we went we introduced him as the brother to the king of his island, and he was accordingly treated with the greatest respect, which amused him infinitely. We found him very useful in our rambles also; for, when we were thirsty, he was always ready to ascend a cocoanut-tree, and pass down a sufficient quantity of the rich nuts to satisfy the thirst of all. One day, while he was thus engaged, a native came, running and hallooing, to see who was taking cocoanuts that were tabooed. Of course, the boys all ran; and one of the crowd was in such haste to get over a stone wall with an armful of cocoanuts, that he lost his balance, and wall and all fell, plunging him almost out of sight in a mud bath. Friday, however, sat in the tree, perfectly at his ease, laughing heartily at the mishap. The native sang out to him, "Come down; no good; king taboo!" Friday coolly replied, "No saba" (no understand), and again commenced throwing down the nuts, taking particular pains, however, to hit the poor native as often as possible, who would cry out, "Wa-a-a, wa-a,

what for all the same? No good." He finally beat a retreat, leaving Friday master of the field, and the boys laughing at the manner in which he had driven the "Kanaka pool," as he termed him, from the ground. When he came down he found himself in a quandary. He had got more cocoanuts than he could conveniently carry, and leave them he would not; and, as the boys were all supplied, he was in a fix. At last, however, his eye brightened, and exclaiming, "I fix 'em," he stripped off his pants, reducing himself to the costume of the "king's court," and filling each leg with cocoanuts, marched along. We took the "spoil" to our quarters at the "hotel," and deposited them there. We would here state, that when the king or chiefs wish to reserve any particular place or house from the intrusion of the natives, they place the *taboo* upon it; and, as the penalty of breaking this is death, they consider it sacrilege almost to disobey, or think of molesting the place. It was thus that our quarters were rendered perfectly safe from intrusion. Zegrah tabooed the house, and no native dare enter it without our permission. The natives are very kind and hospitable to those who treat them well, but inclined to pilfer if a good opportunity presents itself. Most of them are notorious beggars, and are constantly teasing for a "small piece 'bacca."

On Sunday morning, December 2d, we found that our third mate and another man had deserted in the course of the night, taking with them all their clothing. All hands rejoiced that the third mate, the great bully, had left, and the captain shipped two men instead of the deserters. These men had been on the island some months.

But we had been some time in port; all our wood, water, and fresh provisions were on board, and we were ready for sea. Accordingly, at five A.M. on Monday, December 23d, we weighed anchor, and left this beautiful harbor, some with sorrowful hearts, and others rejoicing that they were once more rolling on "the deep blue sea." But we did not immediately leave the island. The captain had a little more business to transact, and we "stood off and on" the harbor for two days, close in sight of the land.¹ The next day after weighing anchor, the bark **Mary Frazier**, of New Bedford, Captain Haggerty, entered the harbor, so that our island friends were not left alone. She was from the Arctic Ocean, where she had taken thirteen hundred barrels whale oil in one season. We ascertained by her that our two deserters had escaped from the island in the bark **George Champlin**, Captain Swain, which vessel had been lying in the lee harbor. In the place of our third mate who had deserted, and his office become vacant thereby, the captain placed Mr. Smith, whom we took from the ship **Marcus**.² All hands were much pleased with the exchange, as Mr. S. was a noble man, and a *sailor* every inch of him. But scarcely had we left port, and on the next day succeeding that in which we learned of the escape of his predecessor, before he was taken violently ill with a burning pain in his stomach. For several days he continued growing worse, becoming de-

1 Ed. note: Strange to say, there is no mention of Captain Ewer's wife having gone ashore at Kosrae. However, she was there, as she will be mentioned later, in the entry for 7 January 1852.

2 Ed. note: Earlier in the voyage, to replace a boat-steerer who had left on account of ill health.

ranged, and continually vomiting, until Tuesday, December 21st, the last day of the year [1850], he departed this life. He died struggling very hard.¹

This sudden death cast a gloom over the whole ship's company. But a few days since, and he was the perfect embodiment of health. Little did he or any of his shipmates imagine that one brief week would find him clasped in the cold arms of death. Little did poor Smith imagine that he would so soon be called upon to obey the dread summons. Mr. S. had followed the sea from his youth, and had arrived at the age of about thirty, without ever experiencing sickness of any kind. He was a most excellent and thorough seaman, understood well his business, was peaceable and friendly to all, and while on board had conducted himself in such a manner as to take a firm hold upon the affections of his shipmates. He had secured the confidence and esteem of the captain and officers, as well as the respect and good-will of the men. He was prompt in the discharge of his duties, always performing them in a cheerful manner. But he has gone from our midst. Suddenly he was taken from us to that bourne from whence no traveller returns.

Little does the landsman know the sweet comforts the dying sailor is deprived of. Separated from the home of his heart by thousands of miles, tossed to and fro on a sick couch, with no kind father to watch over and soothe the anguish of his pain; no loving mother comforting and praying for the salvation of the dear son; no dear brothers or sisters to sympathize and cheer the lonely hours with their presence—none of these to smooth the dying sailor's lonely pillow, alleviate his wants, assuage his grief, and comfort his mind by divine teachings; none of their cheerful countenances to light the dark valley of the shadow of death. Yet every thing was done that was possible to do for Mr. S. to alleviate his sufferings and comfort his mind. But all was to no avail. There is little doubt but he was poisoned at Strong's Island. But his bodily sufferings are o'er, and instead of departing upon the soft, downy bed, with his dear ones hovering over him, he yielded his spirit to the God who gave it from his rolling couch, and the list sounds that reached his ears were the moanings of the wind, and the hoarse murmur of the waves, impatient, as it were, to receive their victim.

At four P. M. we shortened sail, hauled aback the head yards, hoisted the ensign half-mast, and called all hands to "bury the dead." The gangway board was removed, the body sewed up in a sheet, and weights attached to the feet, and then laid upon a plank. The services commenced by the captain reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures, then making some excellent and touching remarks, followed by a prayer. He then read the burial service, and when he said "we now commit this body to the deep," the end of the plank was raised, and the body of poor Smith was consigned to its watery grave, there to rest till the morn of the resurrection, when the last trump shall sound, and the sea shall give up its dead. The body rapidly disappeared beneath the blue wave, and, on glancing around, the tear was seen in the eyes of all those hardy men—those men who had faced death without a blanched cheek or a fainting heart—as they took their last look at the body of their late shipmate. On the land, in the city or town, a death is hard-

1 Ed. note: He had probably been poisoned with the juice of the "oap" plant (see Doc. 1874I).

ly noticed, and is not felt; but on board a ship, with but a small circle, as in our case, of about thirty, living together as one family, and shut out from the world, as it were, one snatched from our small company is seriously missed, and death serves to bind the remaining still closer together, as the loss just experienced shows us all the uncertainty of human life, and no-one knows who will next be called upon to pay the last sad debt of nature. May we all be prepared, that, should Almighty God see fit at any time to remove us from this world of sin and sorrow, we can go with willing hearts—that we may “render up our account with joy, and not with grief.”

CHAPTER XVI.

"A Happy New Year to all."—Rather poor Luck.—Pitt's Island again.—Description.—Natives.—King.—Religious Belief.—Funeral Ceremonies.—"Jentsh."—Houses.—Costume.—Food.—Language.—Weapons of War.—Mode of Warfare.—Return to Strong's Island.—Improvements.—Singing-school.—The Royal Family to Dinner.—Canker's Guilt.—Poisoned Carva.—Return to our "Hotel."—Our Suspicions strengthened.—"Stop Thief!"—Gas.—New Zealand Dance.—Grand Feast.—Tall Dancing.—Cheers by the Audience.—"Go it, Cæsar!"—Grand Boat-race.—The Boasters beaten.—Another great Feast.—Ball Alley.—Narrow Escape for the Ship.—Departure for Guam.

How different the "New Year" at sea from that at home, were our thoughts this "New Year's morning" [1851] on first awakening. But we wished all on board a "Happy New Year," and then the good folks at home came in for a share of our prayers, and we could not but think that, while they were enjoying the choicest viands, our "New Year's dinner" must consist of hard bread and salt junk, with a "plum duff" for desert.

We were again bound for the [Kingsmill] Group, to try our luck for whales. And we had our "luck," for we only saw them twice during the whole cruise of three months, and they were then going "eyes out" to windward. We did not even "grease an iron" that cruise.

By this time our man Friday had become somewhat civilized, and was able to speak pretty good English. After trading at the island one day, we managed to gain some very interesting accounts from him in regard to it and its inhabitants. It [Butaritari] lies in latitude 3°02' N., longitude 172°46' E., the northernmost island of the King Mill Group. The natives are very friendly, and have not yet learned the knavery of the other islands. The chief in command is called king, and is assisted by a number of chiefs. The king is allowed as many wives as he chooses, but the chiefs and natives but one. They have no religion, yet they are very superstitious. They believe in ghosts, and that the spirits of the dead visit them. Their evil spirits they call "jentsh,"¹ and they hold that when they do any thing wrong the "jentsh" haunt them; and if they are afflicted in any manner, either by sickness or otherwise, it is punishment imposed upon them by the evil spirits, who are sent to torment them. Friday declared to us that he had often seen and conversed with these spirits, and upon being contradicted he flew off, and said, "S'pose me pool? s'pose me no got eye? me no all same Strong's Island kanaka pool; me saba plenty."

If a native dies, they roll the body in a mat, and the relatives sit around the corpse and wail and mourn until the body is in a state of putrefaction. They never leave their places, their food being brought to them. The climate is so warm that it does not require much time for the body to decay. When it reaches this state, it is sewed up strongly in the mat, and buried, if a male, with his war-club and spear, to protect him in the spirit world; but if a female, nothing is buried with it, as they believe the females need

1 Ed. note: Or 'zentz', i.e. Te anti, which means Spirit(s), not necessarily evil ones (ref. Doc. 1841L2, Vocabulary, by Dr. Hale.

no warlike instruments to protect them from danger. Like the inhabitants of Strong's Island, they believe that if the person who dies is good, he goes "up there;" but if he was bad, he remains in the ground, and is forever tormented by the "jentsh."

Their houses are built of bamboo; are large and roomy, some of them having two or three lofts or stories, and are kept very clean and neat. The natives are very cleanly, but very few of the men wear any clothing. The females wear a tappa, about two feet in width, about the loins. They subsist principally on cocoanuts, a species of bread-fruit called jack-fruit, tarra, wild fowl, and fish. The king is a large, corpulent native, apparently about forty-five years of age, and is called "King George," which appears to be the name of every "king" in this part of the world. The lingo (for we suppose it can not properly be called a language) in the various islands of the group is nearly the same, so much so that natives from the various islands can understand each other.

Their weapons of warfare are principally spears, though war-clubs are sometimes used. The spears are made from cocoanut wood, and are very long, and pointed at both ends. They handle them with a great deal of skill, and will throw one from forty to fifty feet with remarkable precision. Their mode of battle is very singular. Both parties approach each other, and, when within proper distance, throw their spears and then run. If one party get the advantage, and throw their spears first, and any take effect in the opposite ranks, those that have received the spears make great haste to get out of the way. These battles seldom last long, though a great deal of time is spent in manœvering, and great preparations are made, but the contest is soon decided.

We had now cruised three months without getting a drop of oil, and the "old man" concluded to try his luck on Japan. Wanting wood and water, however, more than we had on board, for a long cruise, we steered for Strong's Island again, and on Saturday, March 29th, we sighted it.

The next day we entered the harbor, and at 11 A.M. we came to an anchor. To our great surprise, we found the bark **Mary Frazier** still in port, she having been "wind-bound" for three months. We also found the bark **Maria Laura**, of Hobarton [Tasmania], Captain Mansfield, in port. On going ashore, we found that many improvements had been made by Captain H. He had built three nice large houses. The king, too, had caught the spirit, and built himself a new house; and, in fact, a general spirit of improvement and go-aheadativeness [sic] seemed to have taken possession of all.

In the evening of the day on which we arrived, we had the opportunity of attending a singing-school, which the king had authorized to be instituted for the purpose of teaching the children the native songs of the island. As a matter of course, we could understand nothing that was sung, but we were pleased with their voices, which were very sweet, and they appeared to keep excellent time by clapping their hands.

The next day, Monday, the king, in his court dress, with all the royal family excepting Canker, came off to dinner to the ship. Canker evidently felt his guilt, as he appeared to keep out of the way of any of the ship's company. We had no doubt, when Mr. Smith was first taken, that he had been poisoned, and circumstances pointed strongly to Canker as the guilty person. It appears that our chief mate, with Mr. S. and

Canker, had been gunning, and, on returning, the mate and Mr. S. commenced bantering with Canker in sport. However, he did not take it in that manner, but appeared quite offended. On arriving at his house he seemed to have regained his good-will, and invited them to drink some carva with him. They of course accepted, and it was accordingly ordered, and brought in two large shells. The mate noticed this, and asked Canker why he did not drink with them. He replied, "Never mind; me no drink; me too much sick." This was something so unusual, as the general practice among them is for the chief to drink first, that the mate refused unless Canker would drink, suspecting all was not right. Canker refused even to taste it, and exclaimed, in high dudgeon, "You think carva been poison? Strong's Island no got poison." Mr. S. laughed at the fears of the mate, and drank off his carva, and in a few moments drank that which had been prepared for the mate. Two days from that time poor Smith was taken ill, as we have related, and soon died, leaving no doubt in the minds of all on board that he had been poisoned by this unscrupulous Canker.

His wife having died since we left the island, on our return we found all the chiefs living on his place. They feast every day. We called on our old friend Zegrah, who seemed very much pleased to see us, gave us a hearty welcome, and accompanied us to our "hotel," where we regaled ourselves on fruit, fresh fish, etc. Upon mentioning the circumstances of the death of Mr. S. to him, he remarked, "Canker *bloody rascal!*"

The next day, Tuesday, April 1st, we called upon Canker. We found him remarkably sociable, and his first question was, "Where Mr. Smith?" We told him he was dead; whereat he raised his hands with horror, and exclaimed, "How long ship sail, he die?" We told him "three days," when he replied that he was very sorry, as Mr. S. was a good man. Now the scamp had been made acquainted with all these particulars before. We asked him if he had not heard of his death, and he replied "no," but we knew he lied. After some farther conversation, he asked us, "What make Mr. S. die?" We told him plainly that he was poisoned, but said nothing of our suspicions as to the guilty person. He immediately commenced denying that he had poisoned him, and said, "Strong's Island no got poison." As no-one had hinted or charged him with doing it, we regarded his denials as very suspicious. After remaining in deep thought, apparently, for some time, he again asked, "How long he been make sick, he die?" meaning, how long after he was taken sick before he died. We thought this suspicious also, as we had but just informed him that he died three days after the ship sailed, and we determined to try him on another tack, and see what he was driving at. We replied to him, therefore, "One week." His countenance immediately brightened, as though a happy thought had suggested itself, and he said, "S'pose me make poison carva he drink, he no live one day, he die too quick." We asked him how he made poison carva. He replied that he put in the juice of a certain plant.¹ We reminded him that he had said but a few moments before that "Strong's Island no got poison." This seemed to completely stagger him, and

¹ Ed. note: *Opi*, the sap of the root of the *op* plant is still used to poison fish. It is powerful, even when diluted.

he appeared lost in deep study. We now left, well convinced that his highness, Mr. Canker, was a consummate villain, and that he had poisoned Mr. S.

Our fourth mate, Mr. F., concluded to try his luck gunning one pleasant day on the large island. After climbing stone walls, rambling over mountains, and wading marshes, he thought, as game was scarce, he would take a short nap. He was hardly asleep before he felt some one about his person, and sprang to his feet just in time to see a kanka running off with his sheath-knife in his hand. He instantly raised his gun and fired at the black rascal, but his shot did not take effect; so the native only ran the faster, and got clear with the knife.

The crew of the **Mary Frazier** were a disagreeable set of men, always boasting and quarrelling among themselves and with their officers. Quite a number of the different ships' companies were on shore one evening, rolling in the ball-alley, which had been built by Captain H., and a disturbance occurred between the mate of the **M. F.** and one of her crew. The man, who was a large, two-fisted fellow, was blustering about, threatening to knock the mate "into the middle of next week;" but, as he was taken no notice of by any one, after suffering the superabundant flow of *gas* to escape, sneaked off, leaving the others to enjoy their exercise.

On the evening of Thursday, April 3d, we attended a dance at the king's house, given by some New Zealand natives. Their faces and bodies are tattooed in a very singular manner; and look truly frightful. Their gestures are fierce, songs wild, and their dancing is little more than keeping time by changing their position.

On Monday, April 7th, we attended a grand feast given by the king. All the chiefs on the island were present. Every thing was served up in the highest style of "Strong's Island fashion," and the white men from all three ships were heartily invited to partake, which they did of every thing except "dog." After the feast was over the "plate" was cleared away, and room made for a grand dance, which was led off by the king and followed by the chiefs, the women singing, and keeping time by clapping their hands and beating an instrument resembling a tambourine. The old king flew around quite lively, and each one appeared to do his utmost to excel. At the close of each dance the white portion of the audience would *cheer* the performers in the most approved style, which seemed to please them greatly. The natives appeared much amused, whether at the dancing or cheering we could not say, but probably a little of both, as they showed a broad grin all the time. Old Cæsar tried very hard to see how high he could kick his heels, and, at the same time, keep his balance, but a misstep brought his foot down on a piece of banana-skin, and his heels flew up, and down he came with a crash that seemed as if he had gone through the floor. Upon seeing this, the king and all the dancers stopped to have a hearty laugh, the white men shouted and cheered, the natives grinned, and the house was "brought down" completely. But Cæsar was not to be frightened in that way, and he got up and went at it again with redoubled energy. After dancing some two or three hours, "all hands" took a shell of carva and separated.

The crew of the **Mary Frazier** had been *bragging* and *boasting*, since we had been in port, that they had better boats, and could pull faster than either of the other ships'

boats. Knowing what braggadocios they were, our men took no notice of them, nor did the crew of the English bark for some time, until finally they challenged the Englishmen to a race, and the challenge was accepted. The flag-boats were stationed one mile apart, and the boat that pulled around these stationary ones three times and came out ahead was to win the race, making a pull of six miles. The crew of the **M. F.**'s boat were down quite early in the morning on the day of the race, six large brawny fellows, stripped to the skin, and "eager for the fray." About 9 A.M., the Englishmen lowered their boat, the same number of men composing her crew, and making no boasting display. Our boys, thinking they might as well be "counted in," though not thinking of winning, five of them, with the second mate, jumped into the waist-boat, and "struck out" for the starting-place. The boats were now ranged alongside, the signal was given, and away they flew like arrows from the bow. The **Mary**'s boat soon left the others behind, our "plug" being distanced by both. Each crew bent their backs to it, sending the boats through the silvery sheet with great speed. The Englishmen's boat seemed to skim over the surface of the water with the ease and grace of the swan, the crew taking it perfectly easy. The first flag-boat was rounded, and the **Mary**'s boat was some distance ahead. But now was "the tug of war." The good-natured Johnny Bulls awoke from their lethargy, and the cry rang out, "Pull, my hearties, pull!" and every stroke lessened the distance between the two boats, our own boat gaining on the "head boat" about as fast as did the Englishmen. But all was excitement; the men in each boat were straining every nerve, and, at the end of the third mile, the Englishmen passed the other boat, and, before the fourth was reached, ours passed it also. But still on they pulled, determined not to give up, yet dropping farther and farther astern, until, at the end of the sixth mile, the English boat was a mile ahead of the **Mary Frazier**'s, and our own about half a mile ahead. The Johnny Bulls now gave three cheers for their own boat, and "three times three" for ours, not so much for the victory as that the boasters had been so badly beaten. Our boys were not interested in the race at all, only pulling for the "fun of the thing," and they were more surprised than any one else to find that they could beat the "crack boat" of the **M. F.**; and her crew were so mortified that they said no more about "fast boats." Thus were the boasters beaten.

On Saturday, April 10th, the king gave another grand feast and dance, to which we were all invited as usual. After some time spent in dancing by the chiefs and king, the old black "doctor" [i.e. the cook] of the **Maria Laura** struck up with his violin, and all hands joined in a regular breakdown. This pleased the king and natives very much, they laughing heartily and exclaiming, "What for all the same 'Mericky fashion?"

As we before remarked, Captain H. had built a ball-alley on the island, and the king and chiefs spent a great part of their time there, and had become very expert players. The king might often be seen "rolling a string" with one of the foremast hands of the different ships.

The **Mary Frazier** had now been in port nearly four months, the **Maria Laura** two months, and ourselves one month. The three ships were ready for sea, and had been for weeks, but the wind blew constantly into the passage—a fair wind to enter port, but

impossible for a ship to leave. At length, however, on the morning of Wednesday, April 23d, the wind died away and it fell a dead calm, and the old man determined to make the effort to tow the ship out of the passage. Accordingly, we "hove up" anchor and down boats, and commenced to tow. When at the mouth of the passage a breeze sprang up, taking us "all aback," and swinging the ship around. We were rapidly drifting into the breakers, when the pilot, Rotumah Tom, immediately sprang into a boat alongside, and, pulling for the weather side of the passage, with the end of a line in his hand, which he had taken with him, he plunged down and made it fast around a coral rock, came up, and made signals to "heave away" on board. This was the work of almost a moment; the ship was within but a few feet of the breakers, and we held our breath, expecting every instant to see her strike. But by sharp, quick work, and the good judgment and activity of Rotumah Tom, we soon cleared the breakers, and, warping up to our old anchorage, "let go" again.

The other ships also dropped anchor, and congratulated us on the narrow escape of the **Emily**. We felt thankful to God for the escape, narrow as it was. To have been wrecked there and then would have been truly lamentable.

The next morning a light breeze sprang up from the southward, and all three ships left Strong's Island, bidding them adieu. The breeze increased as we dropped the land, and with a fair wind we headed west-northwest for Guam.

CHAPTER XVII.

Guam.—Invasion of the Ladrone Islands by the Spaniards in 1554.—Getting off Recruits.—Fruit.—Climate.—Captain Anderson.—Massacre of Captain Luce and Boat's Crew.—Proceed to Japan Cruising-ground.—Ship "Boy."—Boat's Crew taken down by a Whale.—Albicore and Skipjack.—"Our Luck" again.—The Spell broken.—Bark "Medina."—Manuel and the Hog.—A slight Tap.

Sunday, May 4th [1851], we arrived at Guam. This is a beautiful island, of rather high land, and resembles the American coast more than any that we saw during our wanderings. The surface presents a rolling appearance, the land looks fertile, and it is interspersed with dense foliage. This island is the principal one of the group of the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands.

These islands were invaded in 1554 [sic] by the Spaniards, but their conquest was not completed till the year 1592,¹ although they had, during the different years of their invasion, resorted to their usual sanguinary means. It was not until they had destroyed an immense number of the inhabitants that they could bring the warlike Ladrone to a state of subjection. When the conquest was finished, they compelled the subjugated people to leave all the other islands which form the group, and reside on only two of them, Guam and Rota, which placed them completely under the observation of their jealous invaders. They also forced them to receive the Roman Catholic religion, which continues to be the only one tolerated on the island. The Spaniards have managed ever since to keep the people in a state of subjection, although the spirit of revolt still lies dormant in their breast, ready to burst forth at the first favorable opportunity. They speak the Spanish language fluently; in fact, they can speak no other, or they have no knowledge of the one formerly spoken on the islands.²

All hands were busily engaged getting off recruits for the coming season on Japan, which consisted of yams, sweet potatoes, melons, shaddock, and bananas, which grow here in great abundance. The island also produces tamarinds, oranges, limes, coconuts, citrons, and papaw apples, all of the finest quality. The inhabitants here enjoy perpetual summer; the climate is mild and salubrious, and, were they free from Spanish oppression, might be a happy and contented people.

We found a Scotchman—Captain Anderson he called himself—who had resided here many years, and accumulated quite a little fortune trading with ships, etc. He informed us that Captain Luce, of the **Boy**, of Warren, together with his boat's crew, had been massacred by the natives at M'Gaskill's [Pingelap] Island but a short time previous. The captain went ashore for the purpose of trading with the natives for fruit, fowl, etc. He had visited the island before, and always found the natives friendly and peaceable. As he did not return to the ship, the officer in charge kept close in to the land, and fearing there had been foul play, early in the morning he stood in, and, by the aid of the spy-glass, discovered the natives dressed in the clothing belonging to the

1 Ed. note: The actual conquest took place in 1668 and was complete by 1695.

2 Ed. note: Again, this is one more incorrect statement, as the Chamorro language has never died out.

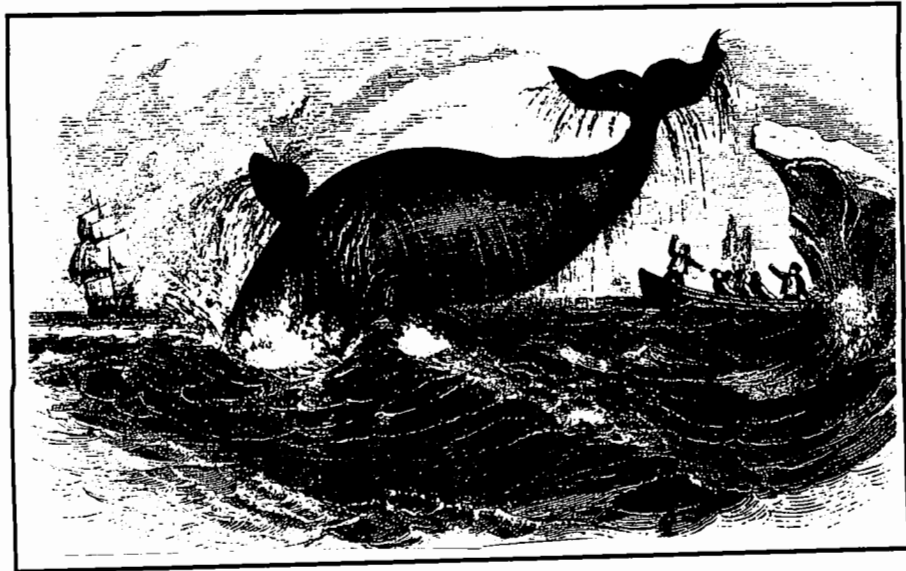
boat's crew. They saw a white man coming off in a canoe and making signals to them. When within hailing distance, he reported that the captain and boat's crew had been murdered, that he had resided on the island some time, and was not afraid they would attack him. Upon learning this sad news, the ship proceeded to the cruising-ground in charge of the mate.

Every thing being in readiness, on Monday, May 5th, we left Guam for the Japan ground, to cruise over a trackless waste of waters for five or six months in pursuit of dollars in the shape of sperm whales. Nothing out of the usual routine of ship's duties occurred for nearly two months. All was monotony; the same process day after day—not even a sail nor a *whale* to vary the scene.

At length, however, on the morning of Sunday, June 22d, our ears were startled by the cry of "Sail ho!" from the mast-head. It was a dead calm—not a breath of air stirring—and the sail was just visible from aloft. About 4 P.M. a breeze sprang up, and brought the stranger with it. It proved to be the **Boy**, and a boat's crew came on board. They confirmed the report relative to the massacre of Captain Luce and his men. They also reported that a Nantucket ship cruising on the ground had lost a boat and crew by being taken down by a whale. It was supposed the line became foul, and, before it could be cut, boat and crew disappeared beneath the surface, as they were never seen or heard from afterward.

...
[They finally caught their first whale in 8 months. While they were whaling on the Japan Ground, they met the British bark **Medina**, on her way from Hong Kong to San Francisco with a cargo of Chinese emigrants.¹]

Whale breecching.



¹ Ed. note: This is probably the same ship which, under Captain Sanford, mentioned in Nicholson's Log of Logs, took migrants from Liverpool to Adelaide in 1852.

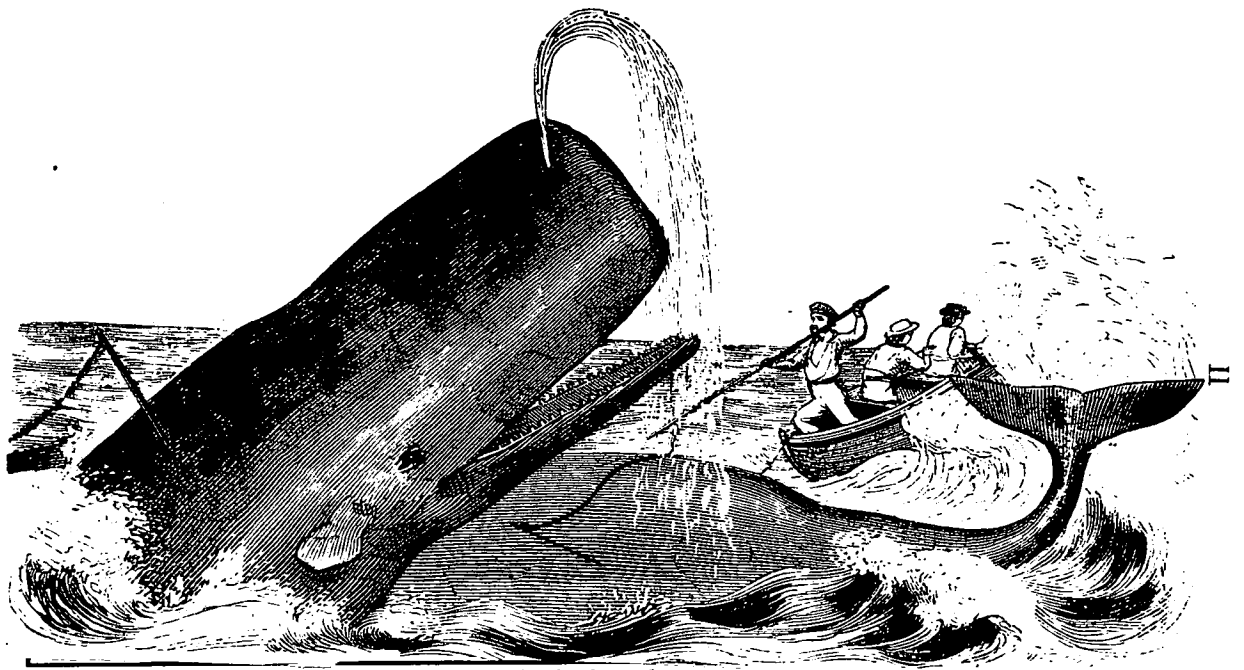
CHAPTER XX.

Close of the first "Season" on Japan.—Making Passage to the Group.—"Land ho!"—"Breathing-places for Sailors."—Henderville's Island.—Unpleasant Prospect.—Narrow Escape from the Breakers.—A large Whale.—An ugly Customer.—Ocean Island Dick.—Ocean Island.—"Some Pumpkins."—Bound for Strong's Island.—Calms.—"Blow, ye gentle Breezes."—At our "Hotel" once more.—Hospitality of the Natives.—A diabolical Scheme.—Anger of the King.—Narrow Escape of all Hands from Poisoning.—Wilds and the Queen.—A sudden Awakening.—Wild Boar.—Join in the Chase.—Brave Men.—The Boar presented in great State to the King.—Bravery of the "White Man."—"Hog not Dog."—At sea again.

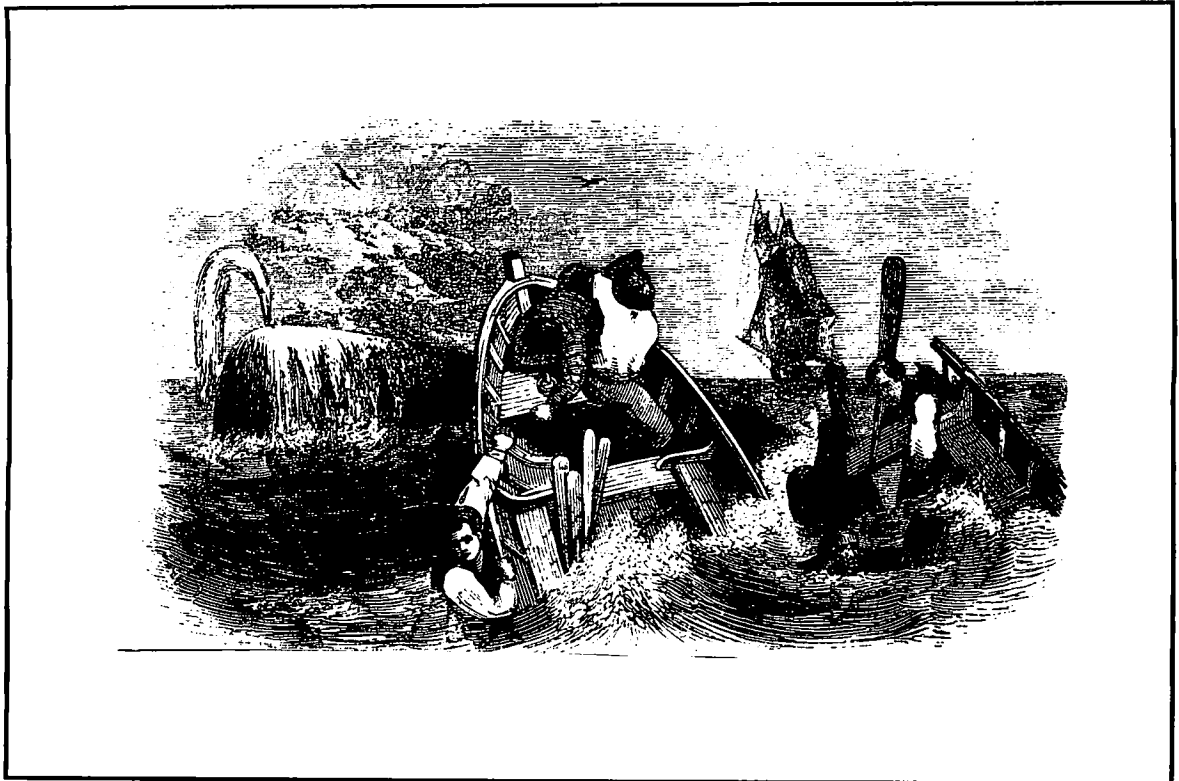
At the close of our first "season" on Japan, we found ourselves with two hundred and fifty barrels more of oil than when we came on to the ground, and we felt greater encouragement, though we were yet very poorly off, being nearly two years from home, with but five hundred and fifty barrels. However, the weather admonished us that we must be leaving those regions; and accordingly, on the 10th of September, we pointed the **Emily's** head to the southward, and, crowding on the "kites," we were soon in pleasant weather, making passage to our old ground, the Group.

On the morning of Thursday, September 18th [1851], we were aroused by the soul-cheering cry of "Land ho!" In a moment all hands were in the rigging to catch a glimpse of the land. All strained their eyes with eager excitement to once more view a *green spot*. We had now been cruising nearly five months, and during that time we had seen nothing that resembled land, and but two ships. Sailing in the midst of the vast North Pacific, and cruising week after week, month after month, nothing new, nothing to change the monotony so usual to shipboard, all at once rose to our view a beautiful island densely covered with dark green foliage, the tall cocoanut-trees nodding a welcome as they waved their sweeping branches to and fro; and as we drew near to the land, the neat huts of the natives peering through the leafy opening, with the white sand-beach, a delightful clear atmosphere, with a fine breeze, the old ship standing on in majesty, all combined to make it a scene refreshing to behold—one of beauty and loveliness. Truly have these islands been denominated "breathing-places for sailors." After beating about, enduring gales and storms, and meeting with no living beings upon the trackless ocean, to be ushered into the presence of one of these lovely "sea-girl isles" fills the beholder with the most joyous feelings, and convinces him that he is yet in the land of the living. We found ourselves almost unconsciously we might say, offering our thanks and praises to the Giver of all good for His protecting power through the dangers and storms of our voyage thus far, and trusting that we should ere long be restored to those we so dearly loved.

But we were now to cruise for a few months among these islands. On Tuesday, September 21st, we were in sight of Henderville's [Aranuka] Island. At sunset, being about eight miles distant from the land, the wind died away, leaving every thing calm, the surface of the water unruffled, not a breath of air stirring, and the sails idly hanging or flapping themselves to and fro. The current was rapidly setting us in-shore. About eight o'clock we lowered a boat, and found we were drifting toward the reef at the rate of



Whale head out.



Whale-boat stove.

two miles per hour. The lights of the native fishermen along the reefs were plainly visible, and the roar of the breakers came to our ears in thunder tones, that sent a thrill through every heart, sounding like a death-knell, or the roaring of some monster anxious for his prey. That land which had appeared so beautiful to us but a few days previous was now hateful to our sight, and oh! how we longed for "plenty of sea-room" again. That island might truly be a "breathing-place" for us, but we feared it would be our last "breathing-place," for we well knew the disposition of its natives, and were well aware that, should our ship be lost, there was no mercy to be expected from those rapacious savages. Serious thoughts for once filled the mind of every man on board; the visions of those happy homes far away—were we never to visit those homes again? The memories of the many happy days spent with friends—were we never again to enjoy them? After battling the elements thus far, after passing through so many dangers, were we thus to perish—and no one, perhaps, to tell our friends when and how we died? Oh! it was horrible to think of, and caused a shudder of anguish to pass through our every frame. And yet nothing but the interposition of a kind and merciful Providence could avert this fate. Slowly but surely were we drifting into those fatal breakers, and one hour more, one short hour, we felt must decide our fate. Oh, for a breeze! in vain we look for it; in vain we wished for it. All was calm and unruffled.

As a last resort, the boats were ordered out, and all hands sprang into them as they never sprang before, and commenced towing the ship. For four long hours did those noble men work at the oars, a battle between life and death, each seemingly striving for the mastery. We were just able, by this constant tugging at the oars, "to hold our own," to stem the current. About one o'clock in the morning a breeze sprang up, and never, never was wind so welcomed. All hands gave one simultaneous shout, "We are saved!" and returned to the ship with joyous hearts. We could not but thank our heavenly Father for thus preserving us from the horrible fate that at one time seemed so certainly to await us.

Glad indeed were we to be delivered from this fate, and we now directed our course toward Ocean [Banaba] Island. On the morning of Thursday, September 25th, at daylight, the welcome shout was heard, "There she blows! A large whale!" Instantly the boats were down, and all hands gave chase. We discovered the whale had been fastened to by some other ship, as he had two irons in him, with a long line trailing behind. The larboard, or mate's, boat soon fastened; the whale sounding heavily, a signal was made for "more line," and the bow boat ran down, and passed to them their line; the whale continued to sound, taking out nearly eight hundred fathom (4800 feet), until the irons drew. In a short time the whale made his appearance; the boats again renewed the chase. After some considerable manœuvering and provoking dodging on the part of the whale, the waist-boat fastened. Away he went again, railroad speed, and after treating the boat's crew to a ride that caused them to exert every muscle to hold their hair on, the irons again "came loose."

This only served to increase the excitement, and again the several boats gave chase with redoubled energy and ardor. About sunset the captain's boat drew near; he stood

in the head of the boat, determined to make the old fellow show the "red flag." He was now close on; all were looking with breathless anxiety. They neared him, and the captain darted; the second iron followed the first in an instant, and he shouted "We are fast!" and turned round to roll up the sail of the boat. The old man was the spryest man in the ship, and before he could roll up the sail (which usually occupies about a minute), the last flake of line went out of the boat, and away went the old veteran with four hundred fathoms (1200 feet) of our line and two harpoons. This was the last chance, it being near sunset, and they gave up the chase, at the same time respecting the intelligence and sagacity of the whale in not allowing himself to become a prey to the frail boats. He probably felt himself insulted by being pestered with such small trash, as well as the idea of being melted up for grease.

The men came on board hungry, thirsty, and tired, having pulled and worked from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M., with but a couple of cakes of hard bread and about a quart of water each to refresh themselves with through the day. The weather was intensely hot; they were exposed to the equatorial sun, which was directly over them; and yet they thought of none of these things till they came on board with no whale. Thus ended the chase of the largest whale we had yet seen, and which our boys christened "Ocean Island Dick." The captain asserted that for the many years he had followed the sea (about thirty), he had never seen so large a whale as this one. Never mind; he has got the ship's mark, in the shape of two irons, that will be apt to trouble him some before he rids himself of them.

Saturday, September 27th, we were at Ocean [Banaba] Island. The king himself, with quite a number of natives, came off, bringing with them nothing but *pumpkins* to trade. One of the boys remarked that he "supposed they considered themselves *some pumpkins!*" They were of an excellent quality, but were, in reality, our *crooked-neck squash*. They raise them in great quantities, and it is the principal article of trade with the ships. This island is certainly the most beautiful one of the group, the land being moderately high, and presenting a very even surface.

On leaving here we shaped our course again for Strong's [Kosrae] Island, which we saw on Wednesday, October 8th [1851]. As we neared the land the wind died away, leaving us becalmed, which continued for four days and nights. How provoking it was to lie there, about sixteen or eighteen miles from the land, during all this time, and feel ourselves thus imprisoned! During the daytime the surface of the water would scarce be disturbed by a ripple, and presented the appearance of a vast mirror, with a green islet by the way of decoration. After having been shut up in the ship for six long and weary months without setting foot on shore, to be thus kept in sight of a green "breathing-place" for four days and nights, and feel that you could not reach it so long as the calm continued, was tantalizing; it was not strange that we wished for a strong breeze, one that would put us into the harbor in two or three hours.

At length our wishes were gratified; and on Sunday morning, October 12th, we again dropped anchor in our old resting-place. In the afternoon we went on shore, and, on

arriving at our "hotel," found Zegrah and his wife, who gave us a hearty welcome, having been expecting us. In the evening they gave a feast in honor of our arrival.

The next two or three days we spent as usual, rambling over the island, through canals and over walls—through swamps and ditches in search of adventure. As we have before observed, we found the natives very kind and hospitable, always welcoming us in a hearty manner; and, from their actions, we should judge they were really glad to see us again. Wherever we visited, they spread before us the numerous fruits of the island, urging us to eat, and insisting that we should drink a shell of carva with them. We can never forget their kind, simple-hearted hospitality, and we have often looked back upon our visits there as green spots in the desert of life, refreshing and cheering.

Since the death of Mr. Smith, whenever we had been at this island, Canker would never come near the ship. This we thought strange, as the first time we were there he was on board nearly every day. Still, he appeared very kind to any of the ship's company when they called upon him, making them presents of fruit, etc., as if wishing to reinstate himself in their good graces.

On Thursday, October 16th, the king came off to the ship to dinner. On sitting down at the table, he happened to cast his eyes upon a dish of greens, which had been sent to the ship by Canker, and cooked by the steward. He instantly took the dish, and then went upon deck, examined them minutely, and threw them all overboard. He then inquired if there were any more on board, and on being answered that a large quantity had been cooked for the men, he ordered them to be thrown overboard immediately. He then asked, "Who been makey send all the same on board?" On being told "Canker," his anger scarcely knew bounds. He raved and appeared so excited we feared he would do himself some injury. After a little while he became more calm, and said, "Captain, you look out that Canker; he too much bad man; he no good. I no like speak too much; he my son." It was evident there was a struggle going on in the heart of the good old king. He loved his son notwithstanding his faults, and to thus have evidence of his blood-thirstiness angered him, and it was some time before he fully recovered himself.

It was, indeed, a diabolical scheme of this Canker's. Some one of the crew had injudiciously told him, in jest, that "a large man-of-war was on its way to the island to inquire into the death of Mr. Smith, and that, if the captain or any of the crew should tell them he had poisoned Mr. S., the man-of-war would hang him." This he believed, and, feeling his guilt, he determined to remove all evidence of it by putting the whole ship's company to death by poison. He knew we were all fond of greens, and he chose a day, also, on which none would be on shore, all hands taking dinner on board that day. But, through the interposition of the Almighty, he was prevented from accomplishing his dark and bloody designs. How much had we to thank our heavenly Father for, and how many times did he preserve our lives from threatened dangers, seen and unseen, during those five eventful years of our life!

One evening during our stay, one of our men, by the name of Wilds, whom we shipped on our first visit to this island, had some little disturbance with her Strong's Island majesty, the queen. Wilds had always been a great favorite with her, and was pri-

vileged to do and say as he pleased about the house. He had lived with the king while on the island. This evening he came in with his mats and pillow rolled up under his arm, and commenced joking and teasing the queen; finally, starting to leave, he asked her if he could leave them there until he returned for them. On being answered in the affirmative, he threw the bundle at her in a playful manner, which happened to hit her rather solid, and knocked her down. She screamed, of course (what woman would not?), and imagined herself nearly killed. Poor Wilds at first knew not what to do or say; finally, he undertook to apologize, but she would not listen to a word, and ordered him to leave.

This little incident shows what a trifling circumstance will break the friendship of some of these natives, and turn them to as bitter enemies as they were former friends, as in the case of Mr. S. and Canker. Wilds received orders from the queen not to come to the *palace* again, as she did not like the idea of allowing her royal person to be a target for a common sailor to fire his bundles at. The king, however, when he heard of it, laughed at it as a good joke, and treated Wilds with as much friendship as formerly.

We were now all ready for sea again—wood and water all on board. Thinking, however, that we must have one more ramble before leaving, on Saturday, October 18th, we started, in company with several of our shipmates, for a stroll among the mountains. During our walk we came to a fine spring running into a large stone basin. The weather being excessively hot, we concluded to lie down in this cool, shady place, and rest. While reclining on these beautiful mossy banks, spinning yarns of homes far away, and of happy days, carrying ourselves, in imagination, to those homes and pleasures, we were very suddenly and unceremoniously aroused from our easy positions by a rushing sound, accompanied by a hoarse roar. It can be imagined that we did not occupy many moments in regaining our feet, and we had scarcely done so ere a large wild boar rushed past with great velocity, deigning not even to bestow a passing glance upon us, the spectators of his race, whose hair stood on end, but kept on his course until he was lost in the thicket.

Some natives, headed by Sekane, the chief, soon made their appearance, and stated that they had started the boar from his den by wounding him, and asked us to join in the chase. This we consented to do, as we were anxious to view the sport; but, not exactly understanding the hooks and crooks of wild-boar hunting, took good care to keep well in the rear, and our eyes about us. It was certainly amusing; the slightest noise would cause our company to start for some tree, and on finding that it was merely a false alarm, would look immensely foolish. The natives now wished us to guard a pass that we had arrived at while they went after him. As soon as the natives were all out of sight, we took our stations in small trees, where we were sure that we should be out of reach of the boar's tusks. After waiting some time, we heard a shouting but a short distance from us. Each now instinctively shouted "he is coming," and tried to ascend still higher. We were relieved from our fears, however, by seeing the squad of natives approaching, with the wild boar lashed in such a manner that he could not escape. He was carried by means of poles run through the lashings of his feet by four natives. They felt very proud of their booty, and exclaimed, "King have big feast now!" He was captured

by means of a lasso thrown over his head by one of the natives. Sekane now wished us to form a grand procession and march to the king's house, where the boar would be delivered to and received by the king in great style, "all the same 'Meriky fahion," as they termed it. We accordingly did so; and on our arrival, the natives, who had gathered in great numbers, commenced shouting, until we could hardly "hear ourselves think." The animal was then presented to the king by Sekane, who made a speech, which was very intelligible to us, as we could not understand a word of it, and replied to by the king in the same manner. We were informed, however, by Cæsar that the king praised highly the natives who had captured him, and that he spoke highly of the bravery and assistance the white men had rendered, as Sekane had given him a glowing description of our assistance. This, of course, restored our confidence in our own courage, which had somewhat fallen.

The animal was immediately slaughtered, and preparations were made for a "big feast," to which the white men were all invited, and those of us who had not *materially assisted* in its capture were assigned posts of honor by the side of Sekane, who was the "lion of the day." We now began to think that we had some courage, and many of the boys expressed themselves as ready to proceed on another "wild boar hunt,"— provided the natives would go ahead.

But we were now ready for the "blue waters" again, and we must not loiter too long amid the pleasant scenes of Strong's Island.

On Monday, October 19th, we weighed anchor and proceeded to sea. The king and Captain H. accompanied us outside the passage, when we took leave of them, and, with a fair wind, shaped our course once more for the Group. We had been treated with such uniform kindness by most of the natives the many times that we had visited this island, and by such marked respect by the king and chiefs, that the remembrances of the happy hours we had there spent, and the pleasant and agreeable scenes we had met, as well as the information we had gained, still clings to us, and furnishes many an agreeable moment for reflection and pleasure.

CHAPTER XXI.

Blackfish.—Ship "Phocion"—Ship "Ganges."—Bark "Belle"—"Chips" in Prison.—Friday's Departure.—Sorrowful Leave-taking.—Ship "Bengal."—Ship "Lion."—Henderville's Island once more.—Dick Simpson.—Ship "John and Elizabeth."—Another New Year.—"Music by the Band."—Variations.—An "Amateur" Concert.—Bark "Alfred Tyler."—Wreck of the "Ontario."—Ocean Island again.—Freshwater Cavern.—Superstitions.—Beachcombers.—Rascally Operations.—Convicts.—Taboo.—Natives.—Climate.—Houses.—Religious Belief.—Sharp Practice.—Characteristics.—Whaling.—Pleasant Island.—Disturbance with the Natives.—Ship "Mohawk."—Pitcairn's Island.—Mutiny of the "Bounty's" Crew.—Death of Mrs. P.—"To my Husband."—Massacre at Covill's Island.—Whaling again.—A few stray Thoughts upon that subject.—Heavy Gale.—A "Gemman ob Color."—His splendid Dress.—Passage to Guam.

We were again at our old business of cruising and whaling, but with poor success. On Friday, October 31st [1851], we captured three blackfish. These are a species of whale yielding from one to five barrels of oil, of an inferior quality, and almost black, from which color the fish seems to have derived its name.

Monday, November 3d, we spoke the **Phocion**, of New Bedford, Captain Nichols, and the day following the **Ganges**, of Nantucket, cutting in a sperm whale, which assured us that others were fortunate if we were not, and consoling ourselves that our turn would soon come.

Nothing of any interest transpired for a month from this time, except occasionally lowering for whales and the capture of two, until Wednesday, December 3d, when we again spoke the bark **Belle**, just from Sydney. From them we learned that our carpenter, *alias* "Chips," who, it will be recollected, deserted at Pitt's Island, and left in the **Belle**, had been arrested in Sydney for stealing a quadrant and sextant from a ship there, and thrown into prison. We were now to lose one of our *best* men, though a Kanaka. For some time past it was evident that Friday had been growing homesick, and he often told us, "I like go see my land." The captain, being willing to gratify him, and it being uncertain when we should again visit his "land," consented to his taking passage in the **Belle**, which vessel was going there immediately. Friday was overjoyed at the prospect; his chest was brought upon deck, ready to be lowered into the other ship's boat. But now came the parting with his shipmates. This was hard for poor Friday, for all loved him, though he had a dark skin. He had been so kind to all on board—soever ready and willing to do all in his power to serve others' interests—so quick to learn, and so grateful for any kindness shown, that all hands, from captain to cook, loved and respected him. Many little presents had been bestowed upon him as tokens of remembrance, and his heart almost failed him as he looked around upon those he was leaving behind; the tears gushed from his eyes; but, summoning resolution to his aid, he sprang into the boat awaiting him, and sadly waving his hand to us, was soon out of sight. We can truly say that we have parted with many white acquaintances with less sorrow than we did with Friday, the Pitt's Island Kanaka.

On Tuesday, December 9th, we spoke the **Bengal**, of New London, an Arctic whaler, who reported quite a number of whalers lost in the Arctic the previous season by the

ice. A short time after we spoke the **Lion**, of Providence, Captain Nichols, a brother of the master of the **Phocion**, whom we saw a few days previous.

The morning of Saturday, December 20th, broke with very squally, thick weather, and we came very near running down Henderville's [Aranuka] Island, or running well on it. It appeared almost that we were fated to be cast away on this hated place. The **Lion** was on our weather beam, and was running in the same direction. As the squall, which was a severe one, passed off, and the weather became clear, we discovered breakers just ahead. We had "tacked" ship very quick a number of times during the voyage, but never, we venture to say, did the **Emily** go about quicker than then. The **Lion**, being to windward, had more room, she also went about, and we left those parts just as fast as the breeze would drive us.

While trading at Simpson's [Abamama] Island, on Monday, December 29th, a chief came alongside in a canoe, and wished to "see the elephant"—in other words, cast his lot with us. He was partly induced to do so by seeing on board an old shipmate, for it seems he had been one cruise in the **Planter**. The necessary bargain was soon made, and the captain bestowed upon him the name of *Dick Simpson*. Dick turned to his canoe, and ordered the natives to go ashore. They appeared loth to part with him thus, but after some very, to us, unintelligible jargon and extraordinary flourishes on the part of Dick, they left, with sorrowful countenances.

The next day we spoke the **John and Elizabeth**, of New London, Captain Chappel. We were now speaking ships day after day, and nearly all of them later from home than we were. From most of them we obtained papers, and many of the crew obtained letters. It was truly pleasant to us to come so frequently in contact with ships from our own native land, separated from it, as we were, by the diameter of the earth—vessels that bore aloft the same stars and stripes that we had so often beheld waving proudly at home—vessels that contained Americans, *our* countrymen; and, although we might not be participants in the mighty events which were transpiring in our native land, yet we could hear of them even in that distant clime. These incidents truly served as bright spots in the storm-beaten mariner's existence.

And now we come to another New Year. Thrusday, January 1st, 18[52], has come. Another page has been written in the history of man. The thought came to us on this morning. How many hearts at home have been made desolate, during the past year, by the loss of near and dear friends? How many have been called from the vale of tears to meet their God? Have we profited by the lessons which our heavenly Father has endeavored to impress upon us? To us will come, before another New Year shall roll around, the words, "This year thou shalt die."

All hands that day held a sort of jubilee, "going in," as far as our limited means would allow. All appeared to think of but one thing, "We are one year nearer home." No work was done except attending to the sailing of the ship; all hands regaled themselves on roast chicken, sea pie, plum duff, etc. (which did not amount to much—etc., we mean), for dinner.

The sailor is proverbial for his love of music. We were gamming with the **Phocion** on Wednesday, January 7th, and in the evening the cook of the **Phocyon** came on board, bringing with him his violin. He was the *blackest* man we ever saw—so black that we actually believed charcoal would make a white mark on him. He was not only cook on board the *P.*, but was also the “band.” He was asked down into the cabin to entertain his listeners with his melodious strains, and there requested to play “Hail Columbia;” and whether it was because we were so long absent from the land of Yankee Doodle, or whether we had no appreciation of music, we know not, yet we could discern no track or trace of “Hail Columbia,” as we were wont to hear it in times past. Not relishing it, we requested him to play “Yankee Doodle,” with the “variations.” He commenced, and before the first strain was ended the dogs left the cabin for the deck on the full run, howling with their paws to their ears; the crockery in the steward’s room seemed to catch the infection, and danced about merrily; the officers, who had retired for their watch below, growled; the din increasing as the darkey worked into the merits of the tune, all tended to create admirable confusion, until we had faint ideas of being spectators and listeners in Pandemonium. The noise increased; the darkey sawed away more lustily than ever; the captain’s wife cried out that she was half crazy, until some person, who had “no soul for music,” threw a large sea-boot with such unerring aim and force, that, striking the “band” full in the countenance, fairly drove his nose in, as it was already as flat as possible; the claret flew, and the darkey, muttering something about not appreciating music, pocketed the insult and started forward for the forecabin.

Here the concert again commenced, with all the “variations.” The men joined in, some singing, some drumming on tin-pans, some dancing, the Kanakas yelling, and the old darkey “coming down” with a vengeance. As these *melodious* sounds reached the deck, we really imagined ourselves in Bedlam; at all events, we could not but wish the fiddler there with a hearty good-will.

Tuesday, January 20th, we spoke the bark **Alfred Tyler**, of Edgartown, Captain Luce, who reported that a few days previous he had lost a boat and boat’s crew by desertion. They had supplied themselves with provisions and every thing necessary, and it was supposed had steered for Sydenham’s [Nonouti] Island. Captain Luce, immediately disguising his vessel by paint, and transforming her into a ship, was in pursuit of the deserters, and felt confident that he should yet capture them.

On Monday, February 2d, spoke the **Hector** again, who reported the **Ontario**, of New Bedford, ashore on the reef at Pitt’s [Butaritari] Island, and rapidly going to pieces at last accounts. She had on board twenty-two hundred barrels whale oil, which was mostly stove or drifted about. The **Phocion**, very fortunately being in the neighborhood at the time of the accident, rendered them all the assistance in her power. All hands were saved. The **P.** also picked up four or five hundred barrels of oil, which, in addition to that already obtained, filled her, and she started for home, the captain of the wrecked **Ontario** taking passage. It was very fortunate that the ship went ashore at this island, as the natives are kind and generous, and rendered all the assistance in their power to get her off the reef, and in obtaining several valuable articles from the ship,

which they delivered to their rightful owners. Had she been wrecked on some of the southward islands, she would have been instantly thronged with natives, who would have plundered her of every thing they could carry off, if they did not massacre the entire crew.

The captain and all hands having a desire for more of the Ocean Island "pumpkins," and being in the immediate vicinity, we steered for Ocean [Banaba] Island, arriving there on Wednesday, February 11th. Quite a number of canoes came off to trade, but the captain, not obtaining a sufficient quantity, sent a boat on shore to obtain a boat-load, if possible.

On this island there is but one place where the natives can procure fresh water, and that is a large cavern some distance below the surface of the earth. By reason of a superstitious belief, no-one but women are allowed to descend this cavern; hence the females bring all the water that is required by the natives in cocoanut-shells, as they have no utensils of a larger description. At some seasons of the year the water is very low, and the king places all on an allowance of so much per day. At such times many suffer from the want of it. We remember this at one time of visiting this island, it being in the dry season, the natives came off in swarms to get water to drink, and so numerous were they that the captain was obliged to compel them to desist, as we had barely sufficient to last until the end of the cruise.

There were several white men living on shore here at this time, of the class known as "beachcombers." From their appearance we should judge them to be of the worst class of society—strong-built, able-bodied men, living here an indolent, lazy life; nothing to do, their victuals brought to them by the females, and swilling a sort of rum made from the cocoanut. The natives, believing by their protestations that they can accomplish any thing, appear to favor them, and each chief has a "beachcomber" to do his trading on the ship. Yet they resort to all manner of deceit, both with natives and with any ship's company that will allow them to come on board. Whenever a ship heaves in sight, they represent to the natives that the captain is either a brother or cousin of theirs, and promise great things. When they come on board, they generally go about begging among the men, spinning a most pitiful yarn, and, at the same time, taking good care not to take any thing out of their reach, but still *reaching very far* if occasion requires. If they can find a disaffected person among the ship's company, they "button-hole" him at once, and persuade him, if possible, to desert, telling him how easily he can live on shore; that they will take charge of and hide him, so that neither the captain nor natives can find him; and represent that they have unbounded influence with their chief, who is always the highest on the island. If they succeed in persuading the man to desert, they will promise to carry many little articles ashore for him, with some clothing, as, they say, "You would be suspected if they should see you with a bundle of clothes, but if they see me with them they will readily suppose I have bought them." After getting all they can, they persuade the man to hide in the bottom of a canoe alongside, throw a mat over him, and the natives, who understand the game that is being played, paddle off to the shore. Presently the man is missed. The captain goes ashore, and of-

fers a reward of ten or twenty pounds of tobacco and some pipes for the recovery of the deserter. The poor miserable Judas then goes to the captain, and informs him that he has discovered the runaway's hiding-place, and takes him immediately to the place where he has put the man himself, and reveals him to the captain, who orders him to the boat. The poor fellow, not daring to resist, with a feeling of shame, and his head hung down, proceeds to the boat; the captain pays the reward to the villain, who chuckles to think how nicely he has deceived and betrayed both parties.

We have often wondered why it is that masters of vessels, who well know the foregoing remarks to be true, will allow these miserable pests and outcasts to come on board their ships. They are nearly all escaped convicts from the penal colonies of Sydney and Norfolk Island, and the worst class of those convicts. They contaminate all with whom they come in contact; and no person, having the slightest regard for himself, or possessed of the smallest degree of ambition or honesty, would for a moment consent to reside on one of these islands, living in the manner these *beachcombers* generally do. They are constantly instilling some mischief into the heads of the natives, and teaching them treachery and deceit. Many times, we are sorry to say, has great injustice been done to the shipwrecked or invalid mariner by classing him with these people, but no one despises a beachcomber more than a true sailor.

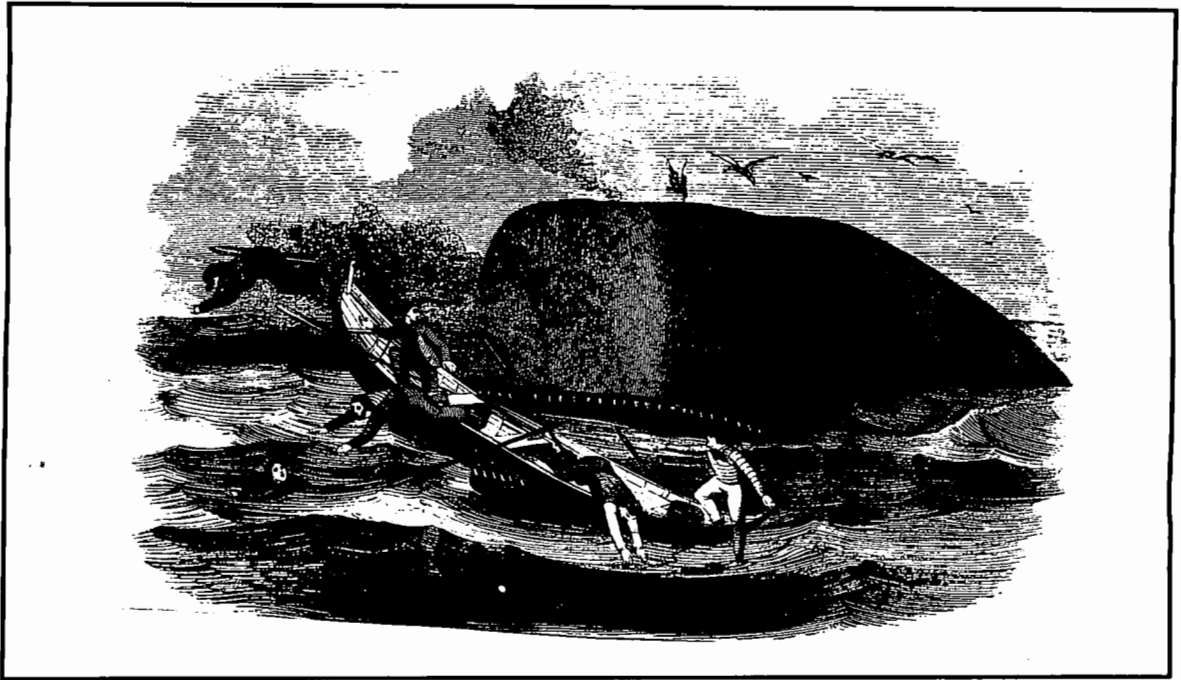
The taboo is also exercised at this island; per example: when their products are very scarce, the king places the taboo upon all trade, thus forbidding them to take off any thing to ships; but should a ship arrive and wish to trade, the taboo may be broken by the captain coming ashore and paying the king a certain amount of tobacco. As soon as the taboo is off, canoes go in great numbers. The appearance of three ships at any one time also breaks the taboo.

The natives here also live in a state of great subjection. The principal authority is vested in a king; the chiefs rank next, each chief having authority over a particular tribe, who are held more as slaves than as free men. The climate is warm, and of an even temperature, the island being forty-eight miles south of the equator. They enjoy alternately the sea-breeze and land-breeze, the thermometer ranging from seventy-five to eighty degrees.

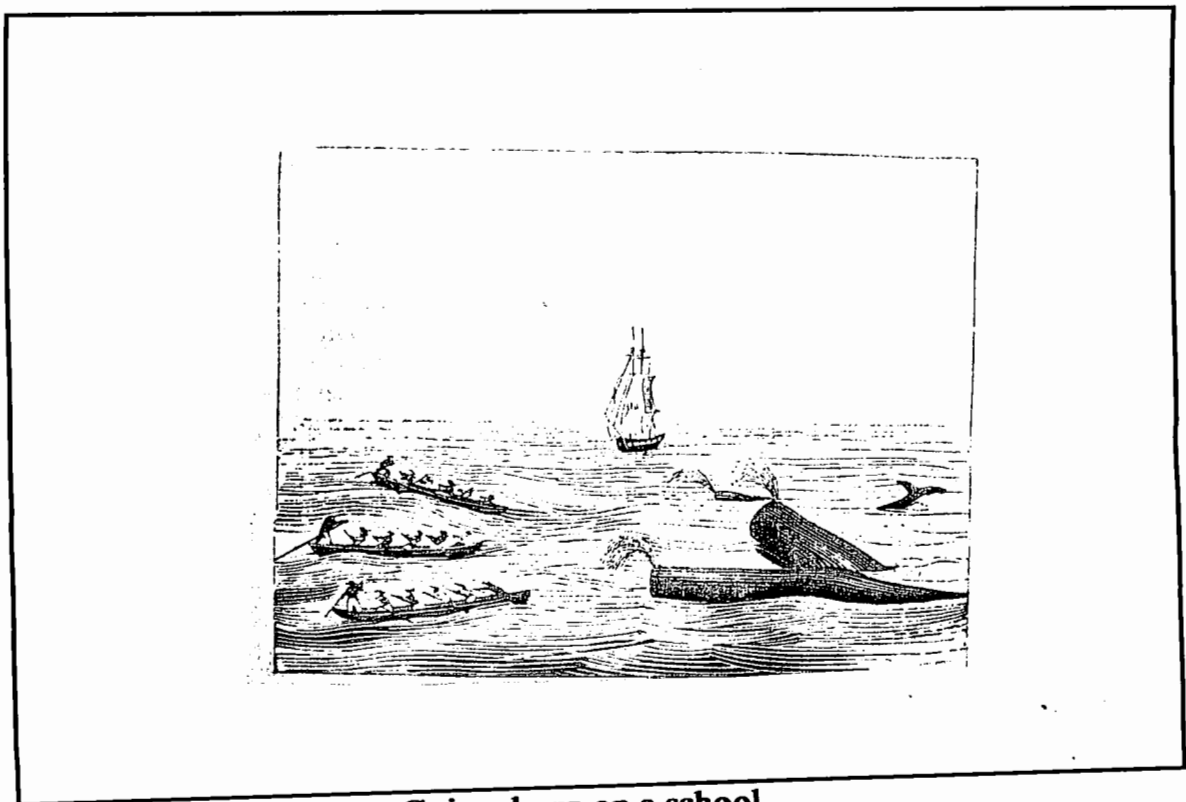
The inhabitants are strong, robust-looking, and wear no dress of any description. The houses are similar to those on Strong's Island, built of bamboo, very large and comfortable, but not kept over and above neat.

Their ideas of good and bad are similar to those held by the natives of the Windward Islands of the Group;¹ they have their evil spirits, or "Jentsh," who, they believe, occupy the deep cavern; but, as females are considered harmless, none but they can descend the cavern and live. They are most expert thieves, and their transactions in this line would shame a London pickpocket. As a specimen: we bought some beautiful shells from one of these gentry at a reasonable price, and very carefully, as we supposed, knowing their weakness for *taking* things, hid them. Presently, the same native we had pur-

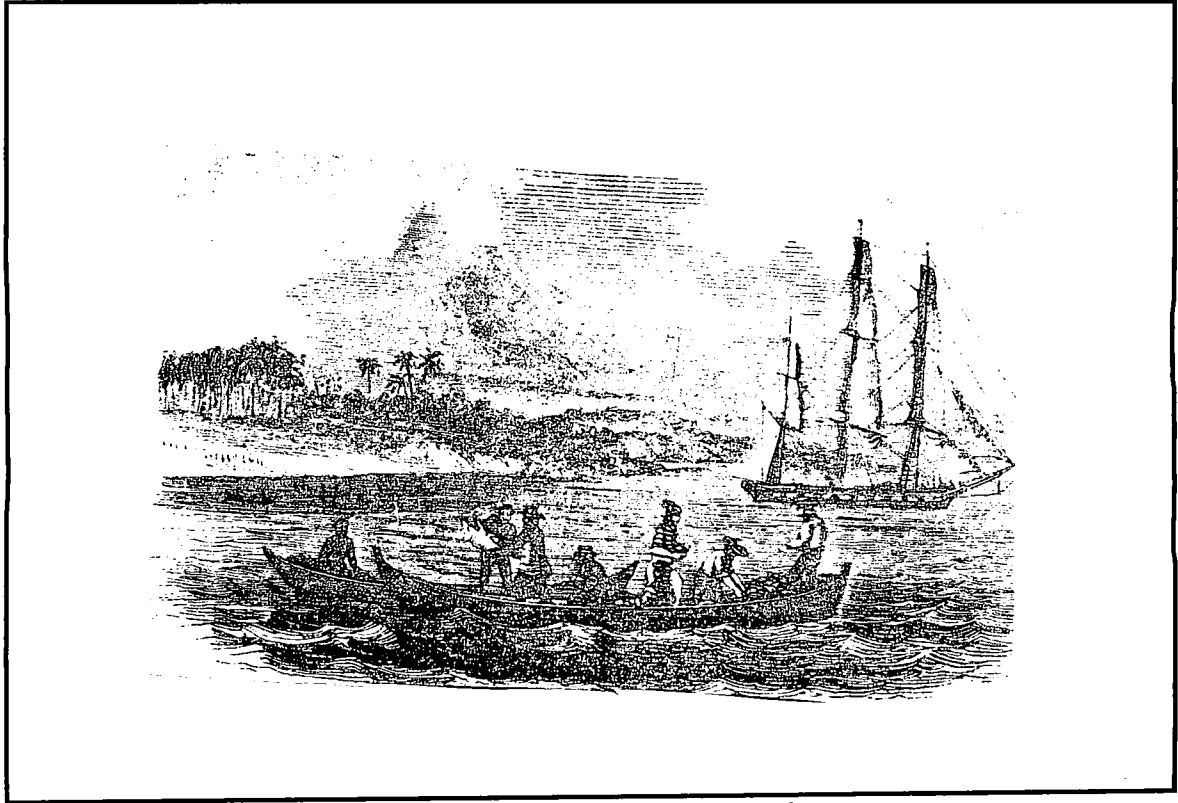
1 Ed. note: That is, the southern Gilbert Islands.



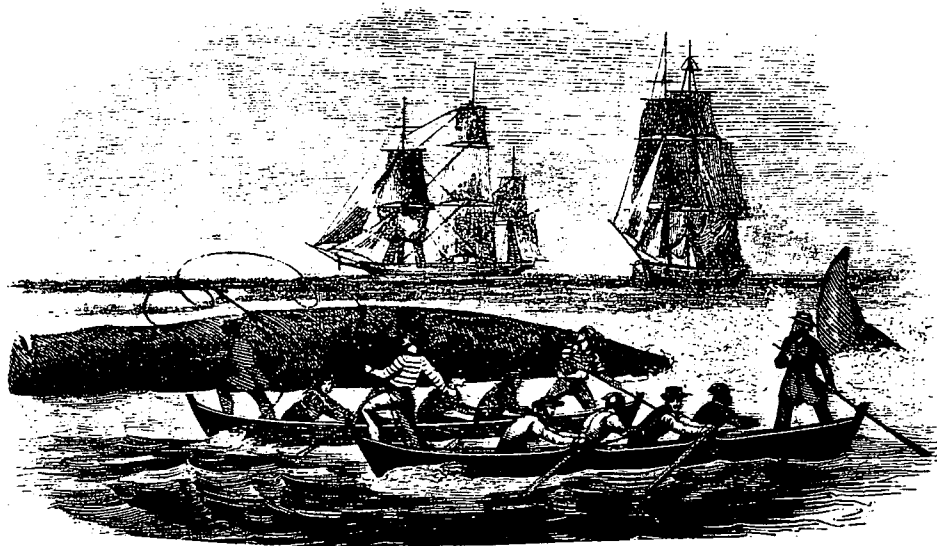
Using his jaw.



Going down on a school.



Trading at Pleasant [Nauru] Island.



A race for a whale.

chased of came up from the canoe alongside with another assortment, which he offered us. We bought them, at the same time remarking the great resemblance they bore to the ones we had just purchased, and proceeded to stow them away. On arriving at the place, lo and behold! the shells were gone, and, on examining closely, we found that we had purchased the same shells twice. The rascal had watched where we put them, informed another native, who had slyly taken them, lowered them to the former one alongside, who then paddled around the other side of the ship, and came on board with "more shell," as he said. We were completely *sold* as well as the shells, and, feeling somewhat indignant, procured a good-sized billet of wood, and proceeded to look for the canoe. But the rascal was too sharp for us again; anticipating punishment; doubtless, he wisely jumped into his canoe and paddled for the shore, leaving us to gaze after him, and laughing probably at the fine trick he had played us. This practice was universal; some of the men bought fowls twice, some mats, and other articles. We came to the conclusion that the example of the rascally beachcombers had not been without its influence upon these natives.

tly they were all startled by the appearance of a huge jaw, well filled with teeth, coming through the bottom of the boat. One of the crew, who sat immediately over the spot, was thrown into the air in the shape of a spread eagle, and came down into the water not hurt, but badly frightened. The boat instantly filled, as a large portion of her bottom was gone, treating the whole crew to a ducking. The whale, appearing perfectly satisfied with what had been done, left for parts unknown, with the ship's mark clinging to him. Out of the general conflict we secured two whales, which we took alongside, and soon had their jackets off and into casks.

From here we proceeded to Pleasant [Nauru] Island, and sighted it on Thursday, February 19th. The captain struck a bargain with one of the chiefs for five thousand old cocoanuts and twenty-five large hogs, for which he was to pay in muskets, tobacco, etc. On arriving at the ship with the hogs and cocoanuts, they were found to be wanting both in quality and quantity. The captain refused to receive them unless the chief was willing to receive pay in proportion to what he had brought. This the copper-colored rascal refused to do, and demanded payment for the whole amount *agreed* to be furnished; but the captain was firm, and distinctly told him and his natives that he would pay them for no more than they had brought. As this they became greatly enraged, and the captain ordered them to take their property and leave. This they refused to do, declaring they would not go until they had received pay for every thing they had agreed to bring. We now apprehended some disturbance; the natives were getting excited; we knew them to be the worst and most sanguinary tribe on the island; the captain was becoming angry, and we anticipated quite a little time. As they appeared determined not to go, the captain ordered hogs, natives, and cocoanuts all pitched overboard, and we commenced with the cocoanuts first, throwing them into the water; the hogs soon followed, and the natives, anxious to save their property, went of their own accord, gladly saving us from a personal encounter, in which we felt that we would have fared the worse.

The next day we spoke the **Mohawk**, of Nantucket, Captain Swain. The wife of Captain S. being with him, and being an old friend of Mrs. E., our captain's lady, they enjoyed a very pleasant visit together. The **Mohawk** was recently from Pitcairn's Island...

...

We learned further from the **Mohawk** that the natives of Covill's [Ebon] Island (an island just to the northward of Pitt's Island) had taken a California schooner, and massacred the passengers and crew. It was supposed that there were female passengers on board, as the natives were in possession of sundry articles of ladies' apparel. In trading with some vessel, they gave California gold pieces for little or no tobacco, showing that they place no intrinsic value upon gold or silver. These natives attempted to take the **Lion** while she was trading there, but did not succeed.

Whenever whalers are in company and whales are raised by either ship, the boats from both vessels lower, and all oil thus taken by either is shared in common. On Monday, March 8th, while in company with the **Mohawk**, whales were raised, and down went eight boats in hot pursuit, each boat seemingly determined on being first boat fast. It was blowing quite fresh at the time, and quite a heavy sea running. The waist-boat from our ship was the first one to fasten, and no sooner had they done so than the gentleman whale knocked the boat into quite a number of pieces, and spilled them out, leaving them "lying around loose." The larboard boat, happening to be near, took the line and held on to the whale. One of the **Mohawk's** boats picked up the scattered crew of the stove boat, and brought them on board. The larboard boat was flying through the water at about ten knots, "dead to windward," against a heavy head sea, which flew over and against her bows with uncommon force. She appeared actually plowing through it, the water forming a high bank of surf each side. The boat soon lost sight of the ship, and they were obliged to cut the line and return, the crew completely saturated with salt water and exhausted by their labors. During this time the bow boat had killed a sixty-barrel whale, which was soon alongside and cut in.

Although ancient and modern historians may abound in descriptions of man's daring by "flood and field," and the many accidents and hair-breadth escapes which accompany his voluntary exposure to a multitude of dangers, surely the recital of his doings in the chase and capture of that leviathan of the deep, the sperm whale, can be second to none in the interest it must excite in every contemplative mind. It is not in the field, jungle, or thick forest that these hardy adventurers seek their prey, upon man's natural element, where, should any untoward accident occur, assistance of some kind can be readily obtained; but on the vast ocean, at times thousands of miles distant from any habitable land, where they are not only exposed to the dangers which beset them in their adventures with these monsters of the deep, but to others still more terrible, in which the dreaded typhoon forms no inconsiderable part; or when, near lands distant and barbarous, dangerous reefs, sunken rocks, and relentless savages may surround them on every side, requiring all the moral and physical energy of which our nature is possessed to escape the manifold dangers which beset them, but which the whaler

looks upon without dread, passing among them in his gallant bark, and bearing off in triumph the valuable giant of the ocean.

Even in these latitudes, the equatorial, we often experience heavy, and sometimes terrible gales of wind. On Wednesday, March 10th, having just cleared our decks from the last "fire of oil," a heavy gale set in from the westward, which continued for four days, with scarcely a moment's interruption. The **Mohawk** lost some of her sails, and had her bow boat swept off the cranes. We lost our fore-topsail and main-sail, which were literally blown into ribbons. The weather was very thick, the rain descending in torrents, accompanied with heavy thunder and lightning.

On Sunday, the 15th, the gale broke, and the clouds lifting, disclosed to our view, but a short distance to windward, Hall's [Maiana] Island, which we had drifted past. The sun, making his appearance once more, gladdened the hearts of all, and for the first time in four days we took an observation, and found that we were in long. 174°36' E., with but ten miles difference in latitude, being about two hundred and sixteen miles to the eastward of the spot where we took the gale. We very narrowly escaped going ashore the previous night, although unconscious of it at the time. The weather was very thick, and it would have been impossible to have seen land any distance; but, by the safe guidance of an ever-merciful Providence, the two ships were swept through a passage between Knox's [Tarawa] and Hall's [Maiana] Islands not more than ten or twelve miles in width, and dangerous to pass through in broad daylight. The first intimation that we were any where in the neighborhood of land was when Hall's Island broke upon our astonished vision to windward, and then did we see the narrow escape we had met with.

Leaving Hall's Island astern, with clear and pleasant weather once more, the two ships proceeded in company to Ocean [Banaba] Island, where we arrived on Monday, March 22d. Each vessel sent a boat on shore, and procured about three hundred pumpkins. While on shore, our attention was called to an odd figure we saw approaching us, which we discovered to be a native fantastically decorated. It proved to be a man who had formerly sailed in our ship when the present captain was on his first voyage as master of her.¹ He had been to "Merick," where, as he informed us, he procured the suit of clothes which he then wore. It consisted of pants which would have buttoned twice round him, but about six inches too short; in lieu of suspenders, they were held up by a piece of spun-yarn passing over his shoulder, and again made fast. His shirt was of calico, of the largest figure and most gaudy colors, with a collar that nearly eclipsed his head, and a cravat of calico, with colors "to match." His shoes were about fourteen inches in length, and both lefts; his vest, which was intended to be white, had probably been made for a boy, as it was about a foot too short; his coat of blue broadcloth, with large brass buttons, a "swallow-tail" cut, with the waist between his shoulders, the sleeves lacking some inches in length, and the collar nearly reaching to the top of his head, upon which was a very tall, bell-crowned hat, with a very narrow rim. This whole walking machine was surmounted by a large umbrella. It is probable that some Yan-

1 Ed. note: Voyage of 1842-46 (ref. Starbuck, p. 386).

kee had given the poor fellow this suit while he was in "Merick," and he appeared to feel very grand and proud, but complained that it was *very hot*. He informed the captain that he had returned to the island a rich man, as he had a whole keg of tobacco, besides some pipes, beads, calico, etc.; also, his *complete suit*, of which no other native on the island could boast. The king kept very close to the *great man*, wishing to be considered as his nearest friend, and took quite a fancy to his dress; but of no use; the native felt his superiority over the "niggers," as he termed them, and scorned even the friendship of the king.

After obtaining a sufficient quantity of pumpkins we returned to the ship, and both vessels took their departure for Guam, preparatory to a season on Japan.

CHAPTER XXII.

Island of Rota.—Appearance.—Streets and Houses.—Inhabitants.—Governor.—Guam.—Umata Bay.—Procuring Water.—Marisa [sic].—Its Appearance.—Port of Apia [sic].—Fort.—Liberty.—A splendid Ride.—Boarding-houses.—Police.—Reflections.—Inhabitants.—Choppers.—A cowardly Murder.—Bombardment of the Palace.—Attend Mass.—Toddy.—Streets.—Houses.—Palace.—Calaboose.—Cock-fighting.—Seminary.—Insurrection of Prisoners.—Females.—Take a Stroll.—Ruins.—Reservoir.—Tobacco.—Betel Nut.—Captain Anderson.—Rebellion.—Jollification.—A novel Mode of choosing a Governor.—Congratulations.—Parade.—Aguadente [sic].—Caroline Islanders.—Last Day on Shore.—ARguinig the Point.—Disarming the Guard.—“Where is my Musket”?—Visit to the Fort.—Strange Doings.—Ready for Sea.

With a strong breeze and all sail out, we were not long in reaching the Ladrone [sic] Islands.

Tuesday, April 6th [1852], at daylight, saw the island of Rota, bearing west half north, distant thirty miles. In the afternoon, in company with a boat from the **Mohawk**, we went on shore and procured a few hogs, yams, and fruit. This island is one of the most magnificent in appearance from the sea that we have yet seen. The land is moderately high, and thickly covered with evergreen foliage, with an occasional opening showing the marks of cultivation. The town is built on a level spot of ground, with great regularity and neatness; the houses are all whitewashed or painted, and the streets kept clean. The inhabitants are very courteous and friendly, and evince quite a degree of civilization. They have a fine-looking church here, Roman Catholic of course, which is built of stone, and looks much better on the outside than the inside. The Governor, dressed in full uniform, received the Captain. He is a tall, noble-looking Spaniard, but the dress appeared as if it were made for some more bulky personage, perhaps he wore it *ex-officio*. One of the boys exclaimed on seeing him, “The old Governor’s clothes set like a purser’s shirt on a handspike.” His palace, as they term it, is a very comfortable-looking building, also the calaboose adjoining it.

The next morning we were close in to the island of Guam where we dropped anchor about three P.M. Umata Bay is the watering-place for all whalers who refit at Guam, as it is the only point on the island where fresh water can be readily obtained. It is called a bay, but is merely a roadstead, as ships anchoring here are exposed to the sea in all directions except to the eastward.

Both ships’ companies were at it next morning rafting water, and made the old hill resound to the chorus of the merry song as they bent back to the tugging oar.

We took the opportunity of visiting the town of Marisa [Merizo], situated three miles below Umata Bay, and found it a very pretty village. The houses are all on one street, which is very long. One peculiarity we could not but notice: the street was swept very clean, and we observed many Spaniards [sic] of both sexes engaged in sweeping it, probably paying the penalty of breaking some law. The church here is a fine edifice and contains two large bells, which ring out merrily for vespers. Although the Governor has his permanent residence at Guam (Agaña), yet he occasionally leaves the “heat and turmoil of city life,” and taking his family for a visit to the “country,” spends a week or so

in this village where he has a large palace. After rambling around to our entire satisfaction, and spending the day very pleasantly, we returned with a fine breeze, the boat fairly flying through the water. We felt quite fatigued in consequence of our jaunt, but after a refreshing rest, awoke next morning ready for another day's tramp.

We improved the day in visiting the town of Umata Bay, and a short ramble in the mountains back. The village differed but little from that of Marisa; the same long street, swept clean, the same white houses, and, were it not for the absence of the palace and the difference in the country adjoining, one would almost imagine himself in the same village.

At two P.M. on Saturday, April 10th, we took on board the last of five hundred barrels of water, hove up the anchor with a will, and steered for the port of Apia [Apra]. We arrived here the next morning, where we cast anchor. This is the anchorage, and the only safe one, for ships refitting at Guam, and is situated seven miles from the town or village of Guam (Agaña), which is the capital of the group. The port of Apia is a fine bay, situated on the west side of the island, protected from the sea by a reef running across, with an entrance of about half a mile in width. This island, like nearly all in the Pacific, is surrounded by a coral reef. In the center of the bay is a small island, on which is a fine-looking fort, with five or six guns mounted for the protection of the commerce of the island. We found several ships lying at anchor, from some of which we obtained quite late news from home.

It is customary for ships that refit here to allow their men to go ashore and remain a week or ten days at a time, as the distance was so great seven miles from town that one day's liberty at a time would be worth but little. Accordingly, on Monday, April 12th, the starboard watch remained on board to paint ship. On landing, what was our surprise to see a large number of cows standing near, and, to our astonishment, we were informed that they were there for our accommodation, if we chose. For the sum of fifty cents we could enjoy a fine horseback ride on a cow "up to town." As there were men from four ships going in company, nearly sixty of us, we all entered into the spirit of the affair, and each man selected his "horned beast" and mounted.

And now ensued a scene that beggars description. Leather thongs were made fast to the horns for the rider to hold on by, and the Spaniard, who led off on a noble animal, seeing all was ready, shouted "Arriva," and away he went on the full run, the others following; the men having no saddles, some were rolling from side to side, some had seated themselves "wrong end first" and all, instead of hanging on to the thongs, reached forward, and, grasping the horns, hung on like Grim Death. The cows, with their heads stretched forward to the utmost, their bells tingling, each one bellowing and sporting, and their riders, instead of sitting upright, stretched in a horizontal position, their legs extended, and yelling like so many wild Indians, the old Spaniard shouting and singing in Spanish and the whole cavalcade upon the full run—all this produced one of the wildest scenes imaginable. As the procession entered the town, Spaniards [sic] of both sexes, men, women, and children, rushed to the street, shouting and laughing at the "Americanos." The old Spaniard kept on, and, after having made the circuit of the

town, brought up at the "Grand Plaza" in front of the Governor's palace, the riders being almost insensible from the continual and deafening din that surrounded them.

They halted here, and all hands joyfully dismounted. The Spaniards crowded around to congratulate them on their *good riding*, but paying no attention to them, they "vamosed" in search of a boarding house. By the laws of the island, every white man or foreigner must have a boarding house, and be within doors at eight P.M. This is necessary, that good order may be preserved in the night time, and tends to prevent many disgraceful scenes that would otherwise occur.

The police here are very vigilant. Every person who keeps a boarding house is compelled to report the names of his boarders, and about eight P.M. the captain of the police goes around to see if all are in. If any are absent from their respective houses they are found and marched home and should they be saucy or show any belligerent spirits, off they go to the calaboose. This also tends to prevent desertions, as the governor allows no white man to remain on the island unless sick. There are a few old residents here who are exceptions, they being citizens.

Loving an early morning walk, five A.M. the next day after our arrival on shore found us "up and dressed" and out. It was truly a lovely morning, the sun shining brightly, birds singing sweetly and the church bells ringing merrily as we walked along the banks of a quiet stream, how did these sounds bring up in our minds similar scenes at home—our own peaceful stream, the feathery songsters, and the old church bells. But the roar of the surf dashing over the breakers reminded us that many, many miles of "deep blue sea" separated us from our homes, and that many days must pass ere we could again live over those happy days and our present musings be realized.

The inhabitants of this island are of the Malay race, intermixed with the Spaniards. They are generally very kind and hospitable to the stranger, often inviting him to their houses, and setting before him refreshments, fruits, etc.; but if offended, they are revengeful to a sanguinary degree. Many of them carry short, thick swords, called "choppers," by their sides, which they use for clearing their small farms and other purposes. With these choppers they frequently commit horrible outrages, inflicting, in the heat of passion, terrible wounds upon each other, or upon any one who may chance to give them cause for affront, fancied or real.

It was at this island that Captain Stevens, master of an English whaler, was murdered a few years since, in a cowardly and brutal manner. He was set upon by a gang of desperadoes, under direction of the then governor, with whom Captain S. had had some difficulty. The miscreants stole into his room and took his pistols, which were lying on the table, and, on going out to ascertain who had committed the theft, he was attacked and fairly cut to pieces, the wretches not desisting until they had murdered him. It is reported that the governor was punished by his own government and removed from the island.

An amusing incident occurred a few years ago, illustrating the bravery of the governor and the army. The master of an American whaler, being ready for sea, and some of his men being imprisoned in the calaboose for some trifling breach of the laws, went

to the governor and demanded his men, stating that he was ready for sea, and should sail at four P.M. His Excellency replied that he could not have them unless he paid the fines imposed, which was a very large amount. The captain, thinking from the large amount imposed for so slight a breach committed, it a mere plan to extort money from him, replied that he would pay no amount to the governor, whereupon the latter replied that "he could not have his men." The captain took his leave, saying that if the men were not on board at four P.M., he, the governor, must suffer the consequences. He now proceeded to the ship, weighed anchor, left the harbor and at four P.M. was opposite the town. When within about a quarter of a mile of the shore, and directly opposite the palace, he hauled aback his main-yard, run up the stars and stripes, and commenced to bombard the palace with one six-pounder, which was all the cannon he had on board. Almost within range of the palace, and situated at the water's edge, was a stone fort with several guns mounted. The brave commander did not see fit to return the fire, when he might have blown the ship to atoms. After half a dozen shots had been fired, a flag of truce was seen on the fort. He ceased firing, and a boat was soon seen approaching the ship, containing his men and a file of soldiers, the commandant of whom gave him the compliments of the governor, who, he said, had sent his men, and requested him to cease firing, as one shot had taken effect in the palace, and actually lodged in his private room. The captain took his men and departed. The governor still preserves the ball and frequently exhibits it to visitors as the one the Yankee skipper fired at him.

We had received an invitation to attend mass with some of our Spanish friends, and, arousing ourselves at four A.M. on Wednesday, April 14th, we proceeded to the church. It is a fine-looking stone building, very large and massive, with a chime of bells in its tower. On entering, we found it well lighted, and filled with Spaniards of both sexes. It is beautifully furnished inside, many of the ornaments and holy vessels being of gold and silver. The services were solemn and impressive, and, although they worshipped in a different manner from us, yet we could not feel but a devotional sentiment within us as we listened to the beautiful chant, and witnessed the devout worshippers at their devotions. It seemed to bring us nearer to the land of Christianity accustomed as we had been, for months past, to attend no place of public worship.

On arriving at our boarding-house after mass, we found some delicious "toddy" awaiting us. This, when fresh from the tree, is a palatable and pleasant drink, and is highly beneficial to a person coming ashore after a long cruise on salt water, and living mostly on salt provisions. It is procured by a person called a "toddy-cutter" who ascends to the top of a cocoanut tree in the shade of the evening, and cuts a number of notches at the root of the limbs, hanging a long piece of bamboo underneath, which in the morning is found filled with the delicious beverage. It is needless to say that the "toddy-cutter" was very liberally patronized while so many seamen were on shore. There are no intoxicating qualities in the toddy, no more than in a glass of soda or lemonade.

The streets of Guam [Agaña] are very wide and straight, and are kept clean. The houses are built compactly of wood and stone; those built of wood, which comprise the greater number, are elevated on framework and posts four or five feet above the ground. They are mostly of one story, painted white and are neat and orderly in appearance. The stone houses are built in a substantial manner, and look very solid and comfortable. The governor's palace is a long stone building of two stories, with nothing remarkable about it to indicate it as the palace of the governor of the great island of Guam. The west end of it joins the calaboose, which is a solid stone building of one story, and they are both guarded by sentries. Immediately in front of both buildings is the "Grand Plaza," in the center of which is the cock-pit.

The inhabitants here delight in the cruel exhibition of cock-fighting, and manifest great interest in the combats. Not being satisfied with seeing these noble fowls destroy each other with the weapons which nature has given them, they place on them steel spurs shaped similar to a scythe, which are made very sharp. Armed with these destructive weapons, the contest is soon decided, as the first blow frequently kills the unlucky bird. These exhibitions always take place on the Sabbath, as that is their grant gala day. At the time appointed the arena is opened, a ring made, and no person allowed inside the rope but the judges and owners of the cocks. The space around is completely thronged with old, middle-aged, and young men, who enter into this cruel sport with the greatest animation. Even the governor is always present, witnessing the combats, and betting as freely as any one. The fowls are large, noble-looking animals of the Malay breed, and upon two being brought into the ring, the betting commences with great excitement, from a real to a dollar [peso], and more, according to the wealth of the parties. One Spaniard holds up his finger, and shouts out the name of the fowl he chooses to be on, another, seeing him, raised his in the same manner, and names his favorite; and so on around the ring. The signal is given, and the cocks, being let loose, fly at each other, and, as we before remarked, the combat is soon terminated. Those who have lost now pay over the stakes, and two more fowls are entered. This continues through the greater portion of the afternoon, and it is surprising to see the large quantity of noble-looking fowls slain.

On the east side of the Plaza is a fine-looking stone building used as a seminary, which is supported by the Church, for the purpose of educating those who cannot afford to attend private schools, and of protecting and educating the orphan. This institution is the pride of the island, and may well be considered as such, for it is productive of great and lasting benefit. The scholars manifest much interest in their studies, and their behavior and accomplishments would compare favorably with many similar institutions in our own land, where the opportunities of a good education are so general.

A few months since, the prisoners confined in the calaboose, about one hundred in number, attempted to take the palace. Their plans were all laid, a part to attack in front, the remainder in the rear. The object was to obtain possession of the arms and ammunition contained in the palace, and then to make an attempt to capture the island. The plot was discovered, however, just in time to frustrate it, and, after some severe fight-

ing, during which about twenty-five were killed, the remainder were secured, and sent [back] to Manila for trial, and were there hung.

While walking through the town one evening, we heard the sound of music issuing from a building nearby. On presenting ourselves at the door, we were invited in, and found the room filled with females, with but two exceptions. It was the hour of vespers. At the end of the room was the image of the Virgin Mary and the Crucifixion. Those chanting were on their knees, with their hands crossed on their breasts, the picture of humility and meekness. As their sweet voices mingled in the beautiful chant of "Ave Santisima," we could not but be struck with the solemnity and sublimity of the scene. If woman be all she is represented to be, lively, charming, and angelic, she is certainly more than this when engaging in offering devotion to Almighty God, and imploring the aid of the divine Savior. The females of Guam are remarkably fair-looking, keen black eyes, flowing black hair, smooth complexion, and possessed of a robust and well-rounded form, their step light and elastic, and very graceful in their movements. One of these dark-eyed beauties in the attitude for prayer, her hands beseechingly clasped, her loose hair flowing luxuriantly around her well-rounded shoulders, and her countenance expressive of meekness and innocence, would form a model for the chisel of a Powers.

After vespers we passed a very pleasant evening with these lively, chatting beauties from whom we learned much of interest in regard to the island and we must confess to a slight feeling of regret when we heard the bells peal forth the hour of eight, compelling us to say to them "Adios."

The next day we had planned for a stroll in the country round, and before 6 A.M. were on our way, with two Spanish lads about eighteen years of age as guides. We passed several farms on our route and, from appearances, we should judge the inhabitants to be well skilled in agriculture. About five miles northeast of the town we came to the ruins of a large stone building, which, our guides informed us, were the remains of a monastery and built, as they said, "very many years ago." On examining an arch or gateway, we found the keystone marked 1636 [probably 1736]. The stones appeared regularly new and well fitted. It would seem from this that the art of masonry was understood here more than two hundred years ago, as this building must have been erected under the supervision of a master mason, well skilled in the use of the square, level, plumb, and trowel.¹

Near the pile of ruins is a large stone reservoir, about thirty feet in length, twenty-five in width, and thirty to forty in depth. At this time it had about three feet of water in it. This reservoir was probably built at the same time as the monastery as our guide said, on asking him when it was built, "Tiempo Casa Dios." (at the time of the building of the house of God.)

1 Ed. note: This building may have been part of the former leper colony at Tumon. Alternatively, they may have gone southeast, rather than northeast, and gone as far as Afame, beyond Sinahaña, where ruins were also noticed by Freycinet in 1819.

After walking some distance further, nothing of interest presenting itself, we set out on our return. When within about one mile of town, we noticed several large sheds filled with tobacco, which is grown here in large quantities. The inhabitants, however, do not understand manufacturing it otherwise than into cigars. All smoke here, men, women and children, and we must confess that it detracts somewhat from the beauty of a young lady to see her promenading the street with a large cigar in her mouth, puffing away most lustily, but the spectacle is so common here that one soon becomes accustomed to it.

The betel-nut is chewed by "all hands," giving a reddish cast to the teeth, of which they all seem very proud. The young Ladrone beauty prides herself as much on the bright-red appearance of her teeth as the American ladies do on the pearly whiteness of theirs.

On arriving at our boarding house we found ourselves covered with mud, and possessed of alarming appetites. It is useless to add that we did ample justice to the fine dish of curried chickens with all the "fixins to match" which was set before us.

Not forgetting our old friend, Captain Anderson, we called upon him next day, Friday, April 16th and learned some very interesting and amusing facts connected with the history of the island, one of which we relate as he gave it to us: Some years ago Captain A., and a few more English residents contrived a plan to make themselves possessors of the island. They secretly worked, step by step, at the same time insinuating themselves into the good graces of the governor. Their plans worked to a charm, and, when they were fully matured, they quietly took possession of the palace, the governor having been made, as Captain A. expressed it, "as drunk as a boiled owl." As they now had possession of all the arms and ammunition, it was an easy matter to subdue the natives, which they did in short order, without loss of life on either side, covering themselves with glory. As a matter of course, the new lords and masters must have a glorious jollification over the affair, and at the same time agree on a governor. This latter, however, proved no easy task, as all were equally anxious to "serve their country" in being chief of the island. After consulting and debating some hours, and finding they were no nearer a decision than at first, they decided to have a spree, and whoever should remain sober the longest, and see the others all laid out, should be the honorable governor. Accordingly at it they went, bottle after bottle disappeared, one by one they voluntarily relinquished their seats and quietly rolled under the table. After a short time no-one remained in his seat but Captain A. and he, feeling elated at his success, drank a few bumpers to "Captain Anderson, the future governor of the distinguished island of Guam." But, as he said, "he was born under an unlucky star." So it proved, as the bumpers he drank up to his own good health keeled him over, and he took his place among his comrades.

The Spaniards, who had been watching these proceedings with no small degree of interest, seeing how matters stood, and the would-be governors gloriously drunk, very adroitly bound them hand and foot. The dethroned governor was, of course, immediately reinstated, and the next day these noble spirits were arraigned for trial. Being con-

victed of treason they were sentenced to be placed on a raft, taken out to sea, and then cast loose, leaving them at the mercy of the winds and waves. This was accordingly done, and after drifting about several days, they were safely landed on the island of Tinián, one of the group. Here they resided some time; finally, expressing their sorrow for what they had done, the governor pardoned them and permitted them to make Guam their future residence, on swearing allegiance to the government and promising to be true and loyal citizens.

The week was now close which had been given to one watch from each ship for liberty. Accordingly, they returned to their respective ships, and the other watches came on shore—about the same number of men. They arrived in due form and procession; and, as we could now look on and witness the performance, we enjoyed the scene with a hearty good-will. As soon as they dismounted, we were among the first to offer our congratulations on their grand and imposing *entrée*. How natural for men, on finding themselves taken in and done for, to watch and enjoy seeing others victimized. Thus it was in this case; all would speak highly of their merry ride, particularly in the presence of the uninitiated.

As we before remarked, Sunday is the grand gala day of the inhabitants here. Among other things, we witnessed a parade and review of the army stationed here by the governor, numbering, officers, high privates and all, twenty-five. They do duty as policemen as well as soldiers. They were not a very formidable-looking body of men; some were dressed in white, and some in blue, with fancifully decorated cloth caps. However, they performed their evolutions very well although we do not believe their commander ever studied Scott's *Tactics*.

At the close of the morning service everyone appeared preparing for the afternoon sports. At an early hour the space around the cock-pit was crowded with young and old, anxiously waiting for the sport, as they term it, to commence. At two o'clock the fighting began between two noble-looking fowls. The betting ran high, but the battle was soon decided by one of the cocks receiving a home-thrust that pierced his heart. The fighting now continued in this manner until about thirty were slain.

In the evening nearly every house was thrown open to receive calls from "Americanos" and others, who were entertained with music and refreshments.

A kind of liquor called "aguadente" [aguardiente] is distilled here, very intoxicating in its qualities, yet the effects are not as bad as those of the poisonous liquors sold in this [U.S.] country. We expected to see the "Americanos" nearly all drunk on this day, as we knew it would circulate pretty freely; but to their credit be it said that not one of them became intoxicated. They all seemed to shun it, whether because it was the Sabbath, or for what reason we know not, but "all hands" continued sober through the day.

The following morning, on strolling along the beach, we found several "Caroline Island" canoes had arrived during the night. These canoes are about forty feet in length and six feet beam, quite deep, and will carry from fifteen to twenty tons. They are provided with an extensive outrigger to prevent their capsizing and carry a large mat sail.

When under full sail in a strong breeze, being very sharp in their construction, they skim along over the water with amazing velocity. The natives are large, robust fellows, with no clothing but the tappa, or a fine mat worn across the shoulders in the form of a scarf. Each canoe carries one family, and they appear to live in a very peaceable and happy manner on board their diminutive craft. Their island homes are about four degrees to the southward. On inquiring of them through an interpreter, how they found the island, they replied, pointing upward, "stars by night, sun by day." Their cargo consists of hats, mats, and shells. In return, they take tobacco, pipes, calico and aguadente. These canoes ply regularly between the Caroline Islands and Guam.

The time had now come for all hands to return on board. Another week had flown and we must leave the land for the water again. But the boys wished to have a "Grand time" before leaving, and the last day each one appeared to be determined to make the most of it. Long Manuel, our Portugee, appeared very much troubled by the width of the various streets he was attempting to explore, while our Kanakas were singing their native songs with considerable mirth and hilarity. In the evening they all assembled for a dance at one boarding-house at an early hour. They had reserved the services of four Spaniards as fiddlers, and on their arrival at it they went. Eight o'clock came, and with it also came the Chief of Police, ordering them to cease dancing, to stop their noise, and disperse. On hearing this, Tom W., the ship's wag, who had imbibed pretty freely, proceeded to "argue the point" with the policeman, who could understand but little English. He continued to lay it down in a very emphatic manner, using language that seemed to completely nonplus the Spaniards, who would occasionally refer to the boarding-house keeper, and inquire what the man was talking so earnestly about. The landlord, who well understood what was up, replied that Tom was praising the island and their rules and regulations. This the Spaniard believed, as Tom would occasionally introduce into his speech the words "Bueno Espaniole" (excellent Spaniards) and end it by inviting him to drink. This part the policeman could understand without any difficulty, and, after having drunk several times, he became as merry as the rest and finding he could do nothing with them, departed.

In a short time a file of soldiers made their appearance. The sergeant, who could neither speak English nor understand it, informed the landlord that he must disperse the sailors and shut up his house. The landlord, however, shut the door in his face, and told Tom what was going on, who, instantly seizing a bottle, ran out and offered it to the officers; but of no avail; he was not to be bribed in so easy a manner. Tom now turned his attention to the soldiers, and passed the bottle so freely among them that the sergeant ordered them to cease drinking. However, another bottle was soon produced, and a more merry lot of soldiers was never seen. In vein the officer endeavored to put a stop to the proceedings; they were now all in the house, and had entered into the spirit of the evening; and while all hands, sailors and soldiers, were dancing, Tom very carefully took all their muskets and hid them in a quiet place.

Thus matters moved along, the noise and fun increasing, until the hour of twelve at which time the guard were to return to headquarters, make their report, and be relieved.

As the bell tolled forth the hour, they seemed to regain possession of their senses; visions of the guard-house floated across their minds, and they well knew it was their doom unless they immediately departed. But now all was confusion: "Where is my musket?" was the general cry; but no muskets were to be found. They raved and swore but all to no purpose; no-one could tell what had become of them. On hearing the sound of the first relief bell they rushed for the door pell-mell, and found their officer had already taken his departure. They waited no longer, but ran down the street at full speed. As soon as they were out of sight, Tom took the muskets, carried them to the river, and wading to a considerable depth, safely deposited the "Government arms," and then returned to the house where the dance was kept up without further interruption.

The next morning all hands took leave of the goodly city of Guam [Agaña] and returned to their respective ships.

One evening before our departure a delegation from each ship in port visited the fort near the anchorage. We found a solid piece of masonry mounting six guns of eighteen pounds caliber. It is entirely surrounded by water, and guarded by a few soldiers. About 2 A.M., the several delegations returned, and at daylight a small army was seen approaching. Wondering what could be the cause of this, we were all on the *qui vive* for news. We soon learned that they had come to retake the fort. It appears that the whalemen had gone for a lark, and had driven the soldiers ashore from the fort, taken possession of it, unshipped the guns, and turned things around to their own liking—spilling things generally. The conquering army approached the premises very cautiously, and after considerable manœuvering, entered, but found the premises vacant, thus obtaining a great and bloodless victory. No doubt they considered it a great achievement, and had it proclaimed as such among their countrymen.

Everything being now "ship-shape and Bristol fashion," we took our departure for the Japan ground, determined to give battle to the sperm whale this season as we had never before done, knowing that every whale that we now captured shortened our voyage materially.

CHAPTER XXIII.

... Passage to the Group.—Pitt's Island.—Bark "Smyrna."—A rummy Set.—Ship "Susan."—Fearful Tragedy.—Passage to Strong's Island.—Ship "Atlantic."—Ship "Charles W. Morgan."—At home once more.—Rev. Mr. Snow.—Characteristic Meanness.—Rotumah Dance.—Feast and Dance.—Sickness of Mr. L.—Divine Service on Board.—New Zealand Native.—Farewell to Strong's Island.

...

On the 15th of September we pointed the ship's head to the southward with cheerful hearts. This was the best cruise we had yet made, having taken about four hundred barrels of oil. The next season on Japan was to be our last; from thence we were "homeward-bound." Although it was a long time ahead, yet we felt that every day made it one the less, and every mile of blue water plowed was one the less. Just before reaching the group we lowered and captured a twenty-five barrel whale; this helped to cheer us along our way very much.

Monday, October 22th [1852], we made Pitt's [Butaritari] Island; sent a boat ashore, and found the bark **S.** [Smyrna], of New Bedford, at anchor. The crew of this vessel, including the captain and officers, with ten or twelve beachcombers, were engaged in making cocoanut rum, and all hands, natives included, were as drunk as rum could make them.

The following day we spoke the **Susan**, of Nantucket, Captain Smith. From this vessel we learned that during the past season a fearful tragedy had been enacted at the group. Twenty-five beachcombers residing on Henderville's [Aranuka] and Woodle's [Kuria] Islands, which are separated by a channel of only a few miles, were murdered by the natives. It appears, from what we could learn, that they had some difficulty with the natives—attempting to do as they pleased—threatening to take the islands, etc. They had also succeeded in effecting a division among the natives, one party espousing their cause, the other opposed to them. Some of the more cunning, however, saw through the whole plot, and called a private council of both parties. After much deliberation, it was resolved to put to death all the white men, which was accordingly done. This removed the cause of their quarrels, and they lived at peace again.

We were now steering for Strong's [Kosrae] Island, with the breezes, beautiful weather, and cheerful hearts.

Sunday, October 19th, we spoke the **Atlantic**, of Nantucket, Captain Coleman.

At daylight on Tuesday, the 26th, we were within a few miles of the land. Saw a ship coming out, which proved to be the **Charles W. Morgan**, of New Bedford, Captain Sampson, bound home. Paper, pnes, and ink were now in great demand, and, as we wrote a few lines to the dear ones at home, the thought that in one year more we too would be "homeward-bound," cheered us, and caused us to fancy almost that the time had arrived. But no, not yet could we sing "Hurra, we're homeward bound!"

At noon we came to anchor in our old resting-place. All hands hastened ashore to see our old friends and exchange greetings. We received a hearty welcome from Zegrah and his wife, who remarked to us that we all belonged to Strong's Island, we had been there so much. We learned that Rev. Mr. Snow, an American missionary, with his wife,

had taken up his residence here; also that Captain Hussey had left the island as master of the whaling brig **Wm. Penn**, of San Francisco.¹

On visiting among the natives, we discovered a feeling of antipathy to Mr. Snow had arisen among them. We soon ascertained the cause to be what we had at first anticipated. A miserable beachcomber had been telling them that "if the king allowed the missionary to remain, in a short time he would become possessor of the island; that they would have to give every thing they obtained to him," etc. We were surprised that such reports should be so circulated among the natives, as not the least cause had arisen for them, and could only account for it from the fact that it was characteristic of the class. What made the matter still worse was that, when Mr. Snow came to the island, he found this fellow friendless and homeless; his means of subsistence all gone, and begging from house to house. Taking pity upon him, he invited him to take up his abode at his house. Here he found excellent fare, and nothing to do but to eat, drink, and sleep; and, although Mr. S. was very much occupied in making improvements upon his dwelling and land attached, yet he was the last one to offer him any assistance, but, on the contrary, was repaying his kindness by endeavoring to prejudice the natives against him.

Several natives from the Island of Rotumah were residing on Strong's Island at this time. We attended one of their dances, given by them in honor of our ship's company. Their singing and dancing excelled any thing of the kind we had yet witnessed. They moved in exact time with the music, and went through the exercises with great precision. During all their dances they use the musket, which they handle with the greatest expertness. The war-dance, in particular, was one of wild and thrilling movement; their hair long, and standing in all directions from their head, even to the perpendicular; their bodies tattooed and besmeared with cocoanut oil, with nothing but a tappa about the loins and a musket by the side, they looked really frightful and war-like. The dance is performed by forming in two lines, and as they sing they perform their evolutions of advancing, discovering and attacking the enemy, wheeling to load their pieces, fronting again, the front rank dropping upon one knee to allow those in the rear to fire over them, while both lines fire in the direction of the supposed enemy, and retreat to reload. After performing these evolutions several times, they appear to come off victorious, and start off into a noisy song and dance. We remained until quite a late hour witnessing their performance, and, after all hands had given them three hearty cheers, the assemblage dispersed very peaceably. We returned to our quarters very much pleased with our evening's entertainment, wishing it were in our power to place the band in Barnum's hands.

We also attended, a few days after this, a feast and dance given by King George, at which a large wild hog was served up, and every thing "got up" in grand style. To this feast the Rotumah Kanakas were invited, and in the evening they again entertained us

1 Ed. note: See Haley's account about Captain Hussey. He died in a mutiny aboard this ship, in November 1852. See also below.

with their dances. The king and chiefs appeared highly pleased with their performances, continually exclaiming "very good fashion, that dance."

Our second officer, Mr. L. [i.e. Lowe], had been sick for a number of months, yet he possessed such remarkable energy and perseverance that he would not succumb to it, but did his duty regularly up to the time of our arriving in port; and even then he appeared to feel that when we once more got to sea he should recover; but we all felt and thought differently. We could see that he was wasting away, little by little, and we felt that his days were numbered—that he would never see his home again.

On Sunday, October 31st, divine service was performed on board by Rev. Mr. Snow. For three long years we had not listened to such sounds as came to our ears on that day. It was, to say the least, a pleasing sight to see the weather-beaten tar with a hymn-book in his hand, and to hear all unite in singing the praises of God. The sermon was very plain, yet forcible, reminding us of the short tenure of our lives, and admonishing all to oprepare for death. The feeling manner in which Mr. S. spoke of death on ship-board brought tears to the eyes of many, as we had not forgotten such a scene among our own small company. King George and the royal family were on board, and appeared to listen to the exercises with a great deal of interest; and when they were concluded, he wished to know of ous what the good man had been talking about so long. His Majesty appeared to have taken quite an interest in the missionary. He gave him a large piece of good land, built him a ice substantial house, and assisted him all in his power. He was also building a house for himself in the same vicinity.¹

In conversation with Mr. Snow, he informed us that it was his intention to take the children in charge, teach them the English language, and endeavor to bring them up in the right way. He, of course, anticipated trials and difficulties in his efforts. He did not intend to interfere with any of the old customs of the natives, but show to the rising generation the folly of these customs, that when they came upon the stage of action they would abolish their heathenish rites. We wished him God speed, for we believed him to be a true Christian—one who was actuated by no selfish motive, but by a desire to "do the Master's will." We felt, too, that great praise was due to his excellent lady, who had voluntarily surrendered the comforts and luxuries of a home among enlightened people to spend her life on one of the heathen islands of the vast Pacific, to add her mite toward civilizing and Christianizing the poor native. "Verily they will receive their reward."

We found on shore a native of the New Zealand Islands, who had been left here sick. We visited him several times, once or twice in company with Mr. Snow. He was very sick, and did not expect to revover. The "good missionary," as he called Mr. S., was doing all in his power to alleviate his sufferings, nursing him with all the love and sympathy of a brother; and Mrs. S. often visited the poor man. He expressed to Mr. Snow his confidence and belief in a dying Savior, trusting in his love and merits; and we doubt

1 Ed. note: That land was on Pisin Island, just off Lele Island on the port side, and later linked to it by a causeway.

not that when his spirit took its flight, it went to those mansions above, where the poor New Zealander is welcomed by Christ and his angels as warmly as the favored Christian of American lands.

The time had now arrived when we were to bid adieu to Strong's Island and its pleasures, some of us forever. Need we say that we had become somewhat attached to one friends here, who had ever treated us with such kindness? Never shall we forget them; and in future years, when memory shall recall former happy scenes and pleasures enjoyed while *roving*, Strong's Island and its simple, kind-hearted natives will stand forth bold and prominent.

"Isle of beauty, fare thee well!"

CHAPTER XXIV.

Success of the "Mohawk"—Ship "Napoleon."—Whaling.—Bound to the southward.—Sickness and Death of Mr. L.—Ship "Roscoe."—Pleasant Island.—Massacre of the "Inga's" Crew.—Narrow Escape.—Ship "Hannibal."—Christmas and New Year.—Ship "William Tell."—Ship "John Wells."—Violent Death of Captain Hussey.—Bound for Hong Kong.—H. B. M. 's Brig "Serpent."—Island of Rota.—Wild Boar.—A general Stampede.—"All Hands and the Cook."—Man the Victor.—Heavy Gales.—Gad's Rock.—Formosa.—Bashee Islands.

On Friday, November 12th, soon after leaving Strong's Island, we gammed with the **Mohawk**, our old friends, and learned that they had taken eight hundred barrels of oil the previous season on Japan. We could not but envy them, as we were one year from home when they sailed. But we felt that if we could but see the whales, we would soon add to the one thousand barrels we had in our hold.

A few days afterward, at Ocean [Banaba] Island, we spoke the ship **Napoleon**, of New Bedford. The following day we raised whales, and, determined to give them battle, lowered four boats. In less than two hours we had three alongside, and at sundown "started the works" with merry hearts. A few more such lowerings would point the old ship's head homeward.

But for the present we must steer for a southern port. Our second officer, Mr. Lowe, had been failing in health for many months, and our captain determined to make Sydney, New South Wales, that medical advice and treatment might be procured, for him. Accordingly, about the 1st of December, we left the Group, bound for Sydney. But a short time elapsed, however, ere we saw that it was of no use; Mr. L. could not live long enough ...

We related to him all the circumstances connected with our late adventures, and he congratulated us heartily upon our narrow escape. The circumstances connected with the taking of the **Inga** were, as nearly as we could learn, as follows: The vessel was near the island [of Nauru], and crowded with natives. While trading with them, Captain Barnes, whether wisely or not we can not say, kept a cutlass in his hand; and, during the transaction of some petty trade, had some high words with a notorious chief, who, fancying himself insulted, seized the cutlass, cut Captain B. through the body, and then tossed him overboard. This was the signal for a general massacre. After killing all but one white man and a native of the Sandwich Islands, whom they took prisoners, they rifled the ship of all they considered valuable, and then attempted to run her ashore. Not succeeding very well themselves, they ordered their prisoners to work the brig to the land, or they would kill them. This they secretly determined not to do; and, bracing the head-yards one way and the after-yards in a contrary direction, caused the brig to remain in nearly a stationary condition. This puzzled them exceedingly; and, fearing a ship might heave in sight, they determined to scuttle her. Accordingly, a chief commenced cutting a hole in her side with an axe, which he let fall overboard after a few strokes. They then determined to set her on fire, which they did, and left for the shore. She probably burned to the water's edge, as she was never heard from afterward.

We learned that the two prisoners were kept in close confinement on shore, yet kindly treated. We never learned what became of them, yet we trust they were released from the grasp of these murderous villains, as several ships visited the island after having heard of the destruction of the brig, and we know that no whaling captain would leave a thing undone to rescue them.

We took from Pleasant Island two men, one a native of the Azores, or Western Islands, and the other a New Yorker. These men begged the captain to take them with him, as they were afraid to remain on the island since the late massacre.

Christmas Day came round in due season, and, although it did not bring us roast turkey, yet it did sperm whales. We captured two fine ones on that day; and, as we finished stowing them down in the hold, New Year's Day [1853] came upon us, bringing "more of the same sort," which proved very acceptable.

On Tuesday, January 5th, we spoke the **William Tell**, of Sag Harbor, Captain Taber, who reported that the **Mohawk** had visited Pleasant Island, and purchased several articles belonging to the ill-fated **Inga**. The natives had taken the chronometer apart, and were wearing the wheels and other parts of it around their necks as ornaments. They also reported that, had we been alone at the time of our late visit to Pleasant Island, we would certainly have lost our ship and our lives; nothing prevented it but our being in company with the **Roscoe**. When we heard this, we could but feel that

"There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

The following day we spoke the **John Wells**, of New Bedford, Captain Cross. He reported that a mutiny had occurred on board the **William Penn**, by which Captain Hussey had been murdered by a Kanaka. The murder was committed about 4 A.M. Captain H. was in the vicinity of some of the islands of the Group, and, while engaged in looking over the "weather rail" for land, a Kanaka boat-steerer seized a spade and darted it through him, killing him almost instantly. The body was immediately thrown overboard, and the gang (seven or eight of the crew), led by the Kanaka, commenced their murderous work. They killed the steward and cook, severely wounded the mate and second mate, and then, seemingly actuated by some merciful freak, stopped their bloody performances, and promised to leave the vessel quietly if the officers would allow them to take what they wanted. This request was readily granted, as the peaceable portion of the crew and officers were but too willing to have them leave. They accordingly took a boat, and steered for Sydenham's [Nonuiti] Island, where the ringleader belonged. The Kanaka took with him a large sum of money belonging to Captain Hussey, and he had not been on shore twenty-four hours ere he was shot by a beachcomber to obtain possession of it. Thus we see the scoundrel met with his deserts.

Captain Hussey also met with the same fate that he consigned one of his own crew to. He murdered his fellow-man in cold blood, and he, in his turn, died a violent death.

The reader must not think, from reading these scenes of violence and murder, that they were continually occurring in this part of our globe. On the contrary, the natives there are generally well-disposed and peaceable; but at this time the islands were thronged with miserable beachcombers—men whose only object and desire appeared to be blood and plunder. The majority of them were escaped convicts from New South Wales, and a more blood-thirsty set of villains never went unhung.

We were now nearly forty months from home, and we found it necessary to prolong the voyage another season. To do this, however, we must have more provisions (bread, meat, and flour) than we now had on board. These could be obtained more advantageously at Hong Kong than at any other port, and our captain accordingly determined to steer for that port.

On Sunday, January 16th, spoke Her Majesty's brig of war **Serpent**, S. W. Hammett, acting commander. Captain H. inquired very particularly concerning the late transactions at Pleasant Island. On taking his leave, he expressed his determination to proceed to the Group, visit all the islands, and rid them of the rascally beachcombers that infested them.

We touched at the island of Rota, one of the Ladrones, on Tuesday, January 25th, and procured a quantity of fruit, hogs, etc. Among the *animals* was a ferocious wild boar, which the natives had captured on the mountains. He was securely fastened when brought on board, but, as no-one knew he was wild, the thongs were cut, and he was set at liberty. This was no sooner done that he made a rush at some of the men, who fled in double-quick time. Turning, he played the same game on another group, until he had complete possession of the deck, all hands taking to their heels, clambering into the rigging, on to the rail, water-butt, and any place that was the most convenient, without stopping to *ask questions*. Here was a fix—a wild boar had succeeded in taking the ship! His swinish majesty appeared to enjoy the fun hugely, going about the decks making such observations as suited him best, and driving the other porkers around at his pleasure. ONce, however, he overshot his mark. The cook, ensconced in his galley, with both doors closed, felt secure, and would occasionally push one of them ajar and take a look. Porkey finally discovered this move, and, thinking it an unwarrantable intrusion upon his rights, raised his bristles, showed his teeth, and made for the old doctor. Seeing him coming, the old darkey seized a dipper of scalding-water from his copper, and, as Mr. Hog approached within proper distance, *bristling* for the fight, gave it to him between the eyes. This was too much for his lordship, and a mode of warfare which he least expected. He did not pay the doctor a second visit alive. A number of plans were now devised for his capture—among the rest, that of *lassoing* him. Portuguese Manuel, *who knew all about managing wild hogs*, as he said, volunteered to go down upon deck and dip a running bowline over his head. No sooner, however, did his feet touch the deck, than the boar, seemingly mistrusting his evil designs, rushed after him. Away went Manuel, yelling for dear life, with the boar close at his heels. He finally succeeded in mounting the rail, and, thinking the boar still in close pursuit, kept on ascending the rigging with all possible speed, until the mate cried out,

and asked him "where he was going?" On hearing this, Manuel looked about him, and, seeing the boar still on deck, descended to the rail, his hair erect, countenance pale (for a Portuguese)—in fact, frightened out of his wits. The crew, scattered about on the rail and in the rigging, presented a truly laughable sight: one or two with their countenances exhibiting the strongest emotions of fear; others with their faces expanded by a broad grin; some cursing the Spaniards for bringing off a "wild boar;" others looking at it as an excellent joke, and laughing heartily at the whole affair. After some time spent in manœuvring, a bowline was slipped over his head, when he was soon choked down, dispatched, and placed in the hands of the cook.

About the 1st of February we experienced a very heavy gale. We were obliged to take our boats in on deck, heave-to, and secure things generally. The steward, not having taken this precaution in regard to his crockery, etc., found it suddenly coming through the pantry door as the ship gave a sudden lurch. The floor was finely strewn with broken dishes, tea, coffee, molasses, and sundry other articles, gloriously mixed in one heterogeneous mass.

On Sunday, February 6th, we sighted Gad's Rock; also the southern point of the island of Formosa. The next morning the northern Bashee Islands were in sight, bearing W.N.W. Found our reckoning to be latitude 21°27' N., longitude 121°31' E.

...
[In Chapter 25, the ship reached Hong Kong on 10 February 1853. There they met many U.S. ships, among them, the steam frigate **Susquehanna**, and the sloops of war **Plymouth**, **Portsmouth**, and **Saratoga**, and also the store=ship **Supply**. There were ships from many nations, including English Navy ships. The deck of the **Emily Morgan** soon became crowded with Chinamen of all descriptions., which led to the following encounter between a Chinaman and a native of Abemama.]

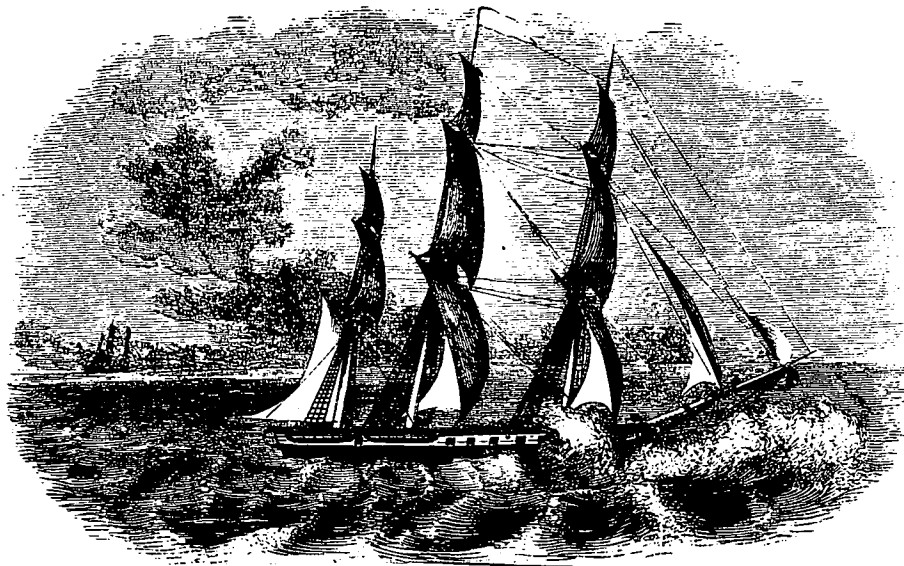
...
The decks now presented a comical spectacle. The bald head of the Chinaman stood out prominent; the honorable tail, neatly dressed, the end tipped with ribbon, was conspicuous in all. Each was dressed according to his calling; the merchant in the finest silks, and the common laborer in the coarsest garments. OUR Kanakas had their own sport with them, never having seen a Chinaman before, and regarded them as objects of the greatest curiosity. This was especially the case with Dick Simpson, our King Mills' native. Not being satisfied with viewing them at a distance, he walked up to one, took hold of the long, braided tail of hair, and cried out, laughing heartily, "Look here! what for all the same? hey? All same big fool. By golly! I no been see all same that, my land! 170 He then laughed till he could laugh no more, seemingly splitting his sides. The poor Chinaman looked at him in perfect amazement, and, not appearing to relish the joke, jabbered away in his own language. This appeared to astonish Dick still more, and he again broke forth: "What this fellow talking about? see that! By golly! say, long-tail, what you talk about? You no saba noting; more better you go ashore; bimeby me eat you—look out!" Dick had to stop again to laugh heartily, the Chinaman stared so earnestly at him.

...
[The ship left Hong Kong at the beginning of March, and whaling was resumed, in June, near the Bonin Islands. The Abemama native shipped aboard another whaler to return home.]

...
The following day [26 August 1853] we again gammed with our old friends of the **Roscoe**. It will be remembered that we had with us a Kanaka from Simpson's Island, whom we called "Dick Simpson." As he did not wish to go to America, the captain told him that he might go into the first ship that we met that would take him to his island. An opportunity now presented itself in the **Roscoe**, and Dick availed himself of it. The captain gave him his discharge, and paid him in tobacco, pipes, calico, trinkets, etc.—the currency of "his land"—and Dick prepared to leave us. Nearly every one of the crew made him some present as a token of affection, for we all loved good-natured, obliging Dick Simpson. What if his skin was of a dingy hue, he had a brave, good heart, as we all could testify, and we could see that heart was heavy as he bade us each an adieu. The "pumps" of more than one warm-hearted sailor were "set going" on that occasion, but none were ashamed of them. Neither was he soon forgotten, but long remembered by us all.

...
[After their last season, they went to the Hawaiian Islands of Maui, visiting Lahaina, etc. Then they were homeward bound.]

...
We felt that we had a right to be happy. For more than four long and weary years had the ship been our floating home. We had labored, toiled incessantly, in storm and in calm—in the boats and on board ship—beneath the scorching heat of the tropical sun, and the freezing cold of rigid climes—been exposed to all dangers both on sea and land—and now, we hoped, we were going home to enjoy the fruit of our hard-earned savings. Gong home! None but they who have been separated from near and dear friends, as we had been, for years, can fully realize the joy which these words produced.



Homeward bound.

Document 1850N

Dr. Rabe's papers—Part 7—The oral history of Koror, by William Gibbons

Note: These legends were written by William Gibbons in 1890 at the request of Dr. John Rabe, an American dentist and resident of California who toured the Pacific and spent several months in Palau. The journals filled by Gibbons are part of the Rabe Papers, now contained in the Pacific Collection of the Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii. These papers constitute Numbers 31 and 32 of the Robert E. Van Dyke Collection. They have been edited lightly to make them more readable, and modern spellings of proper names have been substituted whenever possible. Further editing was done in 1986 by Karen L. Nero of UCB and P. Kempis Mad of Belau National Museum. I have used the Palauan plural prefix "Re-" rather than adding the American plural suffix "s" to Palauan words. In some cases this prefix requires the insertion of the "I" infix for "people of." Thus is the name of the young men for Ngerengchol/Ngerebeched, the plural being Retumuk. Desekele is a place name, and the plural designation for the people of Desekele is Rechidesekele. Further edited by the Micronesian Seminar, on 20 February 1987.

Sketches of the rise and progress of Koror and its government

About the year I know not when, but somewhere between this and creation, there existed, and still exists, a village in the Belau group called Oreor [Koror], governed in the time that I write of by six chiefs called Rubak, and at that time very inferior, but at present of a little consequence. As then they were divided among themselves. Three on either side as follows: Kldnguul of Ingeaol, Kldnguul of Ngirmeriil and Kldnguul of Techemding. Three governed that portion of Oreor, called Ngermengang, Ngeremen-gang. The following three governed the other portion called Beluu er a Eteet. They were Kloteraol, Kldnguul of Eteet, and Rekesiwang. They were surrounded by the following villages: Ngermid, Ngerebechedesau, and Desekele on the same island; and Ngerkebesang, another island, connects to Desekele by a macademized road, but is fordable at low tides. These villages in their various modes kept Oreor in a servile state of subjection, they being the most powerful parties; and it is universally known that the possession of might usurps the place of right.

These villages at various times and single-handedly used to commit some very un-called-for ravages on the Oreor people. They would, on their visits to Oreor, if the day happened to be raining, remove the roof of the house on their route and use it as an umbrella! [The idea of using the roof of a house as an umbrella calls for an explanation

pades of the young and fair would very often drive the Oreor dandies to madness and blind their eyes to superior force of their enemies and cause them to attack them, but not to beat them—very often severely wounded, and occasionally a death or two. But the Musachel [as we shall for the future call them Ngerkebesang] as a matter of course were always the victors, and consequently more daring in the sight of their weaker brethren. They had also possessed themselves of the fishing grounds and would actually starve the Oreor people; and when hunger invaded their empty stomachs and obliged them to make secret excursions on their own fishing grounds, they were hunted and driven away at the point of the spear. This drove them to seek for new fishing grounds, which they found at a place called Ngederrak in the vicinity of an island by the name of Angkur (Ngerengchol), inhabited by a tribe called Tumuk. They were a very numerous tribe and warlike but also very poor as their island was nothing but rocky hills and could not produce enough to support the numerous population. However, their fishing grounds were good. To this place the better class [the rich] of the Oreor people would go on fishing excursions, and on one of these excursions there happened to be some of Kloteraol's young men fishing for clams. The god of the tribe, Chelid, was on his lookout; a favorite seat of his, and all canoes passing must, as is customary, stop and give a part of whatever they may have in their canoes. Consequently, Kloteraol's young men called in with an offering of his clams, which the Chelid graciously received with many thanks and asked the young men for any news that they may have had to dispose of. They in return informed him of the frequent skirmishes between them and the Musachel tribe, with the casualties connected, certainly stating facts which I am not in possession of—consequently, you will excuse my not giving them. But, should I be fortunate in getting them at some future time, I promise that you shall have them. And now I must ask your pardon for this digression and for the future ones that I may have occasion to make, but shall nevertheless return to the subject.

Now this Chelid, having been contented with the news received from the men, he then in answer said: "If I were in your stead (*Odekuul me a cheuid*). Tell Kloteraol that and don't forget." They promised to give the desired information and took their leave. Arriving home, they met with a gracious reception from their master, who during the preparation of supper entered into a conversation with himself. Asking himself what his message should mean, he came to the conclusion that he would visit the Chelid at his island. He gave his wife orders to get some of her first quality of taro, as he was going on a visit to a friend. He also told his men to get some young coconuts, betel nuts, and *kebui* used for chewing; the use of tobacco in those early days was unknown, consequently not required. This done, he told his family of his intended visit, which he also told them was to be kept a secret from all visitors to his house. Should any chiefs of the tribe call to see him, they should say he was unwell. After this, I suppose, the conversation became general, exchanging sentiments with each other, and the night far spent, they retired to rest. Kloteraol and his young men were betimes and prepared for their journey or voyage. After taking leave of his family, he and his party embarked for the island of Ngerengchol. Arriving there, they met with a hearty welcome from the chiefs

of the tribe. Kloteraol was then presented to the Chelid, who received him with much kindness. After a friendly chew of betel nut and compliments passed on either side, the young men were dismissed to amuse themselves according to their different inclinations during the conference between Kloteraol and the Chelid, which lasted for some time. It was supposed that they were forming plans for attracting and conquering the Musachels. The Chelid also told Kloteraol that his warriors were many, but his territory small and insufficient to support so dense a crowd. Kloteraol, on his part, agreed that they should in combination conquer the Musachels, and then attack the Desekel tribe, conquer them, and take possession of their territory. This settled, the time, place, and plans were agreed on. Kloteraol took his leave and returned home highly elated with his interview.

Returning home, he informed his brother chiefs of his visit to the Tumuk tribe, and the result of this brought about a meeting of the Oreor chiefs. They determined in council to make a war on the Musachel tribe, Desekel not being mentioned as it was their intention to take them by treachery. Consequently, their movements were all in secret. These chiefs also sent ambassadors to the Ngarusmou tribe, soliciting them to take part in the intended war with the Musachel. The ambassador was received with friendship, his propositions agreed to, and at the time appointed he returned and was received with marks of respect. The Musachel were not aware of what was going on; they still made their raids on Oreor. The Oreor people made themselves scarce, they were engaged making weapons of war: spears, helmets, and other implements, for use when required. They also sent ambassadors to other tribes [now extinct] to solicit their assistance in the coming war. They as a matter of course agreed, time and place agreed without terms. The ambassadors returned with favorable report from the different tribes. During this time the Oreor warriors were not idle at weapon-making. As the time appointed was the full moon (year, month, or day, is not known), at which time the tides are highest and it is more suitable for them to retreat if beaten. The time draws on and the moon is near the full. Each of the allied villages is preparing after their own inclination, as they prepared a flight to a fight; be that as it may, they are preparing. The chiefs are also soliciting the protection of the numerous Chelids, whom they suppose preside over their battles, but keep out of the reach of the spears when darted, as their Chelid ships are not spear-proof.

By some means the Musachel have good information of what is going on. They also have commenced to prepare for defense. The day of the full moon has arrived. The allied forces met abreast of Ngerkebesang and landed a party at Ilil, below a hill occupied by the Musachel and supposed to be their stronghold. This hill is fortified with large stones which they roll down the hill, supposing to crush their enemy. But the enemy is going up the hill slowly but surely while the stones roll down beside them harmlessly. The Musachel are also armed with spears and small stones for close quarters. But they do not impede the progress of the allies. They are marching up the hill through showers of spears and stones which do not affect them in the least as they are equipped with large helmets which protect their heads against the stones. They had also a sort of

shield to break the force of the spears. The allies gain the summit of the hill. There is a hand-to-hand fight with several killed and wounded on either side. The battle becomes fierce for their savage blood is up, but it does not last. The Musachel do not retreat; they disgracefully break and run. The allies spearing them as they run, they fall and yell fearfully. But the allies have no pity for them. The shouting, yelling, and conch blowing becomes fearful. Men, women and children are yelling and flying in disorder, and the hounds of retribution are on their tracks, some secreted under rocks, others in the tops of trees. The sun disappears from the scene of blood leaving a table gown to cover the retreat of the flying Musachel, who under that cover retreat to a cave then unknown to the allies. In this cave they lay all huddled together shivering with cold and fear, while the allies are enjoying themselves in the houses of their enemies. They took one woman prisoner whom they would have killed, but the Tumuk chiefs advised to the contrary. They advised that instead of killing her, they should keep her for a two-fold purpose: the one as a spy, and the other as a prostitute. Whence arose this big-house system, a disgrace to both heathen and Christendom and a great pity. Oh! I beg pardon for this digression, and refrain from saying that which I would have.

But after the night's revel with the allies and digression of the conquered and the sun being risen, the conquerors commenced to plunder. While engaged in this, the Musachel chief, Esbangel, found an ambassador whom he sent to the Ngarusmou chiefs by the name of Techetbos, inviting him to a private conference in his cave of concealment. Techetbos, of course, found means to absent himself and followers from the immediate presence of the allies, and visited Esbangel in his cave. The Oreor chiefs now highly elated with their conquest had not observed the absence of the Ngarusmou party, but took to their canoes and came abreast of Desekele, where they anchored to await the arrival of all parties to go to Oreor and partake of a feast which had been prepared for the victor. The Retumuk ideas were very different. As they struck up a war dance on their canoes, the Oreor chiefs at this time had brought several tubs of molasses and water mixed, and invited them to drink. But they refused saying: "Fulfill the promise that you made to us; fulfill the promises you made and would not be quieted." While this was going on, Techetbos made his visit to Esbangel, who gave him a piece of native stone money called *Okau*, something of great value. He told him that he felt himself above paying such money to an inferior place as Oreor then was. Techetbos then promised Esbangel that he would withdraw immediately, bid him adieu and left. By this time his absence was observed and inquiries made as to his whereabouts. While these inquiries were being made, he hove in sight. But his prow was in a different direction from the allies from whom he had very unceremoniously withdrawn himself. Kloteaol hailed him. But he answered: "I'm homeward bound loaded with *Okau* [*the Belau money*]." Kloteaol then stood up on his canoe and took a bit of coconut fibre and bent it saying: "*This is my net and if I don't catch it on the eastern sides I will catch it on the western coast.*"

He returned to his friends to inform them of the unceremonious departure of Techetbos, whom he met still demanding the promise that he had made. Kldnguul of In-

geaol then asked what was his promise. He told him that he had promised them the village of Desekel as their payment for their assistance in the conquest of Ngerkebesang. To this Kldnguul agreed, and the next day was appointed for attacking them. The day was far spent; consequently, they lodged at Oreor, intending to march across the next morning. The Oreor people, having family connections at Desekel, would most likely give them the best information they possess as for their safety. They may have been seen under cover of the darkness, men and women removing their private effects from one place to another, some removing into Oreor. Here you may see a man with a torch passing beneath the shadow of a tree, here a party of men may have been seen with torches under a tree, here a woman, there a man, here children going this way and that with torches in picturesque disorder. The night is far spent. All is bustle at Desekel.

The day has dawned. The warriors are preparing to march. When they hear the news of the village being deserted, they feel disappointed as their savage thirst for blood has been foiled. Nevertheless, they march into the village as the few stragglers march out. A few of the poorer class remained and claimed fellowship with the Retumuk. The aristocrats remove to a cave called Dibadelemarach where they ended their days in seclusion and starvation, both of which they preferred to the servile life which they would have led, had they resided among their conquerors. Some of them would make night excursions into their late village to recover treasures which they had hidden in the earth. Some of them in these excursions were caught and barbarously murdered and their treasures lined the pockets of the stronger thieves. Strange to say, their cave was not known by their conquerors, though being so near that about forty strokes of an oar would take them to the entrance. Consequently, these Redesekel were never troubled by their enemies. In some occasions a few of the stronger would climb to the top of the cave, perhaps to take a last fond look at their cultivated lands and coconut groves, the labour of their own hands, which strangers had taken possession of and defined their presence there. The Retumuk had full possession undisturbed. They also divided the land by lots, each chief allotted his portion which became hereditary. They also changed the name from Desekel to Ngerbeched. While they were happy in their new homes, the poor Redesekel were dying miserably in their cave. Not having burial ground, the living and dead were huddled together. Some one or two managed to get away into some other friendly tribe and claimed a relationship, but the others died miserably. It is supposed at the present day that a great deal of stone money and valuable turtle shell plates and armlets are to be found in the cave. But superstition keeps them sacred. On my first arrival on the island, I was introduced to one of those natives and the last of the Redesekel, a man highly respected among the natives, more civilized than the natives of the present day. I have erred again.

During the settlement of the Retumuk in their new homes, the Oreor people had been hunting up the Musachel when through a trail of blood they were led to the cave where they found them all huddled together: men, women and children. They took them all prisoners, but didn't ill use them. They dust their wounds, reinstated the chiefs, and took their women to fill their harems [you will remember the first woman that they took

prisoner was the rise of the big-house system which has been carried on the bounds of humanity and very near time there was a stop put to it by some philanthropist], and extracted the canine teeth out of the men, i.e. their money. This done, they left them to console themselves as their fancy led them.

During this, Kloteraol had not been idle. *Okau*, the money which Techetbos the Ngarusmou Ngeruikl chief had received from Esbangel, kept his mind in a state of activity in forming plans for the possession of that money. Consequently, he commenced by causing discord among the Beliliou tribes. The cause of disagreement among those tribes is not known with any certainty, but it is imperfectly asserted that Kloteraol advised the Ngerechol chiefs against paying tribute to Ngesias chiefs, and again advised the Ngesias chiefs to stand up for their ancestral rights. These contrary advices caused contrary feelings between the two tribes; Ngerechol thought themselves imposed upon, and Ngesias thought themselves affronted and consequently exacted a heavy fine from the offenders. This fine was not forthcoming, they preferring to leave the village and locate in some other. Ngesias was determined that they should. This suited Kloteraol's purpose and his advice was asked by the Rechol. This he gave with the greatest pleasure as follows: "If," said he, "I were in your situation, I would stand it no longer but go into some other tribe for a time, like Ngeruikl." Of course, he knew that after a time they would have to be reinstated and, as is customary, the tribe that reinstates them also gives them a large piece of money, while they in return pay out a small sum. Kloteraol, knowing this, thought that Techetbos would most likely give them *Okau*. The better reason he had for his advice, which they took, and in a few days they left their ancestral homes and were strangers at Ngeruikl. Certainly they were well treated. They had taro patches allotted them and comfortable houses, but they were strangers.

From them we will turn for a little while, and pay a flying visit to Oreor and her chiefs now in the zenith of exultation. They have destroyed the causeway that joined Ngerkebesang with Desekel, and built a pier at Oreor. They have also made the Musachel tributaries. They exact no tribute money or other property, but tribute of women for the use, or abuse of, their soldiers [Cheldebechel]. These soldiers, be it known, are composed of aristocrats, democrats, thieves and rogues, and these poor degraded women are kept to decoy vagabonds from other tribes to come and enlist in the Oreor regiments, or clubs, as they are styled by foreigners. This is the rise of the big-house system, from which I turn in disgust and pay a flying visit to Kloteraol, who we shall find highly elated with the progress that his tools, the Rechol, are making in favour of his plans as to his possessing *Okau* then. In this the other chiefs are silent, Kloteraol being thought the greatest politician of that day.

They are, nevertheless, in great expectations. They are still in two factions. Kldnguul of Ingeaol keeps quiet in political matters and only interferes when a common enemy threatens to invade their territory, which is not the case at present. Consequently, he and other chiefs amuse themselves in paying visits to friends in the Tumuk village and having a sharp look out on the Musachel, fearing a revolt. Several moons have gone past, the Rechol are getting tired of their quarters. They are not ill used, but they are

not what they would be in their own village. Consequently, they have consulted Techetbos as to their future plans. He advises a return to their own village to enjoy the sweets of their ancestral possessions. Just what they expected. The time was also appointed for their departure from his territory to their own. They also sent word to Ngesias to inform the chiefs there of their intentions. The Ngesias people received the news with much pleasure. The messenger then returned to Ngeruikl and informed his chief of the reception that he met with at Ngesias and the result of his embassy. The appointed time of their departure is yet for many days.

Consequently, they are paying a round of visits to other tribes, bidding adieus to friends. Now the time of their departure draws on apace. They are in high spirits, a few days hence and they shall be on their way to their long-deserted homes. There is great preparations making for their departure: canoes being put in order, provisions being prepared to last for many days. Techetbos is going to accompany the expedition; in fact, he is one of the principal parties. As far as money is concerned, as he gives one large piece and gets many small ones in return. Ngeruikl is all bustle, removing their effects, one canoe drawing in, another drawing out with her freight, women and children bidding adieus, a tear shed here, and another there, some genuine, others feigned. However, all is bustle at the landing place or place of embarkation. The ladies and gentlemen now take their seats preparatory to starting, the paddlers shove off their canoes, and the fleet is in motion. The weather is fine, and in about thirty-six hours they arrived at their desired port without casualties. Next day the Ngesias chiefs came over, the money was paid and received, and all preliminaries settled. Techetbos and his party took their leave, and in about twenty-four hours they arrived safely home.

The Rechol, after they had been once more at home and making themselves happy, had not the least idea that Kloteraol was the cause of their being driven from their homes, but still thought him their friend. Kloteraol by this time had got the news of *Okau* being paid at Beliliou, informed Kldnguul of Ingeaol—telling him at the same time that he was going to Ngerechol after it—and made a point that Kldnguul should await his coming at a place appointed at the full moon. He told him that he would not be a day more or less, and that Kldnguul on his part should not disappoint him, but be at the place appointed on the appointed day. This settled, the friends parted. The next day Kloteraol was on his way to Beliliou. Arriving there, he landed and gave his crew orders not to beach the canoe without orders from himself. This done, he went up to the big house, a place for the reception of visitors. The chiefs were much flattered by his visit, not knowing the purpose of that visit (nor were they likely to know it for some days). However, they treated him with marked kindness. He at once feigned to be sick with diarrhea, every once and again pretending to go out for evacuation. This went on for a few days, his crew calling to see him occasionally and receive orders. These orders were that when the tide was high they should keep in shore, but at low tide keep out in the deep, and be ready at a moment's warning.

This uncertainty is going on for some days and the moon is traveling toward the full, but his mission is not known. One morning, about two days before the full, he asks one

of the chiefs [Rubak] if they had any sennit for making twine since he would like to have a little to make sea-rings for his canoe. They told him that they had and immediately went and brought him some, which he combed out to select the long fibres, as they thought for use. But the use that he wanted it for was very different from what they thought, as we shall see. While he was thus engaged, the chiefs were consulting among themselves who should go and ask the purpose of his mission there. During this he had piled the coconut fibre up in front of him and hid his basket out of sight. The chiefs then sent one of their party to ask what was his mission there. He answered that his own curiosity had led him there [pressing his hand against his abdomen pretending to allay the pain], that he had heard talk of *Okau* but had never seen it, and this may be his last chance before he'd go thence and be no more seen. The chief answered, saying that if that was all, his curiosity might have been satisfied at least three days ago. They would in a very short time produce the money and satisfy his desire, and connecting the action with the words left his presence. They returned in a few minutes with the covered *Okau* stooping very low to him.

"Oh!" said he, as he rubbed it against his nose, kissed it and put it in his basket [and then laid his hand on his abdomen to press the pain he never felt]. He told the bearer to go to his seat until his pain had ceased. He would then inspect it, but said nothing about returning it. His basket, if you remember, was very small and the coconut fibres were piled over this basket. Consequently, it was not perceptible. Therefore, there was not the slightest grounds for suspicion.

The moon is full, the tides are high, his canoe is in waiting, the time is early morning, the inhabitants are busy preparing their morning meal, the chiefs at the other end of the house are in deep conversation, Kloteraol groans for his fictitious pain, lays one hand on his abdomen and with the other grasps a lot of the fibres with his basket concealed therein, hurries out of the house as though to answer nature's call [a call she never gave] bending himself as though still in pain, walks down to the place of embarkation, got on his canoe and gave orders to set sail and away. With the wind blowing strong from the southwest and the canoe running about seven miles an hour, they soon got out of sight. Kloteraol was in the zenith of his pride.

By this time the morning's meal is ready and brought to the big house, the chiefs' attention are awakened, there is a stir made and Kloteraol is not to be found. There is a search made and questions asked and answered: Who saw him last? Where did he pass? What had he? Who was with him? All these questions were asked, but no-one could give any satisfactory answer. The alarm was sounded, the soldiers mustered, but Kloteraol was not there. "To arms, to arms, launch the canoes." The canoes are launched, but the fleeing Kloteraol is not in sight, and they think it madness to follow him to his own territory, fearing the impossibility of their return. Consequently, they left at last *Okau* and saved their lives.

Let us leave Beliliou and pay a visit to Kldnguul, who is at his place of appointment with two of his young men to welcome the wily Kloteraol. Kloteraol did not appear, but sailed outside of the reef and entered the passage of Ngesekesau, the same, if you

remember, that his young men pass through on their fishing excursion to Ngederrak. Kldnguul is still waiting. The sun has passed the meridian, his young men advise him to go home, but he will not disappoint his brother chief and still keeps his place of appointment. The sun is in the west; the fishermen are coming home from Ngederrak. They come to Toi er a Chuiu where Kldnguul is at anchor awaiting his brother chief. The fishermen present him with some fish, as is the custom. He in turn asks them if they had seen any canoe under sail from the south. Yes, they had seen Kloteraol and gave him some fish. "Is he coming this way?" "No, he has gone into Ngesekesau." "He will come," said Kldnguul, "and I will wait." His young men draw his attention to the sun now far in the west, but he says: "Kloteraol will come and I will wait." Another canoe comes in.

—"Have you seen any canoe coming from the south? Have you seen any go past?"

—"Yes."

—"Do you know who it was?"

—"Yes, it was Kloteraol."

—"Where has he gone?"

—"Through the Ngesekesau passage."

—"That is good."

Where his canoe was anchored there was a ledge of rock overhead, and growing on the rock was a rised(?) tree called *Kesiil*, very hard and strongly rooted. He told his young men to go up and take one of these up by the root. They obeyed. The work was tedious and the tool to do it with was a stone axe. This took them over an hour. The moon was high in the eastern skies and the time of their arrival home was about 8 o'clock. The night was fine, but Kldnguul's work was not done. He landed and sat down to await the ebb, and then when the water receded and left the flat dry, he told his young men to plant the tree that they had brought from their place of meeting. This done, they wended their way home in silence, Kldnguul being in very low spirits at his friend's deception. There was no friendly greeting. Their supper was taken in silence, and after that meal they retired for the night. The next morning, Kldnguul, whom we shall for the future call Rubasch, gave his young men orders that they should take particular notice of the tree, and let him know when the branches were getting brittle. This, of course, would take some time. The tree was of a hardy nature, and the water, though salty, afforded moisture to the roots and kept the branches pliable for some time. This, of course, did not deter the young men's visits of inspection, and consequently their reports to Rubasch as to the durability or brittleness of the branches. Kloteraol had also heard of this and did not feel very comfortable over the matter, suspecting and rightly so that when the branches began to be brittle, the day of retribution for his duplicity to Rubasch was at hand. He also told his young men to let him know when the leaves of the tree were falling. This he thought would be about the time that Rubasch would unmask his hidden intentions. But it was not the case. Rubasch's plans had not arrived to maturity.

There was also at that time a man called Ibedul er a Kereel or chief of a line. This I will explain. Kereel means twine or a line. It appears that this man had a line tattooed on his leg, while his friends, as is customary, had the entire leg tattooed. Whether this scanty tattooing was from fear or from poverty I am unable to testify. But it appears that he was very poor and was never consulted in matters of state. He was the Ibedul er a Kereel. In decision, however, he is introduced to the reader not as an actor in the drama of his ancestral stage, but as an instrument passive. However, his time for action is at hand, and the quicker those branches gets brittle, the sooner will his presence be required on the stage of action. You may recollect that Rubasch and Kloteraol had not met since the day before the latter went to Beliliou, but both their heads were at work. The former for offence, the latter for defence.

It is reported to Rubasch by his young men, that the branches of the tree were dry and brittle. "Very good! [*Di ungil*]," he said. Kloteraol is preparing for a grand expedition to a village at Imeliik on the mainland of Babeldaob and losing sight of Rubasch's intended attack, thinking it to be at some distance or never to come to maturity. Consequently, he made light of it and went on with preparing for his expedition. Not so with Rubasch; he was secretly and silently preparing for his intended attack on the village of Eteet. He had his party well informed as to his plans and time of attack, which was not then remote. Kloteraol was in high spirits and made light of Rubasch's supposed displeasure. He gave himself entirely to the preparation for his intended expedition to the village—I have since learned the name to be Ngerebacheb to visit a distinguished chief and principal of that village. Rubasch's plans are ripe for an attack on the morrow. Kloteraol's expedition sails on the morrow. Rubasch expects to receive *Okau* as a peace offering. His warriors expect plunder. The latter is correct. Rubasch will not get *Okau*. Kloteraol will take it with him.

This morning Kloteraol's expedition has sailed for Ngerebacheb; whether Rubasch is aware of this is not known. Certain it is that he marched his warriors into the village of Eteet and made the attack, but there was no-one to defend it. A few old women and children made their escape into Rubasch's domains and were kindly received and treated. Rubasch's warriors, after plundering, set fire to the village and the smoke and flames ascending called the attention of the expedition which had been about three miles away from their village. There was a shout and great confusion among the villages, the greater part proposing a return. No-one really knew what plan to adapt. All eyes were turned to Kloteraol and ears opened to hear him, but he gave no order. He simply said: "What is the use of a return to a houseless village? Let us proceed. We will have some place of rest tonight, which we will not have if we return." The expedition went forward, while Rubasch returned disappointed and exasperated as he thought that *Okau* should have been in his grasp. This did not affect Kloteraol in the least, as *Okau* he thought more of than the village, house, wife and family. This, my dear reader, will give you some idea of the avaricious propensity of the people that I am introducing into your mind's eye. The time is passing pleasantly with Kloteraol for the next two or three days, but not so with his party. They are dumb at the mouth, as he will be in a short

time. He and his party is now landed at Ngerebacheb, where they are received, fed and housed for the night.

Rubasch's anger has got no bounds. He and his party have confiscated Kloteraol's property—namely, his taro patches—which he allots to the chiefs of his party. This is unknown to Kloteraol. He thinks "There is only a house or two burnt, and we can very soon put that to right. Let us have our fill of pleasure." This pleasure, as was and is customary to the aborigines, is as follows. Whenever any party of men visit any village out of their own tribe, there is generally a party of young ladies who visit the temporary abodes of the visitors and take their stand behind the screen of love-making, which is called *blolobel*, another name for prostitutes. This kind of pleasure Kloteraol and party was taking their fill of, not giving the least thought to the state of his home village. The god of avarice had imprinted his image upon his mental faculty, and usurped the seat of his natural ideas for all else around him, *Okau* excepted. Today he entertains a voluntary informant who gives him all particulars respecting his deserted home. The news paralyzed him for a short time. His only utterance is: "Is it so?" "Yes." He pauses and then says: "Very good. I will take this *blolobel*, as a passport for my entry into Oreor." The inhabitants of Ngerebacheb are now made acquainted with his position and deplore his forlorn condition. While this confusion to his intellect is in action, there comes another performer on the stage of affairs, one who for some time had been in the shade—Ibedul er a Kereel. This chief called on Rubasch in person and solicited a promise from him to the effect that he would use his influence in recalling Kloteraol from his self-imposed banishment to resume his seat in council, as he was thought the best politician of the day and might be a dangerous foe. Rubasch did not give any decided answer at the time, but said that he would think of the matter and in a day or two would let him know his decision and take steps immediately. This done, Ibedul took his leave to await the decision of Rubasch.

The Tumuk, whom we have not seen for some time, are in a flourishing state, having established a form of government under the supervision of Oreor. The Musachel too are now reconciled to their fallen condition. There is also a change in their government, with one of Ibedul's brothers appointed to a title called *Obak*, a sort of a dukedom which has become hereditary to Ibedul's third brother. Ibedul has also abolished some of the titled houses of Ngerkebesang and transferred them to Oreor—namely, Idid, which is Ibedul's residence. Ikelau is the residence of the chief bearing that title, he is the second chief or the opposition party to Ibedul.

Kloteraol has now had ample time to think of the future and see the error of his knavery, falsely called politics, which has given the death stroke to his hilarity. He thinks of sending a supplicatory message to Rubasch, but fears that Rubasch will demand *Okau*. Consequently, he expels the thought from the curtain of his mind and applies to his basket for a chew, after which he lies down to call some other thought to his assistance, but sleep assails his weary eyes and leads him to the land of dreams.

Rubasch has now thought of Ibedul's proposition and has come to the conclusion that he will send and offer a friendly reception to him if he would return. Ibedul ap-

proved of his condescension and asked him to hasten his messenger the next day, and they parted. Kloteraol's party are now in a state of dejection. They have not their accustomed freedom. They are living on the bounty of strangers, while their property has passed to other hands through the knavery of their chief, now exiled from his paternal acres. Kldnguul of Eteet, the next chief of Kloteraol's party, had also been a great loser, as his ancestral rights had slid down the hillside of adversity. This man also advises Kloteraol to return and submit to any terms that Rubasch should propose, for, said he, "Our present situation is a very unpleasant one, and the longer we remain here the more unpleasant will it be. For now there is a break in the everyday life of these people which can not be very pleasant, even from our point of view." Kloteraol listened attentively but without reply, and while thus engaged the scene is changed.

Rubasch's messenger is on the stage with overtures of peace. His presence is hailed with joy, though his mission is not known. After the preliminaries of the reception and application made to their baskets for a chew, the messenger commences. The house is now crowded each with opened eyes and ears to catch the first dewdrops of welcome news from their own soil by addressing Kloteraol as follows: "Sir, I am directed by Rubasch to call on you and deliver to your hearing his message, asking whether you have relented of your unfriendly behavior to him as man to man, unbecoming behavior to a chief but only suited for children in their playgrounds. This has caused the storm of his ire to spend its force in the destruction that he has made and you have caused. He further says that whether you have relented or not, he has and offers you the following terms of friendship, which you have forfeited by your unchiefly behavior. Your confiscated property will not be restored until your more chiefly behavior gives you the right to deserve that portion which I may see fit to restore. Nevertheless, you cannot be a chief, as you are still, and be a dependent; only you can not be as you were. Therefore, on these conditions I invite you to return to your ancestral home to resume your seat in council. Ibedul also requests the same. I have spoken."

Kloteraol received this friendly though humiliating message in silence. He thought of the exalted position he ought to have held in council, after their great victory and territory acquired, which ought to have been an addition to his position, but the coveted *Okau* had hurled him from that position to be a dependent in a strange village. This was too much for his degraded state. He agreed to Rubasch's proposals, but still kept his *blolobel* as another trophy and passport among his friends.

"Tell Kldnguul from me," he said, "that I admit to my acting unadvisedly. But as the fire of his indignation has burned out, let the embers die also. Let no-one replenish them with fuel. His propositions I have received with much pleasure and some pain. However, I shall consult my people as to our future welfare and send you word as to the time and plans of our return."

This done, the messenger took his leave and hastened his return, as the day was drawing to a close, and there was about four miles by water between him and Rubasch. He arrived late, but presented himself immediately to Rubasch's presence and gave Kloter-

aol's reply, which was received with thanks. Being late, he deferred his information to Ibedul till the next day.

This brings a break in my exposition, which, for lack of expositor, I am unable to mend or join, except by imagination, which for many reasons I refrain from doing. As I pretend to write truth, I will join the break here.

Rubasch is at Charekemais, where he is preparing some coconut husk for the manufacture of twine. While thus engaged, he observed a number of canoes at anchor that appeared to have been there for some time, and the rays of a vertical sun striking down on the bare heads of the occupiers. A young lad came along wading through the water, the tide being low. Rubasch asked him who he was and what he wanted. The lad told him that he had come to get a drink of water for his chief, who was in one of the canoes and was very thirsty.

—“Who is your chief?”

—“Kloteraol,” he said.

—“Oh! Is that he and his party?”

—“Yes, and he told me to inform you that he had with him a *blolobel*, and he wanted your directions as to the disposition of the same.”

—“Oh,” said Rubasch, laying his hand on his basket and looking into space. “Ah!” said he, “I thought so.”

And he took a bead *chelbuchebe* out of his basket, rubbed it against his nose, and gave it to the lad.

—“There,” he said. “Give him that and tell him to land, that I am here to receive him.”

I will explain to you what a *chelbuchebe* is. It is a bead used here as money. The value of one of the first class is sixty dollars. The history of this money is not known, but it is decidedly a necessary evil. It causes the possessor to deem himself superior to the equality of humanity. It causes a fear over the poor classes who have not been fortunate in possessing one. Should fortune favor him in possessing one, it is respectably stolen from him under the false mask of a fine for a fault that he never had.

During this digression the tide has flowed and Kloteraol is nearing the landing place where Rubasch is in waiting to receive him. He has put away the coconut husk and is now engaged in making up a chew of betel nut. Kloteraol has reached the pier, but not landed. He sends a bunch of betel nuts to Rubasch. This is called *okesodel* and customary through the group; it is intended to court a friendly feeling. He receives the *okesodel* and tells the bearer to tell Kloteraol to land. This he immediately does and sits at some distance without any words of greeting. This is not customary. They are all comfortably seated and applying to their baskets for chews, which they frequently take. The conversation becomes general, not necessary to be mentioned and if necessary not known. Ibedul is not remembered. The *blolobel* is quite at home inspecting the young dandies who have now begun to muster and view the blossoms from orange land. Rubasch now sends to ask Kloteraol whether he is prepared to remove up to the council house. He sends back to say that he is, and if Rubasch will lead the way that he will fol-

low. This settled Rubasch makes himself a chew, and says: "Let us go [*Bodrei*]." Kloteraol in answer says: "Lead on [*Bo rucher*]."

Rubasch leads the way with a long train of dusky forms, and Indian file passing over the causeway with the water on their right and a thick foliage of vegetation on their left, presenting a most picturesque appearance to the lovers of scenery. Ibedul has not been officially informed of what is taking place, but by the young dandies he has learned that Kloteraol has returned with a long train of ladies for the amusement of the chiefs. With this news he holds a middle position, neither well pleased nor displeased, but thinking [and rightly so] that he ought to have been informed. He, however, kept silent. His time was at hand and then he would show his authority.

Kloteraol's family has taken up their residence with some friends for the time. He and his party—that is Recheteet—and the *blolobel* have now been located in the council house. Rubasch takes leave for a short time to see his family and give some necessary orders as for lodging and provisioning his distinguished dependents for a short time. This done, he returned to the council house, as it was his intention to take his supper in the company of his long-parted friends. Ibedul has not yet been informed. He appears to have been hid behind the screen of forgetfulness. Supper is now ready and being served at the council house. All is life and merry-making. Ibedul has heard of the merry-making and thinks to give them an unwelcome surprise. But in this he is mistaken, as Rubasch, knowing the attractive properties of the *chelbuche* and the avaricious propensities and meagre condition of his purse, had prepared for him an agreeable surprise. As you shall see, Ibedul, while seated at his supper, heard the sound of the *orusech* [mortar used for pounding betel nut] and sent one of the attendants to see what was the reason of the noise and who were the noise-makers. The messenger returned and told him that Rubasch was there, and that the noise was occasioned by the pounding of his chews and the tattering of the *blolobel* as the future ladies of pleasure. "Very good," said Ibedul, who took up his basket and left the house. He went to the *Meketii* [council house], entered and took his seat without greeting anyone, mixed himself a chew and pounded it. After putting it in his mouth, he commences. The house is silent, no-one moves, no-one speaks. He addresses himself to Kloteraol saying: "What is this? [*Ngera tiang*] How come you are here without my knowledge?" Rubasch interrupted him with the following words: "Ibedul, the fish has got their scales off," [*a re ngikel, a ulechoel*—meaning "these are clean"—and presented him with a *chelbuche*. The first it is supposed that ever he possessed, it had the effect of an electric shock upon him. He laughed and conversed freely, congratulating Kloteraol on his return to enjoy the fat of his paternal acres, which he had not then got, nor was likely to get for some time as Rubasch had not the remotest idea of relinquishing one fathom of that which he had gained by conquest. This was not known to Ibedul or Kloteraol. They thought that he would immediately have reinstated him, as he was so anxious for his return. Also the pretended favour showed to Kloteraol from a pecuniary point of view caused the deception to have a genuine appearance. Rubasch was only punishing him with kindness

and making it visible to his understanding that he was far superior to the fascinations of *Okau*, which has never been mentioned by him or his family.

This has been a long digression from the main subject, and if your memory do not prove treacherous, you will remember that I ask pardon in one of our former meetings. You also remember that Rubasch presented a *chelbuchebe* to Ibedul saying: "I have been in error but hope that this will put a barrier between us and all future ill feelings, and that the chieflike ties that binds us at present will be so strongly tied that foes shall have no power to untie [*tmort*] them. I have finished." Ibedul now replies: "Chiefs, I am glad that for the first time we have met as chiefs. Our council is deficient. We must elect other chiefs from among our land-owners whose titles shall be hereditary, and their number ten. Also ten sub-chiefs selected from and connected with the first ten. Our council shall be composed of the seven superior chiefs to settle all state questions. The others listen in silence, the *blolobel* has gone into the land of dreams, and the Rubak [as we shall for the future call them] have followed in their steps. These men are in a state of nudity and all huddled together. Kloteraol's family has been well received, comfortably situated, and in high spirits. The Belau world is now in the arms of Morpheus, from which they are soon released to run their daily course.

The daylight has appeared and loosed the bonds that held their speech, which was directed at the ladies of pleasure on their merits and demerits. The conversation of the previous night was not renewed, but each Rubak leaving for their private dwellings to give such orders as they thought necessary as to an entertainment at the council house, where the aristocrats would all be present. The Rubak were appointed and known by their position of the entertainment, the bigger Rubak the bigger portion. This entertainment is a dinner party and to be served at noon today—excuse me, given by Ibedul. He has also appointed a kind of steward to whom he gives orders as to the distribution of the dishes, which was as follows: first, Ibedul; second, Ngiraikelau; third, Rechucher; fourth, Ngiratechekii; fifth—here is a break. Rubasch is the fifth, but there is a pause. Ibedul sends his steward to Rubasch whether he would not, from a charitable point of view, exchange portions with Kloteraol for the future, as he was then in fallen circumstances and had a large family to support. Rubasch did not reply immediately, but looked far into space for a short time and then said: "Tell Ibedul from me that I do not see why I should surrender my rights to other hands. But Ibedul requests it, I will exchange portions at public festivities, but in the division of money, I retain my portion." With this Ibedul was contented, and Kloteraol received the fifth, Rubasch the sixth. Ngircheteet seventh, Rekesiwang eighth, but has no dish or plate, Ngirmeriil ninth, and Tachemding tenth. This establishes the Rubak and bring Ibedul into notice. He rises gradually, though he is not rich.

The House of Ingeaol, Rubasch, and House of Ngirmeriil are at present the money men and largest land owners. The next performance is the division of the ladies; the one of the highest grade is paired with Ibedul. And so with the other Rubak, all paired by grades. This being an expressive part of the performance, the three last Rubak have got a share. This is the parent of prostitution, which has grown to a monster traffic par-

ticularly amongst the better class, falsely so called—the lower class, also falsely called, being the more honest.

And now as paper has been so niggardly in the retention of her sheets, I must wind up and beg to be excused until we meet again, when if fortune smiles, I may do better. My writing is bad, my pen is bad, my ink is bad, and my eyes, material, and artifices are bad. But my will is good. The missing leaves have been torn out before I got this book.

The rise and progress of Koror (Second Part)

But his (Ibedul's) riches are coming in the train of fortune which is within sight, as you shall see in the following. If your memory prove not treacherous, she will call to your recollection the entertainment at which we last met and appointed the rubak in their several grades. You will likewise remember that the first seven formed the grand council, the others being only lookers-on. The government is divided in two parties: one for Ibedul and the other for Ngiraikelau. This latter is most popular in times of commotion amongst themselves, such as contrary opinions. But in negotiations Ibedul is allowed the first opinion, but cannot without violating their laws decide any question of importance without sanction of the first seven. The other thirteen are allowed a remark, but no voice in decisions.

Each of these councilors without exception, after his election and before his admission to the council house, must pay his fee of recognition. This is not paid with cash but with a substantial package of preserved almonds, about two or three hundred pounds weight. This mixed with molasses, and through the agency of heat and a copious flow of perspiration, brings the mass to a boiling point, which causes the molasses to adhere firmly to the almonds. This done it is removed from the power of the heat, allowed to cool a little, and then molded to the shape, a trifle longer than a full grown sea cow. The whole mass is then rolled up in leaves and carefully marled up. The chief for whom this is prepared is then informed. He in turn gives orders for it to be taken to the council house. This done, a tub full of the same preparation, with two baskets of cooked taro about one hundred pounds in weight, also some young coconuts cleaned and packed in another basket, is taken to the rubak's house [as he is not entitled to any]. Ibedul is now informed. He in turn gives orders for the rubak to be bidden to the council house. As they gradually arrive, each finds a seat in the shady spots beneath the eaves of their ponderous council houses [three in number]. These are to await the arrival of His Majesty King Ibedul and receive orders for the next move in the program. During this delay sentiments are freely exchanged with each other on the casuality of the times. While thus engaged, His Majesty appears upon the stage, seats himself, and joins the conversation [which is now general] for a short time. Then he says: "Let us join my steward [*kemedangell*]," and then leads the way. They all follow and each finds his appointed seat, the doorways being reserved for the superior chief. All seated, a few remarks and many chews dispatched, the ceremony of distributing the desirable composition commences. As follows, His Majesty calls for a string, with which he measures

from his cap to his posterior. This measure is laid on the composition from the head, which is the largest part [this is His Majesty's portion] and the better half; the remainder is then divided amongst the other nineteen Rubak. The composition is made tapering, and runs off to nothing. The last Rubak may have nothing but the leaves in which the composition is rolled up. [However, he is perfectly satisfied; so am I]. These several portions are sent away to their dwelling houses.

So ends the ceremony of recognition if he be an inferior Rubak; not so if he be one of superior rank. In that case he has to give a more substantial entertainment before he is admitted in the council. His entertainment will be as follows. He has to purchase a *chelbaki*—this is, another compound of taro cooked and pounded. This is stewed in molasses to the consistency of very stiff paste. It is then made up in parcels of about three or four pounds weight. This is also sent to the council house as before and another meeting of Rubak is called, at which the chief steward is called by His Majesty and ordered to count the packages, which never exceed one hundred but keeps him employed over an hour. At the expiration of which time, His Majesty is informed that the number is one hundred [*dart*]. Of this, fifty are put out for his portion, and the remainder is divided amongst the other Rubak, the proprietor excepted [that which ought to be his portion is given to his equal in grade]. This done, the entertainer is admitted in council, but has still to give a more substantial feast [*mur*], consisting of about two or three tons of taro, a portion of which is cooked and packed in baskets, another portion still cooked is peeled, pounded to a pulp, saturated with newly-made coconut oil and served in platters of about two pounds weight. This composition dish is called *blsiich*. There is likewise two or three large cauldrons of fish, every separate fish nicely marled up and well cooked.

Also a large hog is killed, cleaned, and dissected as follows. The snout, ears, feet, tail, tongue and entrails are thrown away. The head, hams, shoulders, and rump are taken off with very nice particularity. The neck and spine is next divided. This is also nicely marled. The ribs and flanks are also cut in small pieces and marled with less particularity. This is also put in a large cauldron and cooked. The Rubak have been previously informed of the feast and now make their appearance by ones and twos, seat themselves beneath the shade trees that surround the council house to await the appearance of His Majesty, who in a short time makes his appearance. The word is passed: "Let's go in [*bodtuu*]." He leads the way while they all follow in rotation, each finding his appointed seat, and as a matter of course commences the operation of chewing. His Majesty calls his steward and inquires as to the number of Rubak present. He then bids him to count the platters. He is informed that there are so many. "Divide them." This done, there are seven dishes [wooden] brought and the operation commences. First, the head is taken out and put in His Majesty's plate, unless otherwise ordered. Second, one ham for Ngiraikelau, the other for N° 1 Rechucher. One shoulder for N° 2 Rechucher, the rump for Rubasch, the neck for Kloteraol, the first cut of the spine for Ngircheteet, the second for Rekesiwang, the third for Ngirmeriil, the fourth for Techemding. This is called *dukas* and sent to their homes. The ribs and flanks are divided amongst the

others. The broth and fat is a continuation of His Majesty's share. This is called "the bottom of the pot [*a btil a olekang*]." This done, the word is passed: "Let us eat [*domengur*]." The inferior Rubak now surround the superior to join in the meal, at the end of which His Majesty says: "Serve the drinks [*molechesebl er a kar*]," which is molasses and water. After the drink and a few chews, the stewards commence apportioning the taro, the half being His Majesty's share, the other half being divided amongst nineteen Rubak according to their several grades, some not having more than one or two taroes for his share.

Now comes the division of fish platters, and seed case of the [*keai*] palm is brought. The fish is now taken from the pots by two stewards until the remains is on a level with the liquor they have been cooked in. This remainder of each pot is His Majesty's share. This is also the bottom of the pot [*a btil a olekang*]. His Majesty is now informed as to the contents remaining, and asks what is the depth of the liquor? How many fish are left? If the answer is satisfactory, he says: "Divide it amongst the Rubak." The steward now solicits the assistance of the *remengol* to distribute the various [portions] which must be served with the greatest particularity, as if there is the least mistake. In serving an inferior before a superior Rubak, the steward will be liable to a fine as the mistake would be considered as a mark of contempt. During these distributions their conversations are carried on in very low tones. Even the two superior Rubak [though not sitting further apart than six or eight feet] must have a messenger from one to the other.

While their conversation is going on, the stewards are taking a chew preparatory to the next operation, which is as follows. "Is this drinkable? [*tia el kar?*]" His Majesty answers: "Dip and serve out [*bo molecheseb e morous*]," which ceremony is as follows. The steward comes to the vessel containing the drink, squats himself down by it, dips the first cup, stands up, and at the top of his voice shouts: "*Uchererak*." This is the god of the tribe. Being invisible, the cup is passed to someone connected with him, who drinks it and returns the cup. The next the King, then Ngiraikelau, next Rechucher N° 1, then Rechucher N° 2, then Rubasch, next Kloteraol, Ngircheteet, Rekewisang, Ngirmeriil, Kldnguul a Techemding. The others serve themselves at pleasure.

So much for the unstimulating drink, and now we will give a little attention to the chewing materials, which is a perfect bunch of areca nuts. This is brought to His Majesty for division by his own hands or direction. The first and second cuts are for Ngiraikelau and Rechucher N° 1. The third and fourth cuts are for Rechucher N° 2 and Kloteraol. The fifth and sixth cuts are for Rubasch and Ngircheteet. The balance is His Majesty's share, as none of the other Rubak has any part in the division of the areca nuts. The leaves used with the nuts are divided amongst them all, remembering that the King gets the lion's share. While they have been thus engaged, the female portion of the family of the Rubak, proprietor of the feast, have been busy stacking up the remainder of the uncooked taro on benches made for the purpose, and are called to look. There is also a large vessel called an *elengel*. In this is mixed a jar of molasses adulterated with water and called *Kao lookau*. There is also a large tub mixed with less molasses and more fit for healthy stomachs. This is *kar*, as above stated.

These preparations being finished and the day fine, the Rubaks are bidden to the proprietor's house to finish the feast. If the day is fine, as above stated, the King and all Rubaks accept the invitation; but if the weather is rainy, it costs the proprietor a piece of money as a shelter from the rain. This is called *omderengel a Rubak*, "an umbrella." This being paid, His Majesty turns to his steward and says: "*Derebai*, lead the way," (*A Derebai, bo rucheï*), and to the Rubak: "Let us go (*bodrei*)."
At this, each takes a chew, the steward gets up and says: "I am going (*Ak morolung*)" and leads the way. The King is next and each follows in rotation. The proprietor then comes out and takes his seat in front of the house where there is a macademized platform called a *cholbed*. This is an oblong square where he sits down to receive the Rubak who now arrive, take their seats and commence conversation, which now becomes general, sentiments freely exchanged, with chewing carried on until the King passes the word: "Dip up the drinks (*Molecheseb er a kar*)."
The steward hastens to obey the order, dips the first cup for Uchererak, and the others as above mentioned.

The next performance is the *ilengel*. The steward gives the word to the domestics in attendance on the different Rubak: "*Molecheseb a kaolaokou*." Each of these domestics has a large sized dipper. With these they make a rush at the *ilengel*. The first dip is for Uchererak, which he never gets; all the others dips at random, some getting a drink and some not. The raw taro packed on benches, as before mentioned, is now looked after, being the finishing of the feast. These benches are in two tares of nine each, containing from twenty up to one hundred pounds of taro, which is to be divided amongst the Rubak, the proprietor excepted. The steward now goes between the tares, one of which is the King's share. The steward now walks between and pointing to each bench, says: "This is for you to unpack," and so on until all has been finished. The tares are then removed to the houses of the various Rubak. The steward again takes his seat to await the next order, another tub of molasses and water is brought, the same ceremony is repeated, conversation and chewing is general, and the sun is drawing near the western horizon, to which the proprietor calls their attention, in which the King joins and says: "Rubak, let us go and bathe [*Rupak, bodolechong*]." The feast is finished. The proprietor is now a recognized Rubak of a high order, but before he attains to the height of his ambition he has to purchase a war canoe and give another feast called an *onged*, which is a matter of futurity. His voice can now be heard in council when there is one held, which is seldom as they then had no organized form of government except the two imperfect factions, as is above stated. The population is divided in the families of the first ten Rubak, some more and others less according to the fecundity of the various families. There was no organized body of men established for the defense of the state, consequently there was no use for barracks [*bie*]. This is nothing more or less than brothels.

At this time the King had no revenue; consequently, no use for a treasury, but he had quite address enough to lay a foundation on which his revenue was afterwards built. This foundation consisted in the building of *bie* and the organization bands of men whom they call clubs [*cheldebechel*]. These clubs are six in number and composed of

young, prime, and old men. There is also amongst them in each of these clubs ten representatives of the ten principal houses that composed the future or present government. These representatives are called *kamokkals* and are supposed, as well as the Rubak, in purchasing these *bie* to pay out to the builders certain sums as follows, the whole male population of the village being present to witness the ceremony. The clubs are all present. Each man sits by his own club in some conspicuous place; the builders are all by themselves. The club making the purchase passes their purchase money to each other for inspection and hear their several opinions. This done and all contented, a public crier is the one to whom the first money [*udoud*] is given. He puts it in his basket [*tet*], and goes in the center of the assembled spectators, takes the money—either a bead, a piece glass, or a yellow and red stone [the former *berrak*, the latter *mengungau*], each having a string sewed through it—stands up holding the money by the string in front of him and a little above his head so as to be seen by all present, and cries out at the height of his voice: “Here is a ten dollar piece for so and so [*Echerang, tachel kluk, bo er a til a so ar so*].” He then walks forward to the party for whom it is intended, puts it in his basket and returns to the next payer, receives a like piece, goes through the same ceremony until the four principals have paid for the four corner posts [*eua el saus*]. The next purchaser calls the crier, gives him a bit of red or yellow stone, as the case may be. The crier goes through the same form saying: “Here is a nine dollar piece for the front sill and for the basket of so or so [*Tia medal a kluk, cheral a ngud(?) bo er a til a so & so*].” The next is the back sill with the same ceremony. The next is the ridge pole (*bua-del*). The crier now takes his seat. This finishes the seven principal men.

Chewing and conversation is now general, all talkers and no hearers. The remainder to be bought is the thatching, which is in tares. Each tare has a separate purchaser, the four end tares are called *eua el umad* and of more value than the others, and to be purchased by the four principal men of the club. The crier is again called, given the half of a bead, which he takes and goes through the usual form saying: “Here is five dollars payment for a tare of thatching [*Tia klsuuk*].” This is carried on until everything has been paid for. The crier now sits down, and other criers are called, and now small bits of glass are freely circulated. These are of no value. Only the scene is about to be changed and this is a kind of a farce. As there are several criers, one says: “This is to slap your ears [*Tia ongad e ding*].” Another says: “This is to shut your eyes [*Tia omutk a mad*].” Another “*Tia cheral a chesbochel*.” This goes on until the workmen have been satisfied, after which the workmen puts before each of the purchasers a small basket of choice taro, a dried fish, and the inseparable betel nuts and leaves for chewing. This is graciously received and voraciously dispatched. This done, they freely indulge in chewing and conversing. The sun is sinking beneath the sable clouds in the western horizon.

The lookers-on now commence to make their exits by ones and twos, and the crowd begins to get thin. Some purchasers may ask: “Is it finished? [*Merekong?*].” The answer may be: “Yes, but I am not well pleased [*Oi, adang, ng di mekn git a renguk*].” “Why?” “The work is heavy, but the payment is light [*Obreod a klalo, kebekakl a cheral*].” “That will do. Let’s go and bathe.” Suiting the actions to the words, they commence

disappearing to their several bathing places, at which there are generally found some idlers with an overweight of slander and in want of assistance to bear a portion of it to distant dwellings. There they may be hale-fellows-well-met discussing the merits and demerits of their neighbor's privacy, until darkness sets in and warns them of their homes and family. Having been warned of the most thoughtful, one or other will say: "Let us be going [*Bodrei*]." Each takes his way to his home, where he may or may not meet a cheerful fire, as in those bygone days the comfort of a lamp was like a celestial being unknown and the art of oil manufacture was equally distant. Be this as it may, he enters his hut, meets with a welcome from his family and commences conversation on the topics of the day, while his better half prepares the evening meal. This done she says: "Let us get supper [*Me demosoil*]." Two or more sit down to the one platter eating to their fill. When finished, the platters are hung up, the remains of food put away, and the offals thrown to the pigs. The family again sits down to hear some more of the day's news. All being satisfied and the night drawing on apace, the males of the family take leave for the night and strut off to the club [which will soon be turned into a brothel] where many of their companions are already assembled around a blazing fire at either end of the house. They all sit around these fires exchanging sentiments until the night is far spent, when one of the principals will say: "Let us go to sleep [*Bo debad*]."

So ends the day and birth of Ibedul's first step to the formation of his revenue. The next is the public works are to be kept in order, and that by the members of these clubs, male and female. The works on Ibedul's end of the town are divided amongst five clubs, three of men and two of women. Those on Ngiraikelau are three of women and one of men. The work areas follow: the bathing ponds, the road [these are kept clean by both sexes], the causeway or pier, the club-houses, and any other public work that the community may think advisable. The principal of a club will say to his men: "Our portion of the road is overrun with weeds; we must clean it." Those present agree and messengers are sent to inform the absent members, while those present go off to work, which generally takes them about an hour. If they finish before the absentees arrive, there is a fine and they distribute themselves to the several houses of the absentees for the purpose of extracting these fines. On this business they may get five or six pieces of money, which is laid by until it accumulates. This is not long, as a great many, when they muster enough to divide the half, goes to the captain of the band. This is taken to Ibedul's purse. The other members of the club take theirs to the chief that represents them. And so in every club, men and women, this is amongst the many sources of revenue to the Rubak.

Another source [of revenue] is the turtle fishing [*sekis*]. Each member has to supply a canoe, either by purchase or hire. Any one that cannot afford to buy or hire can make one of a crew in any other of the clubs' canoes, so that they shall be all well-manned. The captain and second carries a double crew, as they are supposed to be the fastest. Their parties, independent of catching their own turtle, are also to chase and try to capture the turtle that any other might see and give notice to by singing out: "a turtle, a turtle" [*a-uel, a-uel*]. No matter who catches it, it belongs to the party who first sighted

and gave notice of the same. Every canoe that is disengaged at the time of such notice is supposed to take part in the chase. The turtle, being captured, is sent home to the Rubak, father or relative of the party whose it is. The chief then tries to dispose of it to the best advantage. If he cannot dispose of it in Oreor, he sends it to one of the out-village and forces it onto someone, whether he wishes it or not. A shark, ray, or green turtle is, as a general rule, forced onto the villagers at a very exorbitant price. The hawk-bill is generally sold in Oreor as the shell is the most value to them and used amongst the better classes for manufacturing plates, spoons, and ornaments. This fishing is kept on for two or three months. It is against the rules of the club to receive payment for their turtles until the end of the fishing season. This done, their canoes are housed, sails dried, spears and other furniture of canoes put away with the nicest care. Notice is now given to the first village of their intended visit to collect the payment for their turtle. The villagers are now busy preparing for their reception with money, food, and bedding, which continues until they have been satisfied. Which satisfaction very often causes tares through the exorbitance of their demands. These demands are not by the owner of the turtle, but by the whole club. Their object in this mode of collecting is decidedly to put a dread on the villagers and cause them to satisfy their exorbitant demands. This is carried on throughout all the villages [which are eight] until they have been satisfied. Now they enter the town, but only to collect the proper payment for their turtles. This done and all satisfied, the payments are taken to the several chiefs of their families. These chiefs are supposed to pay all the fines and other expenses of the younger branches of their several families. Another source of revenue is that they have organized bands. If your memory proves not treacherous, it will draw your attention to a former page where it is stated that the Musachel village is a tributary; but their tribute was not paid in cash or other commodity, but the human flesh of the softer sex. This feminine commodity was either for the use or abuse of these bands of the upper grade or older men, those not possessing sufficient vigor to allay the sensual thirst of these tributary ladies, who on their part would frequently be caught tying love knots with their masculine equals. These love knots would not always meet the approbation of the old men; consequently, they seek reprisals in the virtue of a fine. Such fine or fines being paid was given to a purser for safe-keeping until they had accumulated a sufficient sum to be divisible amongst the club. And as these escapades were very frequent, a desired sum was soon accumulated and then divided. And as Ibedul is generally the captain of the older bands, the lion's share is his portion. These ladies also increase the population [which is an increase of Ibedul's revenue], not from their fecundity as they were seldom seen in a state of pregnancy, but through the vagabonds of other tribes hearing of the desolute life in the Oreor clubs, they are induced to come and join themselves to these bands. Consequently, the population is always on the increase. And consequently, there is always a strong band of barbarians at command to be let loose on weaker tribes, to plunder, and carry off their women to increase the numbers in the Oreor clubs and enlarge the revenue of Ibedul, which is always on the increase. From this you will plainly see that when I said these *bie* were the foundation of his revenue, I have not deceived

you. These bands were always on the increase, and raids on the weaker tribes were more frequently; consequently, the chiefs of these weaker tribes had frequently to pay large sums of money to insure a peaceable life and fish to appease the pangs of hunger. These sums so nefariously obtained was always used to line the royal purse and increase the importance of his revenue, which now begins to swell considerably. This is only a moiety of the sources which combined to increase his revenue. His public and private festivals, his purchase of a house, a canoe, a *mesekiu*, his private or political visits to other tribes, his war dance—these are all sources of his wealth. Also his tributaries of food the contribution of kinswomen, swells to a much greater sum than his expenditure requires.

In these early times they are unacquainted with the use of tobacco, firearms, spirits or any other foreign commodity. They had never seen a foreigner and thought that their island home was the habitable world. The visible horizon they thought was the extremity of the world. They saw only from their own center, like a pebble thrown in a river, not having sufficient weight to expand the circular waves. Consequently, you will see that there was nothing borrowed from foreign contamination, but descended in a direct line of ancestral digression from the primitive state. The want of information now parts the thread of conversation, and do not join again for some years, leaving a blank until they are introduced to firearms and tobacco. This enables Oreor to face the stronger tribes and draw the weaker in her train, to swell the number of her arms.

Here is a great scarcity of dates. But in some year or another, at a town on the mainland called Babeldaob in the place called Imeliik, chief town Ngerkeai, the chief is Rengulbai. His place is Kloulblai. His queen, as is customary, takes the title of the hut [palace], which is Dirra Kloulblai. The chief's mother is Direngulbai. Her hut [palace] is the house of Mul-to, (*Malsol*?) which gives to her next son and younger brother of Rengulbai the title of Era Malsol. Young, unmarried, and of fine proportions, he ingratiated himself in a very extraordinary way within the curtains of Mrs. Kloulblai's mind, which opened a by-way to frequent clandestine meetings, in opposition to Rengulbai's idea of faithfulness. Malsol had also a sister, whose name I could never learn. It is said that she doted on Malsol. Be that as it may, she was married to a Oreor man of high degree by the name Ngirngemeiuseck, a third brother of Ibedul. Mrs. Kloulblai also had a young brother called Ngireblukuu, who called Rengulbai his father, as is customary in the group.

Now that you have been introduced to the principal parties concerned in this part of the narrative, I shall proceed. It happened on a certain morning that Ngireblukuu had not forgotten the old adage that says the early bird catches the worm—that is, he had gone afishing amongst the mangroves. This might at first sight appear absurd, but when you are put in position of the facts the absurdity will disappear. These mangroves are very thick abreast of every village with a small creek through which the inhabitants communicate with the outer world. This passage amongst the mangroves at low tides is quite dry. At these low tides and peaceable times, they generally wade out on the flats to spear the small fish and crabs that are at these times in great abundance on the reefs. But on this particular morning, not that the tide was any the less low, but the quietude

of the village had been put in agitation by the frequent raids committed by the Oreor people, who are at these times on the lookout for any stray person who may happen to be out fishing, whom they [the Oreor people] would surround, murder, and take his head, carry it into their own tribe and from thence to others. At each of which places they have a war dance, receive large sums of money, return home, and fill the coffers of Ibedul with the price of blood. On such a morning Ngireblukuu was not likely to be outside of the mangroves, but contented himself with the bounty of the inner side, which was a large sea crab called *chemang*. His father had also been out rather early and met him as he was returning home with the crab, inspected it, and promised himself an enjoyable repast. But that repast he never had.

The crab, as you shall hear, may be likened to our modern mailboats loaded with news, as you shall from the following. Ngireblukuu, having got home and not mentioning that his father had seen the crab, laid it down and went out. Mrs. Kloulblai now called a domestic, and after particular inspection of the crab and finding no blemish thereon, thought it would offer a very acceptable repast for Era Malsol. Suiting the action to the idea, she placed it on a clean platter and sent it to the house of Malsol with her love. This was graciously received by Malsol, who thought it a nice breakfast for his mother and put it by for that purpose. About this time Rengulbai had returned home, and his mother, not knowing from whence this crab, in her innocence thinks it a fine breakfast for her son, whom she dearly loves, and sends it to him with her compliments. He in his turn recognizes the crab and is at a loss to account for its being at the house of Malsol, but the matter being investigated proved that his suspicions were not groundless as to the unfaithfulness of his better half.

The demon of jealousy now takes position of his inner man, but the outer man keeps it under cover from the eyes of the vulgar and stagnates the matter for a time while he is devising means for secret revenge, but not by his own hands. He brooded over his wrongs for some time, but he at last found an opportunity through which his revenge might meet a satisfactory termination if properly conducted, as was expected by Rengulbai. That is, that in the event of a rebellion through the policy of Rengulbai [who we shall call king for abbreviation], Malsol should be in the most dangerous position, where he was likely to be killed and so rid His Majesty of a brother and deadly enemy. His political revenge the following will reveal.

From Ngerkeai in an easterly direction and about twelve hundred paces brings us to a village called Imul, and next in authority in the Emeliik territory. From thence and still in an easterly direction through an extensive plain, we arrive at a village in the Ngetelngal territory called Ngersuul, the Chelid of which and Ngerkeai being identically the same. The discord, now in the royal family at Ngerkeai, was alleged to the displeasure of the Chelid now residing at Ngersuul. His Majesty, after investigating the curtains of his mind, finds a rent through which his displeasure passed to the very trifling discord then pending amongst the Rubak at Ngerkeai and arrived at the conclusion of calling a council. This settled in his own mind, he summoned his Rubak to meet on a certain day. The day arrives and the councilors meet. His Majesty takes his seat and in-

roduces the subject as to the discord among his subjects, keeping his own displeasure from public view. He moves an amendment amongst his Rubak through an invitation of the Ngersuul chiefs to a friendly conference, hoping that the chelid or his representative would accompany them. This meets the approbation of his councilors and they unanimously agree to an immediate invitation. The day being young, two ambassadors were appointed to cross the plain with the invitation to the Resuul [which we shall call them for abbreviation]. On their arrival they were joyfully received, housed, fed, and bedded for the night.

As there is nothing of a very particular nature this morning, we take our leave of Ngersuul in company with its chiefs and retrace our steps to Ngerkeai, where we arrive as the sun is nearing the western horizon. The Resuul are received with marked respect, well entertained in comfortable quarters, pass the night and part of the next day. About this time His Majesty had a conference with Malsol [apparently friendly] and gave him orders to muster his warriors, attack the Resuul and massacre them. Malsol, young and ambitious and not giving this private order a moment's thought, hastened to execute it promptly. His Majesty still privately sent to inform the guests that Malsol of his own accord was about planning their destruction; consequently, they must be guarded. This information took them by surprise. And they in their unprepared situation had a great aversion to be slaughtered like so many pigs in a sty, and made their escape before Malsol and his warriors could come to the attack. They, however, took their stand at Imul [who on the sly supported them] to await the arrival of Malsol, who was not long in coming. The battle, as is generally the case, opened with shouts and conch blowing, and then the darting of spears from both parties, wounding and killing numbers unknown.

As the sun was about to withdraw his light, so they withdrew from battle. The Resuul on their lonely way across the plain, and the Khaiss in triumph to their village home, where Malsol expected to be greatly extolled by his brothers. Poor fellow, he is not aware of his being cause of the affray, for that was hid in his brother's heart where mortal eyes could not penetrate. He would have received his breathless corpse with greater joy. Malsol, his warriors, and the community-at-large were all astonished to see him receive the cold look of deadly hate from his brother, who turned from him disgusted and thought within himself: "I am the eldest, the weakest, and the injured. Imeliik cannot continue both. I must leave."

A few days after finds him located at Ngeremlengui. Malsol some time after paid him a visit and lengthened his stay without asking any questions or without suspicion of his being the cause of his brother's displeasure. His Majesty is rather too nice to give publicity to the detested secret, knowing that it would be the cause of a great scandal. But he is calling the power of his evil genius to point out a way for the destruction of Malsol. He cannot do it himself. Neither can he solicit the hand of Ngeremlengui. One plan rises and is destroyed by another. But the demon of revenge points out a plan which is no sooner thought of than adopted. This was to employ Ibedul to adopt his cause. And suiting his actions to his thoughts, he immediately sent a trusty servant to Ibedul requesting him to send one of his clubs on the warpath and rid him of his enemy.

Ibedul received the message with much pleasure and some astonishment. But as large money was the connecting link of the message, his pleasure was in the ascendant. Consequently, he commissioned a club for the aforesaid purpose and on an appointed day started on the mission. They met with Malsol at a little island Ordiilsau, attacked, killed, and left his body to be bleached by a tropical sun.

In these stirring times Oreor is in a state of rebellion because of Ibedul being obnoxious; and he is to be put to death, as is supposed, for the preferment of a younger brother. As is customary, he must be killed by a relation that takes his place. This is no secret, as it is known by all of the Rubak, but they pretend to be ignorant, being heavily bribed. As soon as the deed has been done, they sound an alarm by blowing of conchs.

As I am straying from the narrative I must beg to be excused but will return again. As aforesaid, Malsol's body was left. His sister, if you remember, was married to a relation of Ibedul, Mr. Ngirengemiusech, resident of Ngerkebesang. When Mrs. Ngirengemiusech received the news of her brother's treacherous death, she without hesitation took a canoe, went to Ordiilsau, found the body, and took it to Imeliik for interment. At the funeral there was great lamentation amongst the friends and acquaintances, Mrs. Ngirengemiusech excepted. She felt the most, but showed the least of sorrow, with the exception of a copious flow of perspiration without exertion. After the funeral, without further ceremony, she took her canoe and left for Ngerkebesang, where she goes through the daily routine without apparent sorrow. But her brain is hard at work devising plans of revenge for the death of her brother. These disagreeable ideas bothered her for some time without showing any definite conclusion, until the rebellion in Oreor was brought to a climax by the death of Ibedul. Mrs. Ngirengemiusech's plans are now coming to maturity. The death of His Majesty has thrown Ngirengemiusech in groundless fear of his life, and he wishes to leave his present residence for some other place of residence. This suits Mrs. Ngirengemiusech to a fault and she says to her husband: "We are not safe and must be going. Where shall we go? To Imeliik? No, that is where my brother is buried and the sight of his grave would cause disagreeable feelings. Then shall we go to Ngeremlengui? No, that is where he was killed." "Then," said he, "Where shall we go?" "Let us go to Ngerdmou." To this Mrs. Ngirengemiusech agreed as it suited her to a nicety [as from there she could negotiate with the King of Ngetlngal, who was one of her admirers]. One I say, as she had many amongst the grandees of Belau. But His Majesty of Ngetlngal was the most powerful and suited her at the time.

I must beg to be excused again for this digression and those that I may hereafter make. They both agreed to leave for that place in a few days, which was not long in coming for the anxious pair. And on the morning of their departure some unknown cause brought them to Oreor on their way to Ngerd mau. Mr. Ngirengemiusech landed, settled his business, bid farewell to Oreor, and set sail. After sailing in a northerly direction for about half an hour, he observed on the float of his canoe a little amphibious creature called *temaitok*. On seeing which, he gave orders to tack ship and return to Oreor, where he arrived in a short time, drove the little creature off the float saying:

“You belong to Oreor and cannot go with us.” Being rid of the intruder, they hoisted sail and resumed his voyage. The day fine, the sea smooth, and distance about fifteen miles, they landed before the sun had set and sent a messenger to inform Beouch, the chief of that place, of their destitute position. He in turn repaired to the landing place and escorted them to his dwelling, which he kindly offered them as their temporary abode. This they accepted with many thanks and, supper being ready, they were invited to join. After the meal they passed the remainder of the evening in conversation and then retired to rest. The next morning they were up betimes, and after breakfast Beouch and Mrs. Ngirengemiusech consulted as to the future residence of the latter. At the time there were many vacant houses, one of which was allotted to Mr. Ngirengemiusech and his family, which was a very small one. However, in a few days they were located in their adopted home, comfortable to all appearance. But the demon of revenge had so taken possession of the mental faculty of Mrs. Ngirengemiusech that comfort with her had taken its flight to the political regions of murder to which I am about to introduce you.

Mrs. Ngirengemiusech is located in her adopted home, the goddess of beauty. Her society was much courted, and from amongst those she selected a confidant who introduced to her a courier whom she dispatches across the country [with a broken pearl shell, as is their custom to send messages of importance] with a message to Reklai requesting that he would send a party of his warriors on the war path to Ngerdmau on a certain evening which she would appoint, attack and kill Mr. Ngirengemiusech. After this he was to send an escort to take her to Melekeok and she will be his future wife. This message he received with much exultation. His love for Mrs. Ngirengemiusech was unbounded and would cause him to extend her wishes even to extremities. He entertained the courier for the night and sent him away next morning to inform her that he had received her orders and would execute them to her satisfaction. Shortly after the courier left, he consulted with one of the captains of his warrior bands, who undertook the commission of ridding Mrs. Ngirengemiusech of her now uncalled-for partner. The conspirator takes the road across the plain to Ngerdmau [the distance being not over five miles] and arrives there at about sunset. He loiters outside the village until darkness sets in, enters the village, attacks Mr. Ngirengemiusech’s house, kills him and carries off his head as a trophy. Beouch is no doubt privy to this conspiracy as the tracks leading to his territory were purposely unguarded. Consequently, there was no alarm.

The prospects opens fair for Mrs. Ngirengemiusech [who for the future I will call the Tigress], who is inwardly in high spirits but outwardly lamenting: “I have lost my brother, now my husband, and woe is me!” This, however, didn’t last long. Her revenge was yet in the future, Mr. Ngirengemiusech’s death being the foundation stone on which the structure was to be built. Consequently, she must be up and doing. Some days after her pretended lamentation, she received a deputation of ladies to accompany her to Melekeok, chief town of Ngetelngal and territory of Reklai, whose palace is called Uudes, which title the Tigress is now mistress of. Having arrived, she is enstated in her future residence. His Majesty is all smiles, the Tigress is conversant, the family is all

pleased but wonders at the flakes of dirt adhering to her royal skin. For be it known she has not bathed her flesh in water since the death of her brother up to the time that she appeared in the palace of Uudes. Instead she anoints her body with coconut oil, as is customary with those in grief for a departed relation. This oily bath does not displease His Majesty, I am perfectly satisfied. The day being passed in admirable conversation, night draws on apace, the fire is lighted [a lamp being amongst the hidden wonders of the world], and the evening meal is announced. The royal household sits down and all partake freely according to their several appetites. This done, the offals are removed and conversation becomes general. This does not interest His Majesty; he wishes to go to rest after the over-taxation of his brain during the last few days. The household conjecturing his wishes, make themselves scarce by ones and twos until the house is cleared. The Tigress spreads the mats, one for him and another for herself a little distance apart. She lies down and His Majesty does the same, leaving the burning embers to smoulder away to cinders and from thence to ashes. His Majesty contracts the distance between the mats still nearer, and yet nearer. The Tigress heeds it not. He lifts her mats, she is not aware. He embraces her, she repels him. He is annoyed, astonished, knows not what to think. "Mrs. Uudes," he said, "What is the meaning of this? What objection have you to my embraces?" "None whatever, but you are aware that I am lamenting the loss of my brother, and my appetite for sensual pleasure is blunted until I have had some satisfaction for his untimely death." "From whom do you require this satisfaction?" "It is painful to me to recite, but I should like you to lop a branch from the Ngeremlengui mangroves" [i.e. proclaim war against Ngeremlengui]. "This," said he, "I can not do, as we are bound by a treaty of peace."

But the Tigress' procedure was very different in its progress, as you shall hear. She devised that he should send a club of women (*blolobel*) to Imiungs, the chief town of Ngeremlengui, to a club of men, as prostitutes which would cement the treaty and blot suspicion from the minds of his Ngeremlengui friends. He should leave the rest to her. To this His Majesty agreed, informed his councilors, and commenced operations as follows. He requested one of his nieces or daughters [they being the heads of clans] to form a *blolobel* consisting of a daughter or other relation of each councilor or Rubak. [This is contribution for prostitution]. These ladies are now mustered and, all agreed, one or two of them go across the plain to Imiungs, enter a club and proclaim themselves a *blolobel*. Inviting the clubsmen across the plain for their friends, the Remlengui are highly delighted and without delay cross the plain, meet these ladies, introduce themselves, settle all preliminaries, and return with their charges, seldom less than ten. The Tigress is in high spirits at witnessing the foundation of her murderous fabrication. She is exulting while the young people are crossing the plain, now down the valley, again up a hill, through a road, now crossing a stream, some sitting beneath the shady trees down by a rippling stream gathering wild flowers and amusing themselves with more than innocent pleasure. The time passes happily. The masculine portion without the assistance of art is attired in their natural costumes—that is, perfectly nude. While the feminine portion, having paid a little more attention to the dictates of art, had invented an ad-

dition that made them more than nature formed them, happy in their native pride. The sun is now in the west and they are on the outskirts of Imiungs. The evening sets in and they are at home. The ladies are located in their future home [the *bai*] where I will leave them and return to other scenes.

His Majesty, after the death of Malsol, returned to his village, settled all former disagreements, and then picked up the reins of government just where he dropped it. But he and his better half agreed not well together, as there was always the scum of the ever boiling pot of jealousy uppermost; and he kept his mind, eyes, ears, and hands in agitation. He was jealous of everybody and suspicious of everything. No doubt he detested the sight of a crab, and so would I. His better half, on her part, held him in sovereign contempt, she being also a lady of high rank lineally descended from the house of Tereked, the palace of the kings of Imul, and she would bear the ponderous title of Dilsecharaimul. But as she has not arrived at the top branch of the genealogical tree of Tereked, we still call her Mrs. Kloulblai and leave her for a short time, and take a look at Oreor and Ibedul, who, if you remember, received large money before his death for imbruing the hands of his subjects in the blood of Malsol. This large money is another cornerstone in the foundation of his revenue. The rebellion is at an end, peace is restored, and another king holds the reigns of government and cuts a considerable figure in the political world of Belau, having got possession of firearms through the wreck of an Indiaman.¹ He first tries his hand at Melekeok, and being victorious, he extracts large money. From thence his fame goes to the other tribes, by whom his firearms are mostly in requisition, for which he is heavily paid, being in a position to demand whatever his avarices may judge equivalent to his services. He is now arrived at the top of the political tree. He also has all particulars of the death of Mr. Ngirengemiusech and the unfaithful and treacherous part of the Tigress, and determines to inflict a fearful chastisement upon Ngerdmau, for be it remembered, Ngirengemiusech was one of the royal family of Oreor.

And now we will visit Melekeok and see how His Majesty and the Tigress agree. She as yet has not condescended to admit His Majesty to the privacy of her bed chamber, at which His Majesty is displeased. Giving vent to his displeasure, he asks her: "Mrs. Uudes, what objections have you to my advances after causing me, as you are aware, to treacherously take the life of your late husband and make bad friends with the Oreor government?" "Objections to your advances I have none. But you are aware that I am still lamenting the loss of my brother, and until I have had ample satisfaction on these enemies, our beds must differ." At this His Majesty was displeased and demanded of her on whom would she be revenged, and by whom was it to be taken? "Why," said she, "you are aware of the affray at Imul and the part the Resuul had in it, for which I want you to chastise them." "Why?" said he. "They only defended themselves from the attack of your brother. But, your word shall be my law. I will see to it." As Ngersuul was a part of his territory, it laid quite within his power to chastise them at his pleasure.

1 Ed. note: The shipwreck of the *Antelope*, Captain Wilson, in 1783.

Consequently, he took no hasty steps, through by his conduct in other respects caused it to be very unpleasant for the inhabitants of that village. But this brought him no nearer to the affections of the Tigress than if he had never taken any steps toward the fulfillment of her revengeful desire.

Here we will take leave of her and Resuul and travel together down the political stream of commotion. After Rengulbai and his party returned to Imeliik, as is above stated, the breach of faith on the side of Mrs. Kloulblai, instead of being mended, had grown to a breach of policy. Mrs. Kloulblai, from the miserable life that she has led since the aforesaid breach, thought that a divorcement would be the most desirable object to her happiness. Consequently, she sought and obtained a divorcement, but very much in opposition to the dictates of honor. The secret correspondence carried on to obtain this divorcement is unknown, but the force of the Oreor arms and policy of its King effected the divorce and caused Rengulbai to lose his other self, being a prostitute in a Oreor club for a short time, and caused a declaration of war between the two tribes, which was carried on piecemeal until Oreor, being the strongest, obtained large money to make peace. And Mrs. Kloulblai has dwindled away into nothingness, we will leave her and visit other scenes.

The path that the Tigress is about to take at the return of the *blolobel* is attended with so much obscenity that I refrain from further annoying the ears of decency and return to Ngersuul. His Melekeok Majesty has made it so disagreeable for them [by heavy fines and giving license to his minions of war] that they have deserted their village homes to crave shelter and protection in a hostile tribe, Oreor. They are received with exultation and allotted a village called Ngerebechedesau, and yet the Tigress is not appeased but still burns for revenge. His Majesty is bewildered, but a commencement he has made and through it he must go. He asks her: "Is there anything else?" To which she replies: "Yes." "What next will you have me do?" "Another bone is in my throat, which I will have you remove." "What may your meaning be?" "Imul was where my brother encountered the Resuul; their seats I'll have you remove. And then with another content I shall be; then your will shall be my pleasure and about it I will go." This took them both some time to mature their plans, which having arrived at, he sought about performing by sowing seeds of discord between Rengulbai and the Imul chief, this latter being the head of the house of Tereked and connected with the forementioned.

Mrs. Kloulblai now a prostitute in a Oreor club through the policy of the said Imul chief and the Oreor King. His Majesty of Ngetlngal through an ambassador offers the above as a bone of contention for Rengulbai to pick with the Imul chief, also offering his assistance if required. Rengulbai received such known information and burned with such indignation for the degradation offered to his station that he without hesitation accepted the offer of his Melekeok Majesty with many thanks and promised to acquaint him occasionally of his progress. He sent ambassador away and a deputation of Rubak to the Imul chief demanding immediate satisfaction for the indignity offered him by the abduction of his wife. The Imul chief treated the deputation with much respect, but did not recognize the right of Rengulbai to demand satisfaction from the state that was in-

nocent of the charge. This did not cool the heat of Rengulbai's anger, but the old chief made light of it, knowing that Oreor was the aggressor and that Rengulbai could not command her fire belchers to act against Imul. Ibedul, finding the old chief inflexible, prepared for battle and sent work to His Majesty to prepare for a trial of prowess at a time appointed. He received the tidings with pleasure, but the Tigress received it with crimson joy. The day appointed they met three tribes at deadly strife, each of the two much stronger than the one. Imul made a faint resistance and then retreated; and as they were not weighty and hotly pursued, they took to their canoes to crave protection from Oreor, who received them with pleasure and appointed them a place beside their old friends at Ngerebechedesau. The Resuul and Imuls meet again to brood over their wrongs and cement afresh their former friendship. Ibedul is in high spirits, as all this is money in his treasury.

His Reklai Majesty is now in high spirits at his victory over an unequal foe. He now entertains his allies to a feast, after which they cement their friendship and take leave. Arrived at home and their report made to the King, the Tigress is in ecstasies. His Majesty is yet kept from his pleasure until the *blolobel* question is settled. Being so spotted with vulgarity, I refrain from giving particulars, but suffice it to say that the Remlengui repared to Melekeok with the *blolobel* when they were to be massacred, but the second chief could not be brought to sanction it. They were then invited to another village called Ngiwal where they were barbarously massacred. The Tigress now is overjoyed, and so is the King. All her supposed enemies are now put down. She takes a bath and as from her flesh the dirt is moved her beauty comes to view. But still His Majesty is delayed: the palms of her hands must be tattooed to cause a difference between herself and those of her sex! His Majesty has now free admittance. All peace and quiet in their happy home, the king is all smiles and affability. The Tigress is changed from ferocity to docility.

The King is old and about to be gathered to his fathers. She in the zenith of age and strength of beauty gathers all the aristocratic ladies in her train to float down with the tide of pleasure until the greater King calls off the lesser king to account for his misdeeds. There is a funeral. All ceremonies over and another king appointed, Mrs. Uudes returns to Ngerkeai, rich and still beautiful. Rengulbai is on the brink of the valley of death. The new King of Ngetlngal is apprised of the wishes of the Resuul to return to their ancestral village from whence they were expelled. He agrees and, all preliminaries settled, Ibedul and a club accompany him and the Resuul. Here the two Kings meet on friendly terms, reinstate the Resuul, take their leave and return to their several homes. The Oreor King receives large money from the Resuul as aforesaid he makes the money. Imuls is now the only inhabitants of Ngerebechedesau, awaiting the death of Rengulbai that they might return to their ancestral acres. But his death is somewhat delayed, he being a tough old rooster.

At this time Oreor is devising plans for an attack on Ngerdmau, and as Ibedul is now at the top of the political world his alliance is much sought. He has now several influential tribes in his train, but Ngerdmau is also a considerable place and not to be lightly

thought of, as their clubs are equally brave and likewise there are many in their train. Ibedul is preparing for attack, and Ngerdmau to repel them, but the King of Oreor has not consulted his Chelid as to a favourable termination in the event of a declaration of war with Ngerdmau. Consequently, things in that direction are at a stand-still.

But Ibedul has got another wrinkle to be smoothed out with Ngerdelolk, a first-class village in the Beliliou district to which you have not been introduced but now shall be. Beliliou is an independent island situated in the southern district of Belau, having an island still further south called Ngeaur that anciently had been independent, but by some unknown means became tributary to Ngerdelolk, as aforesaid, one of the first-class village of Beliliou. There were two of this class; the other is called Ngisias, with several inferior villages whose names are not requisite, but only impedes the progress of the narrative, which I shall resume. Oreor during these stormy times has trained a club of men that called themselves Ngara Tatirou [the Scarlet Club], whose equal for barbarity in Belau there was not. This club had been a terror to all the northern tribes of Babeldaob, committing fearful depredations and extracting large monies to line the purse of Ibedul but they had never visited the southern tribes. Thinking themselves the unquestionable masters of Belau, they adventured to Ngerdelolk, where they were very obnoxious and consequently massacred. This Oreor thought an unpardonable indignity offered to their powerful arms and promised to visit upon the offenders a fearful retribution when circumstances would permit.

And now, my dear sir, as the narrative is long, my time short, and present circumstances do not permit me to finish at the second leap, I must try a third, which I hope will bring the above to a close. I remain yours very truly.

P.S. With no more ink and a devilish bad pen.

The travels or tour of Uromakl through the Belau Group—17th Century

Preface

After having had several versions of this tour and no two of them agreeing together, I thought to refrain from writing. But on second thought [which never comes first], from all accounts the man existed, the tour was made, and the village is extant with several distinguishing marks to prove its identity. Consequently, with these proofs I thought that I could not drift far from the truth, but in the event of my having so drifted and you detect the fault, you will have me excused as a man whose erudition has not ascended the two first steps of the ladder of literature. A narrative without a preface is like a man without a hat. I write this to cover the defects that may be found in the hat.¹

¹ Ed note: This part is taken from Dr. Rabe's Journal N° 32.

The Narrative

In the year of our Lord I know not when for certain, but not earlier than about the seventeenth century, there lived in the village of Ngertuker in the mainland of the Belau group called Babeldaob a man by some called Uromakl, and by others Ngirametangekluked, believed to have been the principal chief of that village, which is now extinct, or rather uninhabited but still retaining the marks of its being a native village of some consequence from an aboriginal point of view. Several distinguishing marks of the affluence of that chief, such as his fish ponds, turtle, and bathing ponds, are still extant.

This chief at the time that I write at was supposed to have been about forty years of age, strong, rich, and eccentric. His having heard of the various villages and their chiefs' rules and regulations, he proposed making an incognito tour of the then villages of note. But before going on his tour, he had the forethought about putting his own village in order, viz. repairing, painting and other requisitions to public works, planting *kebui*, stocking his fish and turtle ponds. This done, he replenished his purse, which was nothing more or less than a bamboo about six feet long, which he filled with money to answer the double purpose of purse and walking stick. He is now prepared for his journey or travels, which commence on the morrow. His travels incognito had a double purpose: first, for information; and secondly, for assistance to conquer his deadly foe, the village of Esseba(?), which was to a great extent trying to make him tributary. This is the true secret of his travels.

His first resting place was the village of **Mengellang** in the district of Ngerchelung, where he spent some days in looking about to see whether he could depend on the chiefs for assistance in his meditated undertaking, likewise observing the respect paid to the chiefs by the lower classes and whether he himself was noticed and commented on. Consequently, he pretended to be poor and destitute, in search of an asylum which he found in the family of the principal chief of Mengellang. There he took up his abode in disguise, pretending to be ignorant and reversing any job that he might be given to do. This caused a laugh at his expense and very likely a chiding from his [as they thought] equals, for be it known he was amongst the menials of the household and consequently one of them in the estimation of their chief and the household in general.

However, things were not to continue the same for any length of time, as he was then meditating a change for some other district more in accordance with his [then] ideas. In a few days he was missing, no-one knowing or caring where he had taken himself to as they thought him no more than a common fool—much less than he thought of himself. However, the next that they heard of him was at one **Lemah**(?), where he practiced the same pretence of stupidity as he had done at Mengellang. But his stay was not long at that place as there was no inducement there for him.

Consequently, he left for **Melekeok**. Arriving there, he joined himself to the king's family, the house of Uudes where he practiced the same amount of stupidity. When asked by some one of his fellow servants to bring some firewood, he would reverse the order—that is, instead of bringing the wood, he would take it to some distance from where it was really wanted. On scaling fish, instead of removing the scales he would

simply smooth them down towards the tail until he was recalled by a rap on his head by some one of his fellows. Again after mealtime, as is customary, the new hand has to go and empty the offals, such as fish bones, taro peelings, etc. He would simply go about two or three yards from the house and throw the offals over his head towards the house. On some occasions the offals are emptied by the doorway, for which he is sometimes roughly handled, but takes it in good part under pretence of idiotry until he has been satisfied as to the treatment of menials in the aristocratic families.

He now leaves Melekeok and its vicinity, and taking a south direction stops at **Irrai**, but not liking either the place or people he there did not remain. He hastened on for **Oreor**, the metropolis of Ngerkldeu. Arriving there, he joined himself to the royal regiment of menials whose chief occupation are as follows: Sir P. wash pot, Sir A. fish cleaner, Sir H. fuel, and himself Sir G. all calls. A few days after being installed, he was called up to assist in cleaning some fish that had just been brought to the Royal kitchen and wanted in a hurry, but Uromakl was not to be hurried. He very automatically placed his walking stick [a very inseparable companion] beside him, then taking a cockle shell intended for removing the scales of the fish. Instead of properly commencing at the tail of the fish and work upwards to the head, as a reasonable man would have done for the removing of the scales, he purposely, to pretend ignorance, commenced from the head and instead of removing the scales simply laid them flat. Sir T. cook pot then took the fire tongs [not iron, but bamboo] and struck him over his head, calling him *a chad el sechal a dengerenger* [an old fool]. He took it in good part and laughed. The fish was taken from him and given to one that would make more progress. This person was more of an adept in the art of fish cleaning than was the eccentric Uromakl, whose dignity was by no means hurt by his being disgraced.

He was next sent for some firewood, which article he deliberately took up on his shoulder and carried it away in a very different direction from that required. This so exasperated the cook that he rushed at him swearing that he would make two Uromakl of him, but the old fellow only turned to him and laughed. This no doubt turned the cook's wrath. Consequently, he did not use him roughly but called him by a few of the most pretty names that his memory at that time afforded him. And while discharging the last of his wrathful ammunition of abuse, the oft-repeated sound was heard: "Uromakl, Uromakl, come here." He answered the call with his presence. The order was go and bring some water. "Choi! [Yes]." Suiting the action to the word, he took the tub and strutted off to the pond, turned the tub bottom up, and poured the water on it. Of course, it did not get filled. By that means, and his being a longer time than usual, another messenger was sent after him. Seeing him so stupidly engaged, he laughed at his supposed stupidity. They both laughed and the messenger filled the tub and carried it home, leaving Uromakl with his inseparable bamboo. No-one suspected what it was, or he might have been waylaid and robbed. However, he got safely home where all of the menials accosted him with: "Uro fool, Uro lazy, Uro who are you? Who sent you here? Why don't you go to some other house?" But he took it all in good turn.

The time for the evening meal had arrived, and as usual the servants all sat down to a basket of taro and one large platter of fish where all dipped in. After the meal "Uro-fool" was commissioned to go and empty the offals. He picked up his bamboo, took the platter containing the bones, went out, put down his bamboo, took the platter in both hands, throwing the contents over his head backward towards the house. This caused a rush among the servants, who called him by all the most classical names that came to their mouths.

The next day he got passage on a canoe going to Imul, a town at **Imeliik**. He did not join any particular house, but that day all the townsmen were at work sewing thatch for a house and happened to be abreast of the clubhouse at the time that Uromakl came up. They all looked with wandering eyes at the stranger, but no-one asked "Who are you?" or "Whence come you?" But he, being used to such a reception, was not at all abashed. He sat down amongst them, took one of the sticks and a bundle of thatch, threaded his needle, and commenced placing the thatching stuff on the stick preparatory to sewing. All eyes were immediately turned on him with stifled smiles wondering who he was and where he came from that did not know how to sew a [shingle?] of thatching without pricking his hands. For by this time his hands were bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the thorns on the sides of the thatching. All the workers now left off sewing and finally roared with laughter at the expense of his stupidity.

This mirth caused the chief of the town [Secharaimul by name] to look out. Seeing the stranger, he also saw that he was not a common man and beckoned to him to leave the thatching and go into the house, but Uromakl was not to be enticed from the mirth at his own expense, Secharaimul would not take no for an answer, but insisted on his going into the house. This he did, taking his bamboo in with him, though being told to lean it up against the doorway. Of course, no-one knew the value of that bamboo but himself, and he knew how to take care of it [which he did]. The chief now questioned him as to where he came from. He told him that he was a wanderer from the north and destitute, but the old chief's eyes penetrated the thick mist of deception. He now gave orders for a warm drink to be brewed for the stranger, and while that was in preparation he told his wife to prepare an aromatic bath.

The sun had now entered within the sable pall in the western horizon and, the bath being ready, Uromakl was conducted to a private place to enjoy that which he had not done since he left his native village. While taking his bath the evening meal was in preparation, and at the end of his ablution supper was announced. They do not sit at table, but squat on the floor, everyone at his own dish. The chief ordered that his daughter should honor the stranger with her company at his meal. [The old chief's penetrating eyes no doubt in company with his thoughts had entered the interior of the inseparable bamboo]. Uromakl was astonished at the difference of treatment and thought that he or the bamboo had been thrown open to the penetrating gaze of the old chief. However, he enjoyed his meal and allowed his thoughts the freedom to travel over the barren fields of human frailty, himself being in the prime of life and the lady whose company

he enjoyed much more than the meal was about the same. He thought that she would make a happy addition to his family circle.

While this vision was roaming at large through the uncultivated fields of his imagination, the old chief's thoughts at the same time were travelling over the same grounds. He was thinking of the probability of his daughter's being yoked to the same plough as the distinguished stranger [for that he was]. These thoughts were allowed to travel until the meal was finished; which done, each party drew their hand baskets to them preparatory to a chew after their meal. Uromakl with much grace concocted a chew and offered it to his companion, who received it with many thanks. Now the conversation becomes general, each exchanging sentiments while Uromakl gives an account of his wandering and treatment in the different villages that he had visited, not dissembling his pretended stupidity, which brings much laughter and some pity. Now the old chief has collected all the stray branches of his ideas and settled them down into a mating between his daughter and Uromakl.

The evening being far spent and bedtime drawing on, the old chief desired his daughter to prepare one set of sleeping mats of the best kind, take them to the *ulengang*, and herself be the companion of the stranger. The lady obeyed this order with humility. Taking a lamp and repairing to the *ulengang*, she swept it out, spread the mats, and returned to escort the stranger to his dormitory. Now all is quiet, the family is at rest. What passes in the *ulengang* is not known, but the daylight brings to view a pleasing sight to the old chief. Uromakl, having awaked very early, took his inseparable bamboo and with a cockle shell [knives are scarce] cut about six inches off of the bamboo. He extracted a large piece of money, about 7 or 8 hundred dollars value, with others of less value but not of less repute called *chelbuchebe*. The large one is a *bachel* and used as a neck ornament for the wives and children of the aristocrats. This he puts on the neck of his—I shall call her—companion through this vale of tears and sat her down by the door. While thus seated and their conversation agreeable, the door of the dwelling house was opened by her mother, who was seized with astonishment at the sight of so large a piece of money. She immediately awoke the old chief saying: "Get up. The sun is risen in the *ulengang* [*a resils a ngosecha er a ulengang*]." The old chief hastened to the door and his daughter sitting in the doorway in all the pride of beauty and wealth. This was not all, for he had also given her another piece called *Boas*, also one piece like a bead called *chelbuchebe*. This was to prevent the old chief from requiring him to pick betelnuts for him, as is the custom of sons-in-law in general. Uromakl had told her now to go into her father and present him with the money saying: "Tia Boas ma tia chemelem el buuch." This the old chief received with much pride and more pleasure. Uromakl is still in the *ulengang*. Etiquette prevents his presence in the house at so early an hour. The family is astonished at the stranger. As to who he was, all this is not known without the family circle as the stranger is a very aristocratic person and no-one of the people would dare speak of any occurrence in his family.

The sun has risen apace and Uromakl has made his appearance at the house, where he is received with marks of respect by all. The old chief is now very much interested at

the ancestral line of his distinguished son-in-law, who evades all questions as to his own pedigree. As before, he strays from a reasonable question to some nonsensical description of his wanderings and treatment from the time that he left his native village of Ngertuker. The old chief knew nothing more of Ngertuker than that he had heard of a village of that name in the eastern district of Ngerdmau. His son-in-law did not enlighten him much more on the subject, but simply told him that he was a wanderer from thence and did not know whether he had a home or not. But a few days hence he was to settle the home question, as he thought of taking leave of his affectionate father-in-law.

Breakfast being announced, all parties sat with opened eyes and wider stomachs preparatory to refilling the vacant cavity left so by digestion. The old chief now passes the word: "Let us eat [*domengur*]." Each tries to do ample justice, and with the primitive knives and forks they attacked the repast in earnest. Etiquette does not allow conversation during meals; consequently, there was no impediment to their satisfying the demands of hunger's craving. This silent meal lasted, as is usual, about a quarter of an hour. The servants now remove the empty platters, pass water along to wash their hands and mouths, and then the napkin is passed from one to another. This napkin is nothing more or less than an old cast-off dress of the softer sex, sometimes used as a mop, at other times as a broom, and more frequently as a door mat. This napkin is called an *ooluk* (*cheriut?*). After the use of which, a cool drink is served, a chew of betel nut is taken, and then conversation is commenced. Sentiments are freely exchanged and Uromakl informs the chief of his intended departure for his native village within a few days from that time, if convenient for his wife to leave with him and go on his wandering expedition. The old chief received the announcement with much regret, but courteously agreed that he and his wife should leave together and that the mother should accompany them to their destination. Uromakl thanked him for his condescension, and then it was talked of in the family circle.

The old chief had appointed from his family a crew to take charge of the state barge or war canoe, and now there was great preparation for the departure of *uadam*, so any rich man is called in a family where they are married. But here he is called the foolish father. In preparations for all that, the feminine department was preparing taro and household necessities, the masculine department is employed at preparing the canoe, picking coconuts, betelnuts, and *kebui* or pan leaf. Tobacco in those early days was a luxury unknown; consequently, it occupied no part of their thoughts. The canoe being ready for the reception of the freight and passengers, the chief proposed that they should leave the next morning. This was agreed to by all concerned. The remainder of the day was spent in leave-taking on the part of the now Mrs. Uromakl and her friends, while the old chief and his son-in-law passed the time in conversation until dinner was announced and the happy family sat down once more to partake of that which providence had provided for their recetion. The meal being finished, each party took themselves to their different occupations or pleasure until the evening sun began to cloth herself in her sable pall behind walls in the western horizon, the fowls to their roosts, the birds

to their nests, and men to their transitory abode. The family once more assembled in social conversation to await the evening meal, which was rather earlier than usual as it was the eve of their departure. The meal ended and conversation was general but not of long duration, as the old chief advised the travelling party to take an early rest as they would have a long way before them and very likely a hot sun. The old man's advice was taken and they went to bed without delay.

Having taken a good night's rest, they awoke betimes and before Aurora had adorned the eastern horizon with her glorious presence, they were on their way to their wished-for home. But Uromakl again pretended ignorance and when asked by the crew in what direction they should steer, he would say: "I don't know, but I think there must be a village some way before us. Go on." The crew would very often in an undertone say to each other: "This fellow is an old fool. What possessed our chief to give his daughter to him and send us on an uncertain errand, the fellow not knowing the direction of his own village?" But these mutterings Uromakl did not mind and would say: "Perhaps we might get there before night. Go on."

They have now passed the Ngeremlengui district, and the sun in all its splendor is now in the meridian. The crew proposes to the ladies that they should paddle in shore and make fast the canoe to one of the overhanging trees under its shade to take some refreshment. To this all agree and the word is passed to the steersman [*Chedal Iuff(?)*]. He in turn obeys the command and the prow is brought to a large overhanging tree on the Ngerdmau district in the territory of Beouch. Reaching which and finding it to be a desirable locality, the canoe is made fast and the viands brought to view, with a very light air, a smooth sea, and the canoe riding without a motion—a most picturesque sight to a distant beholder. The dainties are attacked under the supervision of Dirateroked, the mother of Mrs. Uramakl and wife to the old chief. The repast is taken and finished in silence, as usual. The party now converts the wide expanse of placid waters into a finger-basin and the backs of their hands into napkins. This done and an indispensable chew taken, the word is passed to unmoor the canoe. This done, each of the crew takes his paddle and paddles their own canoe, keeping in shore and under the shade of the overhanging trees [a very pleasant passage and makes one wish to have been one of the passengers].

They have now passed the creek that leads into Ngerdmau. The steersman now asks Uromakl where were they going to. He answered: "Keep in shore. Perhaps we may find a place to rest, should it grow late and we be nighted." They now thought him a great fool that did not know his own birth place. However, they kept in shore as desired. The sun has some time passed the meridian in its western journey and Uromakl for the first time says [*Iuff(?) Chudelei*]. This was joyful news to all parties but loomed to disappointment as their was no passage. He next told them to leave paddling and take the shoving poles [*dekel*]. This order they also obeyed and kept poling along. At last they saw an opening between the trees, whose branches had lapped one into the other and formed an arbor overhead from which a great many vines or creepers of the pan leaf hung down forming a kind of curtain. This waved to and fro, with the evening breeze

then setting in from seaward and the sun sinking behind a dark cloud. They entered the opening, the foremast man clearing the vines from the obstruction of his eyesight. When from curiosity he put one of the leaves in his mouth, he turned to his companions with some little surprise and said: "Here are pan leaves [*Tia kebui*]." They all tasted them, and then their ideas immediately turned from the foolish Uromakl to the great Uromakl.

As they got further in the creek and saw the canoe houses, clubhouses, and the quay or landing place crowded with men, their opinions from the former sickly conditions took an immediate change for the better. As the canoe drew nearer to the landing, each passerby bent his backs either in fear or respect, no-one daring to straighten himself in the presence of the Uromakl. The news of his arrival has reached the interior of the village and parties of his household have come down to receive him. As they rightly suppose, his rib, or wife, who is with her mother and servants, is escorted to her future residence where all the family receives them with marks of respect. Uromakl, as is customary, remained at the quay in conversation with some of his chiefs. He also wanted to have his crew introduced to a club, as is one of the customs of the country. He had no call to give orders at this house, as his people knew how to entertain the new-comers even in his absence.

While diverting his friends, preparations were being made at home for a light repast, which consisted of a turtle roasted whole and other large fish taken from his fishponds. The crew, after being introduced to the club, went up to the dwelling house and was kindly received by the masculine portion of the family, where conversation became general and sentiments freely exchanged until supper was announced. This needs not a second description except that the turtle which was served on a large platter made for the purpose was set in the middle of the floor, and a large fire was lighted to illuminate the house, lamps being completely(?) unknown in those days. The ladies now sat down forming a circle round this singed turtle and commenced in a very savage style to disjoint the turtle with the edged tools of nature, such as cockle shells, clam shells, and stone axes, until they have with much exertion and more perspiration removed the breast. Which done, the ladies with their spoons of cockle and other shells partake of the blood, and if any is left it is put into some cooking utensil and warmed. This is put before the gentlemen as a luxury. While they are partaking of it, the ladies are dissecting the turtle, some wringing the neck, another pulling at a flipper, another at the entrails. After the excrements had been disposed of, all was washed and put into an earthenware pot and given in charge of the cook.

The night is now far spent and the branches of the family have gone to their several clubs, leaving the females to dispose of themselves as their inclinations led—which was to bed—while the cooks were busily engaged fitting the turtle for the next day's entertainment. The family is now locked in the affectionate embrace of Morpheus who retains his embrace until Aurora breaks forth in all her splendor, diffusing her glory over the wide expanse of the eastern horizon, and bids the ladies arise to hail the beauty of the new born day.

As I am not writing the life of Uromakl, I shall gently draw to a close. The morning is fine, and the family is again assembled to grace the festive board [floor]. Breakfast is dispatched in haste, and the ladies take Mrs. Uromakl to inspect the ancestral acres [a few taro patches]. While she is thus engaged, Uromakl is amusing himself in a very different way. It has come to his knowledge that there is a small jar of money buried by his ancestors at the roof of a certain tree, which jar he inherits and is about to untomb. Consequently, he has exempted himself from his friends, and taken with him two chosen servants to conduct his steps to the tree. Armed with their stone axes, they attacked the tree, which was rather stubborn under the treatment of such poor tools, but finally gave way to superior force and exposed to view the long hidden treasure. Uromakl dispensed with the use of a servant to take the treasure home. He took it himself.

He had also bid adieu to his eccentricities and arrived at home about the same time as the ladies. The hour for dinner being ready and their appetites rather keen, dinner was served without delay and dispatched with a murmur. After which he gave his tongue the freedom of speech to inform his mother-in-law of her departure on the following day, which information was received with pleasure, but not from any unpleasantness during her stay. Being far advanced in years, her own fireside and old companions were more desirable objects to her ideas than the present bustle in a strange family, though her daughter was now the head of that family and very comfortably situated to all present appearances. The announcement had a very different effect upon her daughter, who would have wished the departure to have been delayed for a few days longer. But the old lady could not think of any delay. Her old man might be sick or some unforeseen accident might occur, and many unpleasant visions intruded themselves within the curtains of her mind to cause her to adhere to the announcement of her son-in-law. And as her daughter found that she could not be induced to remain, she contented herself and passed the remainder of the day in each other's society, conversing, I suppose, on topics of days long past and admonishing her daughter to bear in mind days yet in the future.

The day steals on apace and the sun is entering her dark chamber when Uromakl cheers their drooping spirits with some jovial conversation on the topics of the day, also informing them of his directions to the young men to prepare their canoe for departure the next morning. His own people had also been busy getting coconuts, betel nuts and *kebui*. The family domestics were also busy preparing food for the passage. All things are now ready. So is the evening meal, which is taken in silence, as is customary, and having been finished, Uromakl amuses them with a little of his experience and treatment on his tour and his opinions of those chiefs in whose territory his inquisitive spirit had driven him, thinking how very different he would have treated any commoner that circumstances had driven into his village, also touching on the penetrating eyes of the old chief and hospitality received under his roof. This pleased the old lady very much to hear her husband so extolled in the presence of strangers, so she added to the latter end of the conversation by remarking that it was customary in the ancestral line of her

old man to treat all strangers with hospitality and that he had never been the loser by so doing.

As the evening was far in the past, Uromakl advised that they should retire to rest, so the old lady should be refreshed to face the three elements of sun, sea, and wind, which she should have to face the next day. With this he bid good night. The blazing faggots were burned to cinders and darkness showed himself. The ladies spread their mats and committed themselves to the arms of Morpheus, in whose embrace they laid until the watchful cock sounded his trumpet to apprise them of the approach of day. All rose to a sitting position, dressed themselves, rolled up their mats, then threw the portals open and admitted Aurora beams, who had now spread her glory through the eastern horizons. All is bustle in the kitchen preparing an early meal. Mrs. Uromakl is also engaged packing her mother's travelling bags [betel nuts ...]. While thus engaged, Uromakl enters and orders breakfast, as the tide will soon begin to ebb. To this all agree and the meal is served. The servants are engaged taking the baggage down to the canoe so as there shall be no delay after breakfast, which being dispatched in haste and a chew taken, the word is passed: "the tide is getting low [*mo meheed a chei*]." The answer is: "let us be going [*bodrei*]," and with that they make a move. The whole family accompanies the old lady to the quay to see her safely embarked. As she sat herself on the canoe, Uromakl sent a crier with a *bachel* to the old woman saying: "This is a shade from the sun! [*Tia omderengem er a sils*]." The crier returned and he gave him a *chel-bucheb* saying: "This is for the spray of the salt water [*Tia dimem er a daob*] and this is the betel nuts for the old man [*chemelel a uadam el buuch*]." With this the old woman takes her leave.

Uromakl and his family return to his dwelling, the remainder of their lives as best suited to their inclinations. The old lady also arrived at her destination at about sunset, where she is joyfully received by her old chief and family to enjoy the remainder of long united lives on the pleasant hills of Imul, no more to be parted until death divides them.

So ends the tour of Uromakl. And as I am not pretending to expose to view the life of Uromakl, I herewith bring the narrative to a conclusion and bid adieu to all parties until we meet again.

Document 18500

The Cavalier, Captain Thomas Dexter**The logbook of William H. Wilson**

Source: Ms. log kept in the Mystic Seaport Museum; PMB ...; Log INv. 870.

Extracts from this logbook.

[Visit to Kosrae]

February 1st, 1850.

Saw land ahead some thirty or forty miles. The southwest(?) harbor was smooth inside, the island broken, irregular and picturesque. Every inch was covered in vivid green. Saw two ships to the left side; several ships lay in the harbor.

February 2.

Captain went in to the harbor where five ships were anchored. Everybody went ashore for a little while. The females are somewhat modest and do not bestow their favors in the daytime. The starboard watch went ashore at night.

February 3.

Filled the water casks and washed down the ship.

February 4.

The **Romulus** undertook to get out of the harbor. It almost got out but had to come back.¹ We killed one of the big pigs and made ready to go ashore. I walked around the island after shells, and I talked with a girl about going to America; she said she would like to go. One of the island men had been to America, but could not talk his mother tongue when he got back.

There have been two or three white women here; Captain's wives. The king sends breadfruit every morning to all the ships, and gets in return, tea, coffee, or chocolate. "Oh very good man," the islanders say if asked about him. A girl told me about ice. There have been three Frenchmen living ashore here. A beche-de-mer trader had been

¹ Ed. note: This indicates that they were lying in Lelu Harbor.

here. There's lots of beche-de-mer on the reef.

February 5.

A boat-steerer who ran away was captured; he had a severe blow across his mouth. Three or four years ago they had a war. The old king, a bad man, was deposed by a chief; the conqueror nearly cut off his arm with a cutlass ... an English doctor lived on the island ... and cured the king.

Eels are called blue skins; the islanders are afraid of them and regard them as sacred.

February 6.

The king ... wanted me to write a note to the captain to ask for a shirt. They raise breadfruit, plantains, banana, yams, taro, coconut, arrowroot, lavender, manny apples, sugarcane and kava. Cats, dogs, hogs, pigeons, birds of several kinds, parakeets, fowls, flying foxes, cranes, rats and mice are found here.

February 7.

Yesterday the captain found fault with the men for giving away meat and bread. The officers of the **Superior** came to look for a man and found him. The captain struck him several times.

February 8.

Got ... three loads of wood. I gave [an] islander woolen shirt and one woman a piece of calico; they were well pleased. Tobacco grows on the island. I saw many sick people, mostly women. I saw no infants; the chief says they have all died.

...

February 11.

... The **Romulus** and an **Indian** brig got out. The **Superior** tried to get out but ... she struck her stern. Two ships, **Levant** and **Columbia**, were outside the harbor ... they are going into the lee harbor. Our men complained and beat their girls.

February 12.

Stored wood and water ...

...

February 15.

The king came ... and was given a box of tobacco, some calico. Captain of the **Superior** looked for one of his men but did not find him. [We went] around the north point of the island. Two vessels were anchored there. The islanders are decreasing fast because they smoke too much, drink too much kava, and are too indolent. Sydney vessels brought the pox to the island.

February 16.

Left Strong's Island for Ascension...

Document 1851A

List of foreigners residing in Guam in 1851

Sources: Safford's Papers, n° 3 & 5, in LC Mss. Div.; his Notes, pp. 297-303.

Note: See Doc. 1831D for list of foreigners living in Guam 20 years earlier.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

En cumplimiento de la Superior providencia de 23 de Junio último he pedido à los Extranjeros residentes en esta una noticia firmada por cada uno de ellos, por no constar en este Gobierno todos los servicios prestados en particular los hechos en navegaciones, su llegada y procedencia y en su vista hice la averiguacion necesaria, y ha dado el resultado de ser verdades las que originales acompaño à V.E.. Los que constavan este Gobierno son las siguientes:

D. Juan Anderson.

Yngles casado con hija del pais y con 1 hija, sirve hasta en la actualidad de Ynterprete y traductor del Yngles y Frances del que por necesidad tiene por valerse este Gobierno. Es Ayudante del Puerto con aprobacion de ese Superior Gobierno y Comandancia General de Marina en 20 de Julio de 1831 como consta de la copia de un oficio autorizada por el Gobernador Don Francisco Villalobos. Ejerce el oficio de practico para entrar y salir los Buques, y disfruta diez pesos anuales de Gratificacion por el fondo de Marina. Es aplicado al trabajo, observa buena conducta en lo general excepto cuando se reune con sus paisanos, los Capitanes de Buques que llegan à este Puerto que como buen Yngles se embriaga, y nada fuera de estos casos. No tiene superior licencia de radicacion.

D. Juan Roberto.

Frances casado con hija del Pais con 4 hijos, de Capitan del Puerto de Apra desde 1° de Febrero de 1835 por nombramiento interno del Gobernador D. Francisco Villalobos y aprobado por ese Superior Gobierno y Comandancia General de Marina en 19 de Enero de 1836 como consta por la toma de razon de su nombramiento. Disfruta por el Erario ocho pesos mensuales. Es de buena conducta y exacto en el cumplimiento de su obligacion. No tiene superior licencia de radicacion.

Juan Shevort [sic].

Yrlandes, casado con un hijo vivo, ha sido muy trabajador ya le impide su vejez, y se dedica à la cria de cerdos; es de buena conducta. No tiene Superior licencia de radicacion.

Santiago Wilson.

Yrlandes, casado dos veces, y tiene nueve hijos; suple à Anderson en la Ynterpretacion en Yngles y de practico para entrar y salir los buques; tiene el mismo defecto que este, y fuera de este caso es de buena conducta. Consta en este Gobierno la Superior licencia de radicacion en 5 de Octubre de 1834.

Benito Enecasio Lajo.

Murio en 24 de Julio último.

Guillermo George.

Yrlandes, soltero, ejerce con buen resultado la facultad de Cirujano. Está encargado de la asistencia de los confinados y soldados enfermos; tiene superior licencia de radicacion interina de 14 de Julio de 1849.

Ricardo Milincham.

Yngles, casado, sin hijos, se dedica à las labores del Campo, pezca y comercio, es de buena conducta. Está pendiente de superior resolucion el expediente remitido en 23 de Abril último con oficio N° 94.

En vista de lo dicho debo manifestar à V.E. que los extranjeros residentes en esta desempeñan funciones utiles, y que entre los naturales no hay con quien remplazarles. Si estos en lo sucesivo se dedican à conocer bien los muchos bajos que hay en el Puerto y llegan à merecer la confianza de los Capitanes de los buques que entran en él, entonces los extranjeros no serán necesarios como lo son ahora.

No obstante lo expuesto V.E. determinará lo que sea de su superior agrado.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 31 de Agosto de 1851.

Exmo. Sor.

P. P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

To comply with the Superior measure dated 23 June last, I have requested each of the foreigners residing here to write and sign a notice, because there is no record in this government, regarding all of their personal services, specially those rendered during sea voyages, when they arrived, where from, etc. As a result of these notices, I have checked them out, and it turns out that the true facts are enclosed herewith, for Y.E.'s information. What this government has on record is as follows:

John Anderson.

Englishman,¹ married to a local woman, with 1 daughter. He has been serving as INterpreter and translator from English and French, a service that is indispensable to this government. He is Assistant Port Captain, a post approved by that Superior Governmetn and the Commanding General of the Navy, dated 20 July 1831, a proof of which appears in a certified copy of a letter by Governor Francisco Villalobos. He exercises the functions of local pilot, to guide ships in and out, and he enjoys 10 pesos per year allotted by the navy fund. He is dedicated to his work, observes a good conduct, generally, except when he meets with his countrymen, the Captains of ships that visit this port ; like a good Englishman, he then gets drunk, but only then. He holds no superior license to reside here.

Jean Robert.

Frenchman, married to a local woman, with 4 children. He acts as Captain of the Port of Apra since 1 February 1835, through an internal appointment of Governor Francisco Villalobos, as approved by that Superior Government and Commanding General of the Navy, dated 19 January 1836, a proof of which appears in the document in which he accepted this appointment. He enjoys 8 pesos per month from the Treasury. His conduct is good and precise, in the execution of his responsibility. He holds no superior license to reside here.

John Sherwood.

Irishman, married, with 1 live son. He has been a good worker but he is now old, and he spends his time raising pigs. His conduct is good. He holds no superior license to reside here.

James Wilson.

Irishman, married twice, with nine children. He replaces Anderson as an Interpreter of English and as local pilot fro ships entering and leaving the port. He has the same defect as the former, but outside of that, his conduct is good. There is a record in this government of a superior license to reside here, issued on 5 October 1834.

Benito Necasio Lajo.

He died on 24 July last.

William George.

Irishman,² bachelor. He exercises the role of Surgeaon, with satisfactory results. He is responsible for the health of the convicts, and soldiers. He holds an interim superior license to reside here, dated 14 July 1849.

1 Ed. note: Actually, a Scot.

2 Ed. note: Actually an Irish-Canadian from St. John, New Brunswick.

Richard Millinchamp.

Englishman, married, without children. He dedicates himself to agriculture, fishing and trading. His conduct is good. His license is pending a superior decision concerning the file enclosed with Letter N° 94, dated 23 April last.¹

In view of the above, I must say to Y.E. that the foreigners residing here are employed in useful occupations, and there are no possible replacements for them from among the natives. If the latter would devote themselves to learning well the many shoals that exist in the port and thus gain the trust of the captains of the visiting ships, then the foreigners would not be as necessary as they are at present.

Nevertheless, Y.E. will decide what is of your superior pleasure regarding the above. May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 31 August 1851.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

1 Ed. note: Richard Millinchamp had emigrated from the Bonin Islands. He later had a son, Henry.

Documents 1851B

The schooner *Secret*, based at Guam, 1851-56

B1. Letter of Governor Perez, dated 20 January 1851

Sources: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't; Safford's Papers, N° 3; Safford's Notes, pp. 303-305.

*Note: The schooner **Secret**, of Sydney, 38 tons, built in 1846, and commanded by Captain Jamison in 1849-50, had a mutiny on board when at New Georgia in 1850 (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs). She must have gone to Guam immediately thereafter.*

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*Paso á las Superiores manos de V.E. con mi informe y el del Administrador de Real Hacienda el escrito presentado por Don Serapio San Juan y Comp^a en el que solicita se conceda navegar en este archipiélago á la Goleta **Secret** de su propiedad adquirida en pública subasta de procedencia Ynglesa. Las razones que exponen son tan exactas para las circunstancias en que se encuentran estas Yslas, que ha concedido interinamente y hasta la resolución de V.E. haga dicha Goleta viages á las Yslas del Norte y conducir á esta las producciones de aquellas, y las ventajas que reporta, son el producir en doble á la Real Hacienda, con lo que conduce pertenecientes á las haciendas de Tinian y Saipan, y surtir con ella la escacés que hay en esta, de carne de baca y cerdo en tapa y algunos vivos.*

En la Ysla de Agrigan una de las de este archipiélago se han establecido algunos extrangeros desertores y naufragos de buques, como ya tiene conocimiento en Superior Gobierno por el parte que mi antecesor dio á V.E. en 6 de Noviembre de 1847; en la actualidad hoy de 14 á 16 personas, 2 Yngleses y los demas Yndigenas; si V.E. me ordena sean trasladados á estas, antes que se aumenten, se podra hacer con el auxilio de esta Goleta y con poca fuerza que vaya en ella.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 20 de Enero de 1851.

Excmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

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

Loose translation, by Safford.

In January, 1851, [Governor Perez says that] Serapio San Juan & Co. asked permission to navigate among these islands in the Schooner **Secret**, of English origin, bought by them at public auction. The reasons which they set forth are so applicable to the circumstances in which these islands now find themselves, that I have granted their request provisionally, until Your Excellency take action, to make trips to the northern islands of this group, and bring hither products from them. The advantages resulting from this will be double for the Royal Treasury, as that which they bring will come from the royal properties of Tinian and Saipan, and will be of great advantage in sustaining the scarcity here of beef and pork and some living animals.

In the Island of Agrigan, of this group, have established themselves a number of foreigners, deserters and survivors of shipwrecks, as my predecessor informed you under date of Nov. 5, 1847. At present the number is from 14 to 16 of whom two are Englishmen and the rest natives. If you order that they be transported from the island it could be done with the aid of this schooner, before their number increases.¹

B2. San Juan & Co. opened a trading house at Apra

Sources: As above, Safford's Papers, N° 3.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

San Juan y C^a que sin ninguna autorizacion ha establecido su Casa de Comercio en el puerto de Apra, ha puesto junto à ella una asta de bandera que la enarbola cuando entran buques nacionales ó extrangeros. Tambien usa una banderita unida à la vela mayor de los botes y otras veces bandera larga en el popa todas de comercio con la particularidad que cuando el castillo de Sta. Cruz en el mismo Puerto y cerca de dicha Casa, enarbola la bandera Real en los días señalados por ordenanza ó cuando pasa el Gobernador Comandante de Marina que todos los buques fondeados corresponden con la suya, la bandera no se la(?) de San Juan [sic] y teniendo dada de si este Comandante particular puede ó no usar de dichas banderas ó en que forma, ocurro à V.E. para que se sirva dar sobre esto la superior aclaracion que estime conveniente.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 21 de Agosto de 1851.

Exmo. Sor.

P. P.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

¹ Ed. note: The schooner **Secret** was making trips between Guam and Hawaii until 1856, when she was sold to Hawaii. She had been re-named **Micronesia** by 1859.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

San Juan & Co. have established a trading house at the port of Apra, without authorization. Next to this house, they have built a flag pole and, on it, they raise the flag when national and foreign ships come into the port. They also use a small flag on the main mast of their boats and at other times a large flag at their poops, all of them company flags. Now, when Fort Santa Cruz in the same port and near said house, shows the royal flag on days fixed by regulations, or when the Governor Commander of the Navy goes there, so that all ships in port must show their own national flags, their flag, that of San Juan [St. John], I think, is also raised. I wonder whether or not this Commander¹ may use sail flags, and in what manner; that is why I refer the matter to Y.E., hoping that you will give me the superior guidance that may be appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 21 August 1851.

Your Excellency.

P. P.

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

1 Ed. note: He refers to himself, versus Mr. Calvo, captain of the schooner Secret, and also port captain.

Documents 1851C

The 65 convicts who were sent to Guam from Manila in 1851

Sources: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection; Safford's Papers; Safford's Notes, pp. 305-321.

C1. Letter of Governor Perez dated 17 October 1851—Arrival of the convicts

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*El día 10 de Agosto llegó à este Puerto el Bergantin **Clavileño** [sic] que condujo 65 confinados que desembarcaron al siguiente dia. En el viaje murieron dos: Juan Austria en 10 de Julio, y Mariano Hilario (?) en 2 de Agosto, ambos naturales del pueblo de Cabuyao, Provincia de la Laguna.*

El Subteniente Don José Perez Comandante de la Custodia me informó de que en el viaje fueron bien asistido y de ello me cercioré con un comisionado al Sargento Mayor para el efecto y confinados y tropa.

Llegaron 21 enfermos unos escorbutados y otros con llagas y enfermedades cutaneas. A todos se les puso en Cura asistido por el Cirujano Yrlandes Guillermo Jorge radicado en esta que les subministró medicinas de su botiquin.

No haciendo fondo para pago de esta asistencia y medicamentos acordamos en junta los supliese el de Lazarinos como V.E. verá por la adjunta acta que debidamente acompaño, suplicando en nombre de la junta merecer su superior aprobacion.

El Administrador de Hacienda me transcribio la orden que en 23 de Junio le remittio el Sor. Contador General de Ejercito y Hacienda para que no les subministrara mas que por 4 meses desde el dia de su llegada. La economia, E.S., merece toda recomendacion y yo no abusare jamas de ella. Estos cofinados como V.E. me ordena se emplean en los trabajos utiles y en particular en la agricultura à que todos estan acostumbrados. En 1º de Septiembre fueron distribuidos 51 y entregados à los labradores laboriosos bajo las condiciones que V.E. verá por la copia de mi Circular que acompaño para el superior conocimiento de V.E. quedando los 14 enfermos entonces y ahora solo quedan 6.

La Distribucion de estos individuos aunque disimados por toda la Ysla no ofrece ningun inconveniente mientras no haya Buques en los Puertos, pero cuando en las estaciones de venir los Balleneros que hay 15 ó 20 Buques fondeados y sus tripulaciones en tierra, todos catequisando gente porque siempre vienen falta de ella, es muy expuesto, y conveniente el tenerlo reunidos à carga de los Cavos encargados de su cuidado, y trabajando lo mas lejos posible de los Puertos.

Los que observan mala conducta, tambien es necesario para su correccion reunirlos y que trabajen à la vista de los Cabos, los que se enfermen, los que debuelvan los reinos por no exponerse, con otras ocurrencias que puedan ofrecerse ¿que arbitrio, Exmo. Sor, le queda al Gobernador si no hay orden para subministrarles? Yo confio en que V.E. dispondrá que para los casos referidos se les continúe subministrados con los señalados para los 4 primeros meses, quedando à mi cuidado el conocimiento cuando sea posible de otra manera mi compromiso es grande y extensivo à los vecinos que los tienen quienes considerando que si se utilizan del trabajo del Confinado tienen que constituirse en centinela de él, los debolverán en aquella epoca por no verse comprometidos por su fuga.

Para la proxima monson de los Balleneros los tendré reunidos y vigilados trabajando lejos de los Puertos con el auxilio de los socorros y raciones ahorrados de mas de tres meses de los 4 primeros que se les concede. Esperando merezca de V.E. la aprobacion de esta medida necesaria, y la determinacion para que se ordene sean subministrados en las monsones de los años sucesivos, de lo contrario, temo que sean muchas las bajas por los fugados. Es todo lo que tengo el honor de esponer à V.E. para su superior disposicion.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 17 de Octubre de 1851.

Exmo. Sor.

P. P.

[Al Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

On 10 August 1851, there arrived the brigantine **Clavileño**¹ with 65 convicts, who were disembarked the following day. On the voyage from Manila two of their number died, both natives of the village of Cabuyao, Province of Laguna. In spite of the assurance of the Second-Lieutenant in charge of these poor wretches, Don José Perez,² that they were well cared for during the passage from Manila, their sufferings must have been terrible. Twenty-one of them arrived sick, some with scurvy, others with horrible

1 Ed. note: A rather strange name. I thought at first that this ship's name could have been Manileño, or even, Caviteño [Manila-man, or Cavite-man, respectively], but I have found no proof to substantiate this.

2 Ed. note: Another letter, dated 20 October 1851, mentions the contract for the transport of this Lieutenant and his troop to Manila aboard the English trading bark **Amelia**, Captain Hetherington.

ulcers and cutaneous diseases. These were turned over to the care of the little Irish doctor, William E. George, who devoted himself to their cure and furnished them with medicine from his own little supply of drugs. As there was no provision for the expenses of this treatment, the cost of lint, bandages, drugs, &c. the board of directors of the Leper Hospital consented to furnish the means out of their fund, requesting the approval of the Captain General for their action.

The Administrator of the Treasury [Paymaster of the Islands] transmitted to the governor an order which he had received from the Paymaster General of the Army and Treasury, not to furnish subsistence to the convicts more than four months from the time of their arrival in Guam.

On 17 October 1851, the Governor reported to the Captain-General that in accordance with his orders to employ these convicts in useful work and especially in that of agriculture, to which all were accustomed, he had, on 1 September, caused 52 of them to be distributed over the island, handing them over to the custody of the most thrifty cultivators of the soil in the island. Among these the principal one was the priest of Agat, Fray Manuel Encarnación, to whom 18 of them were assigned. The Governor issued a circular prescribing the condition under which they were to be employed. The sick were kept at Agaña under treatment. On 1 September there were 14 on the sick-list and on 17 October, all had been put to work but 6.

The Governor anticipated no trouble in allowing the convicts to be scattered over the island as long as there were no ships in the harbor, as there was no possible means for them to escape from the island but it was his intention to have them divided into gangs, placed under the surveillance of guards, and employed as far as possible from the port, as soon as the season should come around for the arrival of the whalers at the island. Of these there were always from 15 to 20 at anchor in the harbor during the season of their visit, and as they were usually short of men, there would be great danger of their taking these convicts away clandestinely.

Those who should misbehave were to be punished by being put in gangs under the supervision of a guard, and compelled to work in his sight. Those who should become sick and those whom their masters should return as unfit for work, or as being dangerous subjects, would have to be subsisted. The Governor asks the Capt. General to authorize their subsistence from the funds of the Government, as in the case of the provision for the first four months, under the direct supervision of the Governor.

The Governor speaks of the responsibility of these employing the convicts, who in a way become sentinels over them, and who would not agree to keep them during the whalers' visits, for fear of being held accountable for any who might escape. They would most certainly return them to the custody of the authorities at that season. And the Governor proposes then to employ the convicts at points away from the ports and to feed them on what he had saved from the four months' rations authorized, of which less than one month's supply was consumed. He asks the C.G. to approve of this expedient, and to provide for other means in the years to come. If this is not done the Governor fears that many will succeed in making their escape.

...

The Governor ordered the Administrator to issue 13 rations daily to the corporal and 12 soldiers who had come as a guard of the convicts during the passage from Manila. These were to be receipted for by the Second-Lieutenant José Perez, the officer in charge of the escort; and were to be issued from the date of their landing until they should reembark for Manila; but in obeying the Governor's orders the Administrator notified him officially that "he had received no orders from the Paymaster General of the Army and Treasury in the Philippines concerning these men and as he is expressly forbidden all expenditures without the express authorization from the Superior Government communicated through the said Minister, he fears the responsibility he assumes in obeying my orders." The Governor, therefore, asks that the Captain General may give the necessary orders to authorize this expenditure of the Administrator.

...

C2. Letter dated 30 November 1851—The revolt of the convicts

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Aprovechando la llegada de la Fragata de guerra Francesa la Alegria [sic] con rumbo a Hong Kong doy parte a V.E. de que en mi comunicacion de 17 de Octubre N° 114 dije a V.E. que los 65 confinados que condujo el Bergantin Clavileño, estaban distribuidos entre los vecinos mas honrados y laboriosos ocupados en la agricultura y otros oficios útiles en cumplimiento de las recibidas de V.E. y que aunque desimnados por toda la Ysla no ofrecia ningun inconveniente, mientras no hubiese buques en los Puertos pero, Exmo. Sor., padeci un horror [sic], confiado en que unos hombres a quien V.E. havia indultado de la última pena, con su superior bando de 11 de Enero pasado vivirian reconocidos a tan grande beneficio y no crei fuesen tan usados, que consiviesen la temararia de sublebase contra el Gobierno y hacernos victimas de su ferocidad: 20 se hallaban trabajando en el pueblo de Agat tres horas distante de aqui, y acudillados por el facineroso de la Provincia de Cavite Fortunato de los Angeles y, en combinacion con los que estaban en esta Ciudad, la noche del 8 al 9 de este mes le pusieron por obra. Entre los mismos convenidos hubo uno que velaba sobre nosotros, me revelo el plan a las nueve de aquella noche, la ejecucion debia ser a las seis de la mañana siguiente, Domingo, mientras todos estubiesemos en la unica misa que havia. Tomé mis disposiciones para frustrar sus deseos, seguro de conseguirlo, y otras, por si algun residente les prescriba a adelantar la hora como asi sucedio. Observados en su marcha, por espías y patrullas que tenia apostados y ocultas en sitios determinados para recibir prontos avisos, descubrieron a una, hirieron al Comandante de ella, Cabeza de Barangay Don Mariano Materne, y temerosos del pronto aviso que este me mando, hecharon a todo correr desde el barrio de Anigua, 15 minutos distante de aqui, y a las 12 y 1/2 acometer temerariamente al Cuartel desfilando y muy pegados a la pared del costado norte. Yo les es-

peraba con la Compañía formada que les recivio con una descarga à quema ropa, y en seguida à la bayoneta. Fué preso el Cabecillo Fortunato, muerto uno, y heridos dos, que quedaron en nuestro poder, y los restantes huyeron atropelladamente por la poblacion, sin parar hasta internarse en los bosques. Todo fué como un relampago.

Al día suguiete fueron vivamente perseguidos, consiguiendo haber aprendido à todos en aquellaa misma semana, muriendo uno en su fuga y otro en su temeraria resistencia, quedando concluida esta compañía desde un sabado à otro, teniendo de nuestra parte dos soldados heridos y el referido Materne.

Los pueblos se mostraron à cual mas actZe ivos para perseguirlos.

A uno de los heridos que en la accion quedaron en nuestro poder, se le hallo el robo verificado en aquel mismo dia en la Yglesia del pueblo de Agat, donde trabajaba en su oficio de Carpintero y eran las alhajas siguientes: una custodia de plata sobre dorada, una patena de id., otra de plata, cuatro yjuelas [rather hijuelas], dos purificadores, la tapadera de un copon de plata sobre dorado con el paño [con que] le cubria y que saco del mismo sagrario, un pedazo de ara y un embolterio de icienso. Este criminal murio à los ocho dias de resultas de las heridas.

El atroz plan que tenian formado desde muy al principio de su llegada con el de degollar à todo blanco y à los principales de estas poblaciones, con otras circunstancias que V.E. verá con horror en el expediente que se esta instruyendo y remitiré à V.E. en primera oportunidad con los reos sublevados, y los que resulten complices.

Yo hubiera podido evitar este golpe con haber mandado alguna tropa à su encuentro, por los malvados siempre intentar pretextos y huvieran buscado muchos para hacer ver que su venida tenia otras fines; que de haber entrado en averiguacion del verdadero nada se huviera aclarado; y quedavamos siempre con el peligro. Por esto preferi dejarlos venir à consumir su crimen, y de este modo recibieron su merecido, sin quedarles refugios para evadirse del castigo que marcan las Leyes para los que conspiran contra el Gobierno.

La tropa se porto con valor. El Capitan de la Compañía de dotacion Don José Joaquin de la Cruz, aunque anciano y que por primera vez uso de su espada la estreno con mucha serenidad. Se le recomiendo à V.E. asi como à los dos soldados heridos, Silvestre de la Rosa, Pedro de Toves, y al Caveza Materne, para recibir especial recomendacion. Ninguno de los Sargentos, Cabos y Soldados por que todos cumplieron bien con su deber; suplico à V.E. se sirva conceder algunas Cruces sencillas de Y[sabela] 2ª para sortear entre las cincuenta y cuatro plazas de que consta la Compañía, incluso los que estaban de servicio en distintos destinos que si no tubieron parte en la accion, estaban dispuestos à vender caras sus vidas si hubiese sido atacados, y asi la recompensa y estimulo será igual en todos à lo que va del Superior agrado de V.E.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 30 de Noviembre de 1851.

Exmo. Sor.

Pablo Perez

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Loose translation, by Safford.

Editor's note: I have improved his translation, specially the part dealing with the stolen sacred objects.

8 November 1851.—Arrest of Filipino convicts, who, it is alleged, were on the point of rising against the authorities and trying to take possession of the Island. The governor writes to the Captain General under date of 30 November 1851, as follows:

(I acknowledge that I was mistaken in believing that the men whom Your Excellency had pardoned from the punishment of death by your decree of 11 January last, would live grateful of such a boon, and never dreaming that they would rise against the government and attempt to make us victims of their ferocity, I distributed them among the most respectable and industrious citizens of the island dedicated to agriculture and other useful pursuits. I thought that no precautions would be necessary as long as there were no vessels in the harbor in which they might seek refuge.

Twenty of them were working at Agat, a village three hours distant from Agaña. They, incited by the villain of the province of Cavite, **Fortunato de los Angeles**, and in collusion with those in this city, prepared for action on the night of 8-9 November. Among the confederates there was one who was looking out for our safety. He revealed to me their plan at 9 o'clock on that night, which was to be carried out at 6 o'clock on the following morning, Sunday, while all of us should be at the only mass of the day.

I took immediate action to frustrate their desires, if they should carry out their design, and I also laid plans in case they should act before the original time intended. This they did. Being observed in their march by patrols which I had stationed, who were hidden at certain points of observation, they discovered that they were being watched, and wounded the man in charge of one of the patrols, the Head of Barangay, Don Mariano Materne, and being frightened on account of the promptness with which he sent a report of the occurrence to me, they all made a rush for the suburb of Anigua, 15 minutes from here, and at half past twelve o'clock attacked the barracks, marching very close against the north wall. I received them with the guard drawn up, who fired on them and charged with bayonets. The leader, Fortunato, was taken prisoner, one was killed, and two wounded who remained in our custody, and the rest scattered through the town, and did not stop until they reached the woods, where they concealed themselves. It was as sudden as a lighting flash.

On the following day, they were pursued and before the end of the week we had captured them all, one dying in his flight and another in his rash resistance. Thus the campaign was concluded from one Saturday to the other, we having two of our soldiers wounded and the above-mentioned pursuit.

On one of those wounded was found property stolen from the church of Agat the same day, where he was working at his trade of carpenter. The precious articles stolen were the following: one monstrance of silver, gilded, one paten of the same metal and another of silver, four gores and two palls, the lid of a gilded silver ciborium with the cloth that covered it, and which he took from the tabernacle itself, a piece of the altar and an incense burner. This criminal died within 8 days as a result of his wounds.

The atrocious plan which they had formed from their very first arrival was to cut the throat of all the whites and the principal citizens of these islands, with other circumstances, which Your Excellency will see with horror in the official testimony which is being taken and which will be forwarded to you at the first opportunity together with the criminal rebels and those who may be found their accomplices.

I could have prevented this coup by sending some troops to meet them, but the wicked always invent pretexts and would have sought many to show that their coming had other ends in view, and on investigation nothing of the truth would have been found out, and we should have remained in danger. On this account I thought it best to let them come to consummate their crime, and in this way they would receive their just deserts, without finding means of escape from the punishment provided for those who conspire against the government.

The troops behaved with valor. The captain of the company stationed here, Don José? Joaquín de la Cruz, although an old man, and for the first time putting his sword to use, did so with great coolness.

I would also recommend to Your Excellency the two wounded soldiers, Silvestre de la Rosa and Pedro de Toves, also the Head of Barangay Materne, for whatever favors you may see fit to bestow upon them. None of the Corporals, Sergeants or Soldiers deserve special mention, because all did their duty well. I beg you to grant some simple crosses of Isabel II to be distributed among the 54 men who form the company including those who were employed in different duties, who, if they did not take part in the action, were disposed to sell their lives dearly, had they been attacked, and thus the reward and stimulation will be the same for all.

C3. Another eyewitness account of the convict revolt of November 1851, as reported by Lieut. Safford

One day [ca. 1900] while walking in the country, I met an old man sitting under a mango tree near his farm, who after presenting me with two green mangos proceeded to tell me that in his youth he had been to Manila. He told me, among other things, of this uprising, of which I had not before heard, as follows:

“Padre Manuel of Agat had taken 18 of the Tagalog convicts to work for him. There were 63 of them in all, some of them in the villages and some of them here in Agaña. They conspired together, and agreed to kill all of those in authority on this island. A convict named Copin was to be Governor, a certain San Luís was to be the Administrator, and one named Fortunato was to be Commander of the Garrison. They had all picked out for themselves wives from among the daughters of the principal citizens of Guam.”

“One Saturday night [8 November 1851], they were surprised and made prisoners. They were to have gotten arms and were going to kill the people the next day, Sunday, while they were at mass. There was a full moon the night they were surprised. They resisted and one of their number was wounded. It was between 12 midnight and 1 o'clock.

The wounded man's belly was ripped open and his entrails hung out. He lived 8 days more and then he died."

"I was then 20 years old. I enlisted with many other Chamorros to put down the uprising. I was one of the guard sent to Manila with the prisoners. We sailed from Guam on 2 February 1852. In the mean time the prisoners had been formed into gangs and under the eyes of guards had been set to work on the roads."

"Don Pablo Perez was Governor; he was a great one for making roads. They made the cut on the crest of the hill back of San Ramón through which the road to Sinahaña passes. In those days we had good roads; they were repaired every year. Sinahaña was bigger than it is now and there was a town at Pago. That was before the great epidemic of smallpox [1856], which they say carried off nearly 4,000 people. Don Pablo had a lot of trouble with the priests. They were always fighting. One time the priest called him names in the pulpit, and Don Pablo sent two sodiers the next Sunday to church, ordering them to yank the priest out of the pulpit if he should say anything disrespectful about him and to put him in the calaboose. It was Padre Vicente [Acosta]. The Governor had a comedy in the plaza. I remember it well. Some of the ladies dressed as men and some of the men dressed as women. It was on the day of the Three Kings. Padre Vicente referred to the abominations going on in the plaza and called the Governor **Satanas**. He even excommunicated the governor and other officials together with their wives and families. I tell you, these were lively times. It all wound up by Don Pablo's being sent away and Padre Vicente was transferred from Agaña to Merizo, and another priest¹ was stationed here as his senior in rank. Don Pablo had a terrible temper.

C4. The repatriation of the survivors—Letter dated 13 January 1852

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*En mi comunicacion de 30 de Noviembre último N° 123, tube el honor de poner en conocimiento de V.E. lo ocurrido la noche del 8 al 9 del mismo mes por la sublevacion de los confinados y su resultado; y ahora la satisfaccion de remitirlos à disposicion de V.E. en el mismo buque que les trajo el Bergantin Goleta **Clavileño**, con las sumarias que acredita los feroces planos que proyectaron en distintas ocasiones abordo y en tierra. De los 65 que llegaron aqui murieron 4 en la accion y persecucion que van anotados al final de la relacion que acompañó quedando 61; à lo que se agregan dos presidiarios que tomaron parte con ellos y son 63 el numero total de los que remito, para que V.E. se sirva disponer de ellos como lo estime conveniente.*

Dios guarde à V.E.. muchos años.

Agaña 13 de Enero de 1852.

¹ Ed. note: Father Aniceto Ibañez.

*Exmo. Sor
Pablo Perez*

[A1] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas. @HEAD3 = Comments, by Safford.*

Lieutenant José Martínez asked to be sent to Manila in charge of the imprisoned convicts. They were sent in the brigantine **Clavileño**, the same vessel which had brought them. He was given 12 soldiers with two corporals to assist him. The Governor stated in a communication to the Captain General that martinez was an officer very conscientious in the performance of his duty, and recommended him for promotion to the rank of captain.

Of the 65 convicts sent to Guam in the **Clavileño** 4 of them died in the action and connected with the uprising. Added to the 61 remaining were two others who had been sent to Guam before this. So that 63 prisoners wer sent to Manila in the **Clavileño**, for such disposition as the Captain General might see fit to make.

C5. Feliciano Granado recommended for a full pardon—Letter dated 14 January 1852

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*El Confinado **Feliciano Granado** es el que à las 9 de la noche del 8 de Noviembre me dio el parte y me instruyo del plan que tenian formado sus compañeros y que Fortunato de los Angeles venia aquella noche de Agat con todo los que estaban en aquel Pueblo para aposerarse de las armas con cuyo abiso vi las disposiciones necesarias para recibirlos como tengo comunicado à V.E. en mi parte del 30 de Noviembre N° 123. El abiso evito mucha sangre pues aunque los sublevados no huviesen conseguido sus depravadas intenciones, al cogernos menos prevenidos, las desgracias hubieran sido mayores: por lo que se recomiendo à V.E. suplicandole por su entera libertad, y la recompensa que V.E. considere proporcionado al grande servicio que hizo à estas Yslas y sus naturales.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 13 de Enero de 1852.

.Exmo. Señor.

Pablo Perez.

[A1] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas.*

Loose translation, by Safford.

Don Pablo recommends for pardon the prisoner **Feliciano Granado**, who gave the information regarding the plot at 9 o'clock on the night before it was to be carried into execution. He it was who told the governor that Fortunato de los Angeles was coming that night from Agat with all the convicts stationed in that town to seize the arms, in consequence of which information the Governor had taken the necessary steps to re-

ceive them, and prevented them from accomplishing their nefarious design. If it had not been for the warning given by this man serious consequences might have resulted. The Governor therefore recommends that the said Granado be given his complete freedom and the recompense which the Captain General may see fit to bestow upon him for the great service he did the islands and their inhabitants.

Don Pablo asks that Lieutenant Martinez who goes to Manila

C6. Rewards presented to some soldiers involved in the above action—Letter dated 9 November 1852

Mariana Islands—Standing Company.

List of the 8 individuals belonging to the Company who have merited the single ribbon of distinction granted by the superior decree of 7 February, for the merit gained on the night of 8 November last during the revolt perpetrated by the evil convicts in this place; in said distribution the beneficiaries, as follows, are personally confirmed by His Lordship the Governor, along with the Sergeant Major of the garrison, in the presence of their officers who act as witnesses on this, the first anniversary of the action in question:

Ranks	Names
Sergeant 2nd class	Alexandro de León Guerrero
Corporal 1st class	José de Castro León Guerrero
Corporal 1st class	José Martínez ¹
Corporal 2nd class	Juan de la Cruz
Corporal 2nd class	José Perez
Corporal 2nd class	José de la Cruz Reyes
Soldier	Antonio de San Nicolas
Soldier	Jacinto Dizon

Agaña, 9 November 1852.

Captain José Joaquin de la Cruz

Lieutenant Cecilio Camacho

Second-Lieutenant José de Torres

Senior Adjutant José Martínez

Junior Adjutant José Aguilar

Approved: Perez

As recommended by Sergeant Major José Blanco.

1 Ed. note: Obviously not the same as the senior officer who escorted the convicts back to Manila. His name appears below.

Documents 1851D

Shipping news for 1851

D1. Visitors to Guam

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 16 May 1851; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Guam 7.

A ship **E.L.B. Jenney**, Allen, Pacific, via Manila Jan. 6, 2500 bbls. sperm oil. Reports at Guam, Oct. 28 [1850] **Massachusetts**, New Bedford, 750 sperm.

Sources: Salem Gazette, 5 March 1852; reproduced in Ward's, under Guam 8.

Ship **Austerlitz**, of Boston, Day, from San Francisco for Calcutta, was lost in a typhoon Nov. 19 [1851], lat. 22°40' N., long. 150° E. The officers and crew were saved by the New Bedford **Palmer**, Low, from San Francisco, and taken to Shanghai.

Sources: Sydney Herald, 27 Feb. 1852; reproduced in the San Francisco Daily Heralds, 22 June 1852; in Ward's, under Guam 9.

Note: The 521-ton English ship Fatima had previously taken English migrants from Plymouth to Adelaide in 1850 (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs).

The **Fatima** reports the total loss of the U.S. bark **Austerlitz**, which was dismasted in a typhoon, and subsequently abandoned in lat. 20° N., longitude 160° E. She was bound to Shanghai from Guam. Part of the crew were taken on board the **Fatima** and brought to Sydney.

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 13 July 1852; in Ward's, under Guam 10.

At Guam, March 16 [1852], by letter from Capt. Marsh, **E.L.B. Jenney**, Fairhaven, clean, for Japan,

At ditto, same date, **J. E. Donnell**, Earl, New Bedford, 170 sperm oil on board, bound N.

Sailed from ditto, March 16, **Niagara**, Clough, Fairhaven, oil if any, not stated, for Arctic Seas. Some 15 whalers had touched at Guam previous to March 19, the names of which are not given.

D2. Visitors to Pohnpei

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 5 June 1841; Ward's, under Ponape 12.

At Ascension Islands, supposed in Feb., **Boy**, Merry (late Luce), of Warren, Rhode Island, supposed clean; see general news column for report of the murder of Capt. Luce and five men at the Caroline Islands.¹

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 3 April 1852; Ward's, under Ponape 13.

Hibernia, Baker, New Bedford, from Ascension Islands, Dec. 1 [1851], 830 whale oil, 420 sperm oil, 10,000 bone on board. **Condor**, Kempton, ditto 100 sperm since leaving Sandwich Islands. Left Guam, Jan. 15 [1852]. **Monpelier**, Tucker, New Bedford no oil since leaving Sandwich Islands.

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 13 April 1852; Ward's, under Ponape 14.

At Ascension, Nov. 20 [1851], by letter from Capt. Smith, **Hector**, New Bedford, 2100 sperm; expected to be home in September.

D3. Visitors to Kosrae

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 30 July 1852; Ward's, under Kusaie 20.

Arrived at New Bedford 20th inst. **Desdemona**, Beckerman, Pacific Ocean, Talcahuano [Chili], May 6, 1700 bbls. sperm oil on board; sent home 130 sperm on the voyage. Spoke Nov. 1 [1851], on the Line, long. 165° E. **Roscoe** (barque), Gorham, New Bedford, 890 sperm. At Strong's Island Dec. 12, **Jasper** (barque), Rotch, New Bedford, 550 sperm (reported 600 on Nov. 24).

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1851E.

Documents 1851E

The Boy, of Warren, cut off at Pingelap

E1. Murdered by South Sea Islanders

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 5 June 1851; copied in other New England newspapers in days following; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Pingelap 2.

A letter from Capt. Drew, of ship **Oneco**, of this port, who arrived at Manila, March 13, from Sydney, N.S.W., states that on his passage he touched at the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei], and there found the whale ship **Boy** of Warren, R.I., in charge of the first officer, Mr. Thomas Merry, who stated that Capt. Obed Luce and five of the crew had been murdered at the Caroline Islands, January 18, 1851. The last previous report of the **Boy** was that she sailed from Sydney, Aug. 1, on a cruise.

E2. Murder of a Boat's Crew

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 7 July 1851; copied in other local newspapers on same day and days following; reproduced in Ward's, under Pingelap 5.

A correspondent of the New Bedford Mercury, under the date of Hong Kong, April 20, gives the following particulars of the murder of a boat's crew attached to one of our American whalers, a brief mention of which has already been made:

"On the 23d January, at an Island, not laid down on the charts, called by the whalers Pinglap, about 180 miles east of Ascension, and a short distance east of the Caroline Group, Capt. Luce, of the barque **Boy**, of Warren, with a boat's crew, was cut off by the natives. The boat had been on shore the day previous without the natives showing any hostility. A second boat's crew was sent, to endeavour to learn something of the fate of the Captain and his boat's crew. They were attacked by the natives, and a white man from the shore warned them to leave, as the natives were bringing canoes from the other side of the island to take them. He also informed them that the Captain and all the crew had been murdered. This account we received from one of the crew of the **Boy**. He came from Ascension in the **Oneco** of Boston. We have reported this affair to the commanding officer of our squadron in these waters."

E3. New York Express from China

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 16 July 1851; reproduced in Ward's, under Pingelap 7.

The island where the murder of the captain (Luce) and five of the crew of the whale ship **Boy**, of Warren, R.I., was committed is about 75 miles east of Wellington, or Duperrey [Mokil] Island, the latter lying in nearly direct position east of the Island of Ascension, 150 miles distant, but not laid down in any of the maps.

Capt. Luce was warned by a white man on the island that it was unsafe to visit the shore, but he landed, and neither himself or the five white men were afterwards heard from. This was February 18, and Capt. Drew of the ship **Oneco**, on his passage from N.S. Wales, boarded the ship March 15, when he found her in distress, most of the crew having left her, and there was no discipline on board. The ship had about 400 bbls. of oil, having a few months before sent home a part of her cargo from Sydney.

...

E4. Massacre of a Captain and Four of His Crew

Sources: The Alta California, San Francisco, 1 August 1851; copied in Boston and New Bedford newspapers in November 1851; reproduced in Ward's, under Pingelap 8.

By the arrival of the schooner **Odd Fellow** from the Ladrone [sic] Islands, we have received an account of the massacre of a captain and part of his crew, by the natives of a small island, known as McCoskell's [Pingelap], belonging to the Group of the Ladrone [rather Carolines]. The particulars were written for us, and subscribed to by Mr. George Dawson, who was second officer under command of Captain Luce. The occurrence mentioned took place on the 17th of January last.

The sperm whaler **Boy** of Warren, of Rhode Island, arrived off the island of McCoskell, and was boarded by two men in a canoe, who, in reply to a demand for provisions, informed Capt. Luce, master of the ship, that the Island only afforded green turtle, and that the natives were hostile to strangers, advising him not to land. Capt. L., however, ordered a boat to be got in readiness, and calling for volunteers, was joined by four of his crew, and accompanied by one of the strangers, who were sailors, and had been stopping on the island for two years. He gave orders to the first officer to send a boat for him in the morning, and pulled ashore. The ship lay off and on, and the next morning a boat was sent for the Captain, in which was the other stranger, and also two natives, who had paddled off to the ship. On nearing the shore, the natives assembled on the beach, refusing to allow the boat to land. They were all armed with spears, and beckoned their comrades to join them, from the boat, which they did. The sailor resident was then about to follow, when one of the natives warned him to remain in the boat. They refused to hold any communication whatever with the crew, and Mr. Dawson, who went in command of the boat, rejoined the ship and related his adventure. Mr. Merry, first officer, then provided the ship's crew with arms, and the boat was again sent ashore, under a white flag. The men lay on their oars within a cable's length of the

beach, where the natives continued to assemble, armed with spears, and threatening an attack, if an attempt was made to land. Joseph Percy, the companion of the sailor who accompanied the Captain ashore the previous evening, endeavored to gain some particulars from the natives concerning the fate of the Captain and Party, but was refused all information, and having stated his belief to the second officer that they had been killed by the natives, a fire was opened upon them from the boat. The relief party continued outside the reef until a signal from the ship recalled them. Mr. Merry waited until dark off the island, when, receiving no tidings from the unfortunate party, he bore off for Ascension [Pohnpei].

The names of the seamen who landed with Capt. Luce were James Mackay, James Sweeny, William Taylor and Edward Rion. There is no doubt that the whole party were massacred by the natives, who perhaps suspected from the absence of their two comrades on board the vessel during the night, that they had been killed or detained as prisoners.

Documents 1851F

The brig **Rodolph** lost at **Tabiteuea** in December

F1. Article in the **Daily Evening Union**

Source: Daily Evening Union, Newburyport, Mass., 6 September 1853; copied in Boston Post and in Salem Gazette of same date; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Tabiteuea 3.

Loss of a Vessel and Murder of Her Crew

The Edgartown Gazette states that letters have been received there, announcing that the captain and crew of the brig **Rodolph** was massacred by the natives of one of the King's Mills Group, in December 1851, and the vessel destroyed by fire.—The crew was composed wholly of foreigners—not an American among them. The **Rodolph** was owned by Capt. Alfred R. Fisher, now of San Francisco. The captain who was murdered was named Charles D. Perry, and belonged to Boston.

F2. Article in the **Daily Mercury, New Bedford**

Source: Daily Mercury, 6 September 1853, also based on an article in the Edgartown Gazette; similar report in The Friend, Honolulu, 16 November 1853; reproduced in Ward's, under Tabiteuea 4.

Destruction of a Vessel and Murder of Her Crew

We learn that letters have been received in town from Capt. Alfred K. Fisher, now in San Francisco, conveying the intelligence of the loss of the brig **Rodolph**, formerly of Boston, (of late years owned by Capt. Fisher) and the massacre of her crew. The **Rodolph** left San Francisco under command of Chas. D. Perry, of Boston, on the 13th of October, 1850, for the Friendly [Tonga] Islands, where she arrived on the 15th of November, of the same year. On the 19th of December, she sailed from the Friendly Islands for Sydney, Australia and arrived there on the 6th of January, 1851. On the 18th of the same month she sailed for Newcastle, where she took in a load of coal for Panama, but owing to bad weather and scantiness of provisions, touched at Callao on the 15th of May, where the cargo was sold. Mr. John Dillingham, of this town, to whom we are indebted for most of our information, was first officer of the **Rodolph**, and left

the vessel at the just named port, where she remained until the 1st of June. He heard of her afterwards, having left for the King's Mill Group, in pursuit of cocoanut oil, to be taken to Sydney. Since that time up to the receipt of the letter from Capt. Fisher, there has been nothing definite known of the vessel or crew.

Capt. Fisher writes that he has seen the captain of a vessel who was wrecked near the place, who informed him that the Captain and crew of the **Rodolph** were massacred by the natives of one of the islands of the King's Mill Group, in December, 1851, and the vessel destroyed by fire. The crew, when Mr. Dillingham left, was composed wholly of foreigners—not an American among them. Capt. Perry was a young man of good character, and was well known in this community.

F3. Later report published in Honolulu

Sources: The Friend, 15 June 1855; reproduced in Ward's, under Tabiteuea 5.

Intelligence from Strong's Island.

A ship that was in our harbor last month,¹ taken from a letter by Rev. Snow, reports having seen the **Rodolph** late as Nov 9, '51, bound in to the south side of Drummond Island, and that nothing had been seen or heard of her since. She was after cocoanut oil, and was probably taken by the natives of that island.

1 Ed. note: This is probably

Document 1851G

Report on the Marianas, from an American perspective

Sources: Article in the Weekly Alta California, San Francisco, 26 April 1851; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Marianas 6.

Note: In this context, it is interesting to note that the Spanish government had already perceived a threat to the security of the Marianas (see Doc. 1852...).

The Mariannes or Ladrones Islands [sic]

The progress of settlement and population on this [California] coast and the increase of commerce consequent, will speedily give an importance and value to many of the groups of Isles in the North Pacific, now but little known [sic], and which but for the discovery of the gold mines and the consequent impetus westward might have remained unknown in a commercial point of view for centuries more. With but few exceptions, the tropical groups of volcanic formation are fertile in the extreme, and produce spontaneously every necessary and many of the luxuries of life. Sugar cane of rare luxuriance, cotton nearly equal to sea island, sandal wood almost equal to Timor, wild nutmegs and cinnamon are found; in many of these groups the most beautiful and fertile portion of creation is inhabited by the vilest and most debased of God's creatres. The groups of coral formation also have their commercial value and that more immediate than the others. The constant and increasing supply of cocoanut oil drawn from them, the cargoes of sea slug and pearl [rather tortoise] shell, are constantly occupying the attention of our colonial neighbors,¹ who have about fifteen vessels at present engaged in this trade while there are some ten or twelve French vessels steadily following this business from Tahiti.

In the race for pre-eminence which this age will see among the Isles of the Pacific, those which are already settled and have a start in civilization will take the lead. Among the most interesting of these are the Mariannes or Ladrones—not for the commercial value of the amount of their production—but as a place to recruit to our whalers, and

1 Ed. note: The Spanish, occupying Baja California and countries south of it.

from containing the only port where repairs could be made in case of disaster to merchant vessels after passing the Sandwich Islands short of Manila or China.

This group is about 400 miles in extent, 16 or 20 in number, between the latitude of 13 and 21° north, and longitude 144 and 146° east. Five only are inhabited and those in the southern part of the group. They are all of volcanic formation, some of the volcanoes have been in action in modern times. They are generally bold to approach, high, barren and uncompromising, irregular in form and position. Guam, the southernmost, on which is the principal settlement, is more regular in appearance and more fertile, and contains two moderately good ports. The climate is serene and temperate, the heats being moderated by the regular sea breezes. But during the westerly or rather south-westerly monsoons, these Islands, like the Carolinas, are subject to typhoons of short duration but extremely violent. Both the anchorages are, on the western side of the island, perfectly safe during the north-east monsoon, and the inner portion of the northern harbor in the westerly monsoon. During the typhoon season, in the hurricanes the sea breaks clear over the reef protecting the outer harbor, rendering the anchorage somewhat precarious.

This group was discovered by Magellan, and at the instigation of the Jesuits, was colonized by [Mary] Anne of Austria, mother of Charles II. Their population was then estimated at 150,000 [sic], but so much have they been thinned in resistance to the Spanish yoke, the cruelties since practised upon them, and with the too free use of intoxicating liquors, the Indian population has been reduced to about 4,000, but are yet a friendly, well disposed race. On the first settlement many of the natives fled to the Caroline Islands,¹ and possibly the knowledge conveyed to the natives of the western portion of that group of the cruelties of the Spaniards may partly account for their inveterate hostility to whites to this day, for nearly all the eastern portion of this chain of islands are an extremely friendly race. This dependency of Spain is a yearly expense of some \$10,000 to the Spanish government above all the revenue derived from it. The Spanish officers are a governor, several alcaldes, commissary, captain of the port, and captain of the guard—these officials, with a few padres, make up the sum total of pure Spanish population. A government vessel is sent from Manilla once in two years to supply their wants and pay off the officials. A small fort defends the inner portions of the northern harbor, built when this island was the stopping place of the galleons trading to this coast, but that and all the government buildings have, as in most old Spanish colonies, fallen to decay.

There is not now sufficient of traffic to induce a merchant ship to stop, though formerly the islands produced sea slug in some abundance—small quantities may be had, brought from the Carolinas by proas, from those islands—many of which make the voyage, through some six hundred miles, yearly. Within the last few years they have been more frequented than formerly by the American whaling fleet for supplies, which,

1 Ed. note: This is another lie that keeps getting repeated by Protestant writers, even on this late date.

were the natives not so lazy, could be produced in great abundance. A fleet of fifteen or twenty happening in at once almost produces a temporary famine.

It is an agreeable resort for the whalers from the ease with which deserters can be apprehended,—the governor and his deputies being exceedingly strict in their regulations, while affording every reasonable facility. The port charges, pilotage and cost of supplies, are sufficiently reasonable, and the climate healthy—cotton, indigo, rice, Indian corn, sugar plantains, yams, sweet potatoes and cocoa's [cocoanuts?] thrive; the coffee berry has been introduced and flourishes, and since the value of the group has increased by becoming more a place of resort for the whaling fleet, the Spanish government at Manilla have given them greater attention, the cultivation of the islands has increased, supplies have been forwarded, and at this time every want of passing vessels, or those moderately distressed, can be supplied.

Document 1851H

Salted Tories—The Story of the Whaling Fleets of San Francisco

Source: Lloyd C. M. Hare. Salted Tories: The Story of the Whaling Fleets of San Francisco (Mystic, Conn., Marine Hist. Assn., 1960.

Extract from this book

...

The whaling bark **Russell**, late of New Bedford, has the distinction of being the first whaler to be enrolled at San Francisco. Her registry is dated March 10, 1851. Her owners were G. B. Elkins, G. H. Moore, and Francis B. Folger.

Folger had brought her to California in 1859 as the argosy of the Nantucket Mining & Trading Company. She was an ancient craft. This was a fact that not even her most ardent admirer could deny. She had slid off the ways at Scituate, Massachusetts, in the dim year of 1804. Notwithstanding the weight of her years of toil, she had made one of the fastest voyages to San Francisco in the scramble for golden nuggets. The Cape Horn route had been like a visit to a neighbor on the far side of town, so familiar had been the course to her officers and crew.

The **Russell** was outfitted for whaling by the shipping firm of Moore & Folger, already a prominent establishment on the water front. The partners did a commission business, acted as "forwarding agents" (an attractive business at isolated San Francisco), and were proprietors of the Eagle warehouse, described as "spacious" and "fire-proof," in Davis Street. Their wharf was at the foot of Rincon Hill.

The **Russell** sailed April 28, 1851. She was followed by the city's second whaler. This was the ship **Nile**. Registry was not transferred from New Bedford to San Francisco until she had gotten well out at sea. The date was June 18. She was enrolled in the name of William A. Darling, a member of the executive committee of San Francisco's Committee of Vigilance.

The **Nile** and the **Russell** were typical whaling vessels of their era. Each had two decks, three masts, a square stern, and a billet head. Their burthen was something over 300 tons each.

The intelligence that the brash newborn city by the Golden Gate had cleared two whale ships stirred hardly a ripple of curiosity when heard at New Bedford. In this same

year, New Bedford had cleared 135 whalers of all rigs, not to mention the armada of hundreds of spouters already on the sea.

The eastern ship-owners perceived no challenge in either the **Russell** or the **Nile**, two old tubs sailing out of the Golden Gate into the setting sun bound for the Arctic's icy horizon. And yet little San Francisco, "knee britches" in the whaling business, was one day to supersede the Colossus on Buzzards Bay.

The next year, 1852, San Francisco cleared a fleet of eight whalers. These ships were the **Aquetnet**, **Columbia**, **Emily Farnham**, **Emperor**, **Mary Helen**, **Nile**, **Russell** and **Zoroaster**, the largest of which were the **Nile** and the **Russell**. This might be deemed an insignificant achievement if it is compared only with New Bedford's clearance of 75 vessels. But the fleet of eight whalers compares not unfavorably with other Atlantic whaling ports of ancient prestige.

1
...

1 Ed. note: Reginald H. Hegarty, in his Continuation of Starbuck, begins to list whaling ships clearing out of San Francisco only as of 1876. However, James Brown Goode, the editor of *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries*, has them as of 1868. See remarks by Starbuck, in his *History*, at the foot of p. 490, regarding the **Russell** and the **Nile**, etc.

Documents 1851I

The schooner *Wanderer* visited the Gilberts and Banaba

*Notes: Nicholson, in his Log of Logs, says that this small 84-ton schooner yacht sailed from Australia to Hawaii in company with the *Ariel*. John Webster was a passenger aboard this schooner and was travelling as a tourist. Among the crew was a Banaban named Timmararare who had been absent from home for three years. This was the last cruise of the *Wanderer* because she later ran aground on an island in New South Wales.*

II. The Wanderings of the *Wanderer*

Sources: Article in the Sydney Herald, 20 September 1853; copied in The Friend, Honolulu, March 1854.

Mr. John Webster who was the companion of poor [Captain] Boyd during all his cruising amidst the splendid islands of the Pacific, is about to proceed to England for the purpose of publishing under this title a narrative of the voyage. It was first contemplated to issue this work in Sydney, but the great cost of production has been found an insurmountable barrier. As to the intended plan of the work itself, we know nothing; but treating, as it must do, of lands which, although within a comparatively short distance from this colony, are as yet almost wholly unknown, it cannot but be deeply interesting. We have, however, seen the drawings from which the illustrations of this work are to be copied. They are twenty-five in number, splendidly executed in water colors by Mr. G. F. Angas, and taken from the original sketches made by Mr. Webster amidst the scenes which they so vividly represent. Five of these drawings are of birds and fish, the latter distinguished, like the coral groves among which they wander, by the most brilliant hues. Three others contain portraits of various islanders, including those of four natives of San Christoval, for natives of Guadalcanar, and **a handsome group of three Kingsmill islanders—man, woman and child**. Another drawing contains the portrait of a man of Stewart's Island, and the representation of several native utensils. The remainder are all sketches of scenes in various parts of Polynesia—the Hawaiian ARchipelago, **the Kingsmill group**, the Solomon Islands, and Stewart's Island. Among them are very graphic representations of the attack upon the **Wanderer** by the natives of Guadalcanar, after the murder of Mr. Boyd, and the subsequent destruction

by the **Wanderer's** crew of the native village and canoes, after their unsuccessful search for the remains of that unfortunate gentleman.

12. The journal of John Webster

*Sources: Ms. in the Auckland Public Library; published as *The Last Cruise of the Wanderer* (Sydney, 1863); quoted in Pearl Binder's book: *Treasure Islands* (Cremorne, NSW, 1978).*

Extracts from his book

...

Wanted, part about Gilberts, incl. figures (Australia, Honolulu? London?)

...

The natives behaved kindly and wherever I went food was offered me. The refreshing trade winds keep the air in a state of balmy coolness and perpetual summer reigns over these equatorial islands.

...

[The canoes] far surpassed any we had yet seen in beauty of workmanship... but sails were prohibited so that the islanders should not be tempted to go far from land as the strong currents and trade-winds might prevent their return to the island.

...

[The old priestess exorcised Timmararare.]

She passed her hand gently over Tim's face and down his body accompanying the manipulations with an incantation, the meaning of which was, *May your days be long! May your coconuts yield abundantly and your friends be numerous!*

...

[Before he was allowed to enter his dwelling another priestess] with a shell of water sprinkled his head and face and with a monotonous chaunt and violent gestures, assayed to drive all evil from his abode.

[Night fishing by torchlight is described. Children played with bolas, etc.

The houses in Banaba are remarkably clean. The men go naked whilst the females usually wear a cincture of leaves round the loins. They are a fine and prepossessing race, of a light yellow or brown colour, many with a ruddy glow of health upon their cheeks. Some of the gentlemen are tattooed from head to foot with transverse or waving lines. Their most valuable ornaments are necklaces formed of human teeth.

...

[Timmamararare stayed home and other Banabans were shipped when the *Wanderer* left the island.]

We shipped several young Islanders who formed a welcome addition to our limited crew.

...

We were favoured with another visit from Tapu-ki Panapa. He brought us a present of some fowls and after a courteous exchange of civility he returned on shore. Tim

also came on board to bid us farewell. He had already cast aside as superfluous every article of clothing except his trousers, and I presume it was out of compliment to us that even these were retained. He was most distressed at parting. We presented him with more tobacco, also with some knives and files, and taking a last adieu, poor Tim went ashore crying as if his heart were like to break. He was as good-natured and attached a creature as ever I remember to have met with.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: There exists a third narrative, Ms. 644, for this voyage, by R. H. Hall, kept in the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

Document 1851J

The U.S.S. Saratoga

Source: Ms. logbook in the Peabody Museum, Salem (I think).

U.S. Sloop-of-War Saratoga.—

Journal from Gosport Navy Yard, Va., to Rio de Janeiro, Table Bay, Macao, Manila, Hong Kong. 12 Aug 1850-21 Feb 1852.

Extract from the log kept by Commander William S. Walker.

...

[Meriere Island]

At sea March 25th 1851

Commenced and continued throughout the day with light breezes and pleasant with passing clouds. At 5 discovered the island of Marino [sic], bearing N by E. At 6 mustered the crew at quarters. At 6:55 furled royals, flying jib, and hauled up the main sail. At 7:25 took in top gallant sails and wore ship. Made and reduced sail as the occasion required. At 11, braced around on starboard tack.

[Pulo Ana Island]

At Meridian, centre of Pulo Anna bore (per compass) E by S. Several native boats in sight, one of which came alongside.

Temperature of air 87° to 79°

Temperature of water 85° to 82°

Lat. obs. 4°39'00" North. Long. Chro. 131°55'00" East

[Sonsorol Islands]

At sea March 26th 1851

... At 8, land discovered from the mast-head right ahead. Exercised 3rd Division at great guns. Passed through a large fleet of canoes. At Meridian, centre of St. Andrews Is. bore E by S.

Temperature of air 78° to 82°

Temperature of water 83° to 82°

Lat. obs. 5°19'00" North. Long. Chro. 132°15'00" East....

Documents 1851K

The whaler *Saratoga*, Captain Ephraim Harding

K1. The logbook kept by Captain Harding

Sources: Log 447 in NBWhM; PMB 272; Log Inv. 4267.

Note: This ship went to the Arctic to fish.

Extracts from this log

...

Friday January 3rd [1851]

First part light breeze from the E, steering WSW. At 1 p.m. rose sperm whales breaching 4 points off the starboard bow, luffed the ship to for them. At 2 lowered in chase, they were going quick, could not come up. At 6 came on board, shortened sail for the night, and stood to the North. Mid part tacked to the South. At daylight made all sail, kept off SSW. Latter moderate. At 7 a.m. saw "Hope Island" one of the King Mills Group. At 9 luffed to under the lee of it. Some native canoes on board, but had nothing in their canoe. Kept off W by N. So ends.\

Saturday January 4

First part light breeze from the eastward, steering W by N. At 2 p.m. saw Rotch's Isle. At 5 luffed to under the lee of it. Some natives came off with some fowls, purchased them with tobacco. At sunset kept off SW. At dark shortened sail off to aback. Mid part squally, latter more pleasant, made all sail, steered NW. So ends.

Lat. 1°56 Long. 174°44 E.

...

Tuesday January 7

... At 5 exchanged signals with a ship to leeward showing a blue & white signal with the letter H in it. Supposed her to be the "**Herald**" of Fairhaven...

Lat. 12 miles S., Long. 171°18 E.

Wednesday January 8th

... At 5 p.m. spoke the Bark **Arabian** of London...

Lat. 8 miles S., Long. 169°49 E.

Thursday January 9

... At sunset saw Ocean Island bearing SSW. At dark spoke Bark "**Emma**" of New Bedford, 700 sperm...

Friday January 10

... Ocean Island in sight...

Saturday January 11

... At 2 p.m. spoke Bark "**Australian**" of Sydney, 250 sperm, two other sail in sight...
Lat. 1°03 S

Monday January 12

... At dark spoke Bark "**Covington**", Warren, R.I....
Lat. 10 miles N Long. 167°54 E.

...

[On the 15th, the ship left the Gilbert Island area headed for Hong Kong.]

...

Sunday January 25

First part fresh breeze from the North, steering NW by W1/2W. Mid part squally. At daylight saw the Island of "Pagan" one of the "Ladrones". Latter moderate. At 8 a.m. saw "Grigan" another of the above named Islands bearing NW by W 50 miles dist. So ends.

Lat. 18°19 North.

Monday January 26

First part light trades from NE, steering for Grigan. At dark shortened sail, Island 10 miles distant. Mid part lying off & on. Latter stood in for the landing of Grigan. Took the boats and went on shore to get some hogs. So ends.

Tuesday January 27

First part moderate, standing off & on. At 4 p.m. the boats returned with 27 hogs, braced forward and stood for "Pagan" to get our wood. Mid part luffed to aback. At daylight kept off and ran down the land to the South. Latter luffed to abreast of the wooding place, sent two boat's crews on shore to cut wood. So ends off & on.

Wednesday January 28th

First part strong trades. At 5 p.m. the boats returned with wood, left a quantity on the beach. Mid part squally, latter the same with rain and strong current. Fell to the leeward of the landing. Sent two boats on shore for coconuts, the ship working up to the Island. So ends.

Thursday January 29

First part strong trades & squally. At 5 p.m. the boats returned with coconuts. Got one of them stove on the reef. Mid part squally, staning off & on. Latter more pleasant. At 8 a.m. got abreast of the landing, sent two boats in for wood and one for coconuts. At 10, boat came off with wood. Got another boat stove in landing. At noon sent the boats on shore again for wood, and the other boat returned with nuts. So ends.

Friday January 30

First part more moderate and less surf on the beach, getting off wood. At sunset got the wood all off, took up the boats and kept off W by N. Mid part squall with rain. Latter more pleasant, took in starboard boat to repair, light winds from ESE. So ends.

Lat. 18°19

...

K2. The logbook kept by D. F. Worth

Sources: Log 346B in NBWhM; PMB 272; Log Inv. 4268.

Note: It is obvious that this log-keeper was copying from the Captain's logbook, above, as shown by the following extract.

Extract from this log

...

Ship Saratoga towards Hong Kong via Gregan A.D. 1851

Saturday January 25th

First part fresh breeze from the North, steering NW by N1/2W. Mid part squally and moderate. At daylight saw the Island of Pagan one of the Ladrone Islands. Latter moderate. At 8 a.m. saw Gregan one of the above named Islands bearing NW by W 50 miles dist. So ends.

Lat. 18°17 North.

Sunday January 26th

First part light winds from the NE, steering for Gregan. At dark shortened sail, the island 10 miles dist. Mid part lying off & on. Latter stood in for the landing at Gregan, sent the boats on shore for some pigs.

Monday January 27th

First part moderate, standing off & on. At 4 p.m. boats returned with 27 pigs weighing 3000 lbs. Braced forward and stood for Pagan to get our wood. Mid part luffed to aback. At daylight kept off down with the land to south. Latter luffed to aback and sent 2 boats on shore to cut wood.

Tuesday January 28th

First part strong breeze, At 6 p.m. returned loaded with wood, left a lot on the beach. Mid part squally. Latter the same and rainy, fell to the leeward of our wood, send boats on shore for coconuts, ship lying off & on, squally weather.

Wednesday January 29th

First part strong winds & squally. At 5 p.m. boats returned with some coconuts, got one boat stove some. Mid part squally, standing off & on. Latter more pleasant. At 8 a.m. sent 2 boats on shore for wood and one for coconuts. At 10 a.m. boats returned with one load of wood, got another boat stove. At noon went on shore again for wood, the other boat returned with coconuts. So ends.

Thursday January 30th

First part more moderate and less surf on the beach. Employed in getting off wood. At sunset got all the wood off, took up the boats, kept the ship off W by N. Mid part squally with rain. Latter more pleasant, took in the starboard boat to repair, light wind from ENE. So ends.

Lat. 18°17 North.

...

Document 1851L

**The bark Timor of Sag Harbor, Captain
Edward M. Baker**

Sources: Ms. logbook in the East Hampton Free Library; PMB 683; Log Inv. 4612.

Extract from the logbook kept by Erastus Barns

...

Friday 18th Saturday [January]

Throughout this day had pleasant weather and light wind from NE. At 2 PM made Mulgrave [Mili] Islands and was visited by some of the natives but could not understand their language. Watch employed mending a flying jib. So ends all well. Latitude by Obs 5°44 North Longitude 170°00

Saturday 18th Sunday

Commences with pleasant weather. Ship under all sail steering West. Middle and Latter part had nearly the same weather and carried all sail[.] saw an Island off the star-board beam. So ends all well. Latitude [blank] Longitude 171°00

...

Tuesday 4th February 1851

The principal part of this day had fresh wind from N East and rainy[.] steer to the wesward passed a small Island and raised another ahead[.] Saw several humpbacks and a small vessel at anchor[.] boarded him and got a hog[.] so ends all well.

Wednesday 5th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather and a fresh wind from N East[.] Ship under all sail steering to the westward bound to Guam passed the Island of Tinian and steered for Guam and made it at 8 AM[.] so ends in Latitude 13°47 Longitude 146°00.

Thursday 6th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather and a light wind from the Eastward[.] Ship under all sail until 6 PM and then the pilot came off and took charge[.] lay half

the night each way and went in in the morning and anchored at 11 AM in 21 fathoms water[.] So ends all well.

Friday 7th

Began with pleasant weather[.] watch employed washing the Ship outside[.] Middle and Latter parts had the weather nearly the same[.] Employed painting the Ship[.] so ends all well.

Saturday 8th February 1851

Throughout this day had pleasant weather[.] all hands employed painting the Ship outside[.] so goes all well.

Sunday 9th

All this day had fine weather and light wind[.] continue painting.

Monday 10th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather[.] all hands employed painting spars.

Tuesday 11th

Had fine weather[.] all hands employed painting the Ship inside.

Wednesday 12th

Began with pleasant weather and fresh wind from N East and continued the same throughout[.] all hands employed painting.

Thursday 13th

Had fair weather throughout the day[.] the larboard watch ashore on Liberty[,] the starboard employed painting the quarter boats and oars[.] so ends all well.

Friday 14th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather[.] finished painting and took on board 6 barrels of sweet potatoes.

Saturday 15th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather[.] half the crew ashore on liberty[.] nothing of consequence done on board.

Sunday 16th February 1851

Began with pleasant weather and fresh wind from N East[.] Middle and latter parts nearly the same[.] Nothing of consequence on board.

Monday 17th

Throughout this day had strong wind from S East and weather squally[.] the larboard watch came on board and starboard went on shore[.] Nothing more occurred.

Tuesday 18th

Began with fresh wind from N East and rather squally[.] employed fitting jib whips[.] Middle and last parts wind and weather the same[.] employed setting up rigging.

Wednesday 19th

Throughout this day had strong wind pleasant weather[.] half the crew on shore on liberty[.] nothing of consequence done on board.

Thursday 20th

Commenced with fresh wind and pleasant weather[.] Middle and latter parts squally[.] watch variously employed on board.

Friday 21st

Throughout this day had strong wind from N East[.] unship[ped] the rudder and wedged it.

Saturday 22nd

Had fair weather[.] stows the fore hole [sic] for water and too severe [sor] other jobs[.] so ends.

Sunday 23th February 1851

Throughout this day had pleasant weather[.] nothing of consequence done on board.

Monday 24th

Throughout these 24 hours had pleasant weather and fresh wind from N East[.] take on board one ton of sweet potatoes.

Tuesday 25th

Throughout this day had fresh winds from N East and some rain[.] take on board one ton of yams and sent the boat to town after another load.

Wednesday 26th

Had strong winds and some rain[.] take on board 2236 lbs yams and 600 lbs potatoes [.] two American whalers arrived here and anchored at 11 AM[.] so ends.

Thursday 27th

Throughout this day had strong wind from NE[.] take on board 2200 lbs sweet potatoes and a few yams[.] so ends.

Friday 28th

Commenced with strong wind[.] Middle and latter parts had fair weather[.] At 7 in the morning to[ok] our anchor and run down to Umatta bay for water where we anchored at 11 AM in 10 fathoms water.

Saturday March 1st 1851

Commences fresh wind and squally[.] Middle and latter parts nearly the same[.] nothing of consequence done on board[.] so ends.

Sunday 2nd

Throughout this day had squally weather and some rain[.] take on board 300 barrels of water[.] the **Armeta** [rather Armata] of New London arrived here clean 24 days from the Sandwich Islands[.] so ends.

Monday 3th

Began with light wind and some rain[.] employed getting water and stowing it away[.] Latter part had fair weather[.] all hands employed stowing away water in the after hatch.

Tuesday 4th

Throughout this day had fair weather and squally[.] finished getting water and Bullocks and got three Hogs[.] the **Armeta** left at 1 PM[.] so ends all well.

Wednesday 5th

Throughout this day had pleasant weather and light wind[.] saw a large ship steering west[.] nothing more occurred worth remarks[.] so ends all well.

Thursday 6th

Began with peasant weather and a light wind from N East and continued the same throughout Latter part[.] employed chasing humpbacks[.] so ends this day.

Friday 7th March 1851

Throughout this day had pleasant weather and a light wind from N East[.] employed chasing humpbacks and sailing for pleasure[.] last part took on board several bunches of bananas[.] so ends all well.

Saturday 8th

Began with fair weather and a light wind N East[.] at 4 AM got underway and steered to the Northward[.] latter part had fresh wind and pleasant weather on board the chains and put them below and stowed the anchors passed the harbor and saw several ships at anchor[.] so ends in Lat 18°48 Long 144°30

...

Documents 1851M

The logbooks of the bark *Fortune*, Captain Hathaway

M1. The log kept by Captain David E. Hathaway

Source: Ms. 385B in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 266; Log Inv. 1791.

...
 [After rounding Cape Horn, the *Fortune* headed for the Arctic Sea. She was off Cape Thaddeus in June 1851, at the port of Hilo in October, bound for the Equator]

...
 Sunday Dec 7 [1851]

... At 9 a.m., saw Hope [Arorai] Island bearing WNW dist. 4 leagues. Luffed for it... At 1 p.m., the canoes came off. Luffed to... At 3 p.m., braced forward. Found 2 natives stowed away below. Lat. 2°44 [S]. Long. by Chr. 176°13 [E].

Monday Dec 8

... At 8 a.m., exchanged signals with the Ship **St. George**. Lat. 3°25 [S]. Long. by Chr. 177°07 [E].

...
 Saturday Dec 20

... At 4 p.m., saw Simpson's [Abemama] Island bearing WSW dist. 5 leagues. Kept off for it. At 6 p.m., luffed to the winds. Lat. 00°30 N. Long. 174°02 E.

Sunday Dec 21

... At daylight, saw the Island... Kept off for it. Saw 3 sail. At 9 a.m., spoke the Bark **Belle** of Fairhaven, 7 years out with 140 sperm on board. Had taken 3100 sperm and 1500 coconut oil on the voyage. At 2 p.m., the canoes came off with some coconuts and a few fowls. At 4 p.m., steered S. Saw Henderville's [Aranuka] to the westward...

...
 Wednesday Dec 24

... Saw 1 sail. At 6 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing W by S dist. 8 leagues. Steering for the land. At 10 p.m., luffed to. Lat. 00°44 S. Long. 170°10 E.

Thursday Dec 25

... At daylight, saw the Island SW dist. 2 leagues. Kept off for it. At 7, the canoes came off. At 9, sent a boat in. At 1 p.m., boat came off with a load of wood and went on shore again. At 3 p.m., the boat came off with 4 doz. fowls. Kept off W1/2N. Saw 1 sail.

Friday Dec 26

... At sunset, saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W by S dist. 5 leagues. Saw 1 sail. At 8 p.m., luffed to for the night. Lat. 00°20 S. Long. 167°35 E.

Saturday Dec 27

... At 8 a.m., the canoes came off. At 1 p.m., luffed to under the lee of the Island. Went on shore to get wood. Took off 11 boatloads. Laying off and on for the night. Spoke the Ship **Hibernia** of N. Bedford, 1200 bbls.

Sunday Dec 28

... At 7 a.m., went on shore again for wood. Took on board 8 boatloads and 11 pigs. At 1 p.m., kept off N under all sail. Lat. 00°10 S. Long. 167°07 E.

...

Friday Jan'y 9 [1852]

... At 3 p.m., saw Rota Island bearing W dist. 5 leagues... Lat. 14°10 N. Long. 145°48 E.

Saturday Jan'y 10

... At daylight, the land bore W. Kept off for it. At 8 a.m., went on shore to the leeward of the Island. Took on board 1-1/2 tons yams, 28 hogs, 4 [tons?] coconuts, 15 fowls and 300 oranges. At sunset, kept off NW by W.

...

Sunday Jan 18

... At 1 p.m., spoke the Ship **Marcia** of N. Bedford with 540 bbls (180 sperm)... [Approx. position 19° N, 127° E]

...

[Onward to Hong Kong and 2 more seasons in the Arctic without any other sweep through Micronesia.]

M2. The anonymous logbook

Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 862; Log Inv. 1790.

Note: William Davis, Jr. replaced Captain Hathaway in 1852.

The log of the bark Fortune of New Bedford, David E. Hathaway, Master

...

Remarks on Saturday Dec 20nd

These 24 hours fresh breezes from NNE and smoky weather. Steered off West. at 4 PM saw Simpsons [Abemama] Island bearing SW dist 15 Miles we run for it until Sun-down then Stood off and on through the night. at Daylight kept off and run down on SW side of it then hove aback[.] the Natives came off [with] Fowls & Coconuts we traded with them, three Ships in sight we spoke the Barque **Belle** of Fairhaven Capt Handy with 140 bbls of Oil. So Ends. Lat 18 miles North.

Remarks on Sunday Dec 21st

First part lying off and on at Simpsons Island trading for Fowls and Coconuts. at 4 PM steered off South at 9 steered SSW until Daylight then steered West[.] latter [part] light breezes and pleasant weather we unbent Foresail to repair [it.] So Ends.

Carson off duty and Peter with Pox.

Latt. by Obs. 30 Miles South. Long. by Chr. 172°37' East.

...

Remarks on Thursday Dec 25th

First part light winds from Eastward and pleasant weather. Lying off and on at Ocean [Banaba] Island[,] Capt on shore trading got one Boat load of wood 50 Chickens and some Broom stuff at 5 PM he came aboard and steered of W by N and made all sail[.] latter light breezes and fine[,] watch employed in mending sails[,] saw number of Fin Backs[,] So Ends[,] invalids no better.

Latt. 20 Miles North. Long. 167°35.

Remarks on Friday Dec 26th

Begins with moderate from ENE and fine weather[.] Steered West with all sail set[.] we saw several Finbacks[,] watch employed in mending sails[,] at 6 PM made Pleasant [Nauru] Island ahead dist 12 Miles[,] at 8 PM loffed to the wind and laid by through the night. Day light kept off for the Island[.] So Ends lying off and on trading with Natives for Fowls, Coconuts and Squaws.

Remarks on Saturday Dec 27th

This Day a light breeze from Eastward pleasant weather Lying off an[d] on at Pleasant Island wooding, we got 19 Boat loads of and [sic] man ashore all cut and ten Hogs we saw four Ships PM spoke the **Hibernia** of New Bedford Capt Baker 1200 bbls.

Remarks on Sunday Dec 28th

Com[ences] with light breezes from East and fine [weather.] Lying off an on at Pleasant Island[.] at 2 PM we steered off North with al drawing sail[,] one Brig in sight[.] at 5 PM lost sight of the Island bearing SSE saw several Finbacks and large Shoal of Black Fish Latter fresh breezes from ENE and clear. watch employed in stowing away wood So Ends Carson on duty Peter some better.

Latt by Obs 1°10 North. Long. by Chro. 176°6 East.

...

Remarks on Friday Jan. 9th [1852]

These 24 hours fresh trades and smoky weather. Steered West with all sails set. at 3 PM saw the Island of Rote [i.e. Rota] ahead dist 25 Miles[.] at Sundown loffed to, to windward of the Island and laid through the night[.] at Daylight run down to leeward of the Island Capt went ashore to trade[.] So Ends lying off and on[.] Saw one Ship steer[ing] off to Westward.

Remarks on Sunday [sic] Jan. 10th

All these 24 hours moderate breezes and fine[.] first part lying off and on at Rotte Capt [on] shore trading got 31 Hogs 8 doz Fowls, and tun and half of Yams[.] at 6 PM came aboard and steered off NW by W[.] latter set the Studding sails[.] Second and Third Mates employed in Cock fighting[.] Third Mate got his Hand badly cut by one of the knives[.] So Ends.

Latt. by Obs. 14°38' North. Long. by Chro. 144°5' East.

Remarks on Sunday Jan 11th

First part light airs and calms Steered NW by W latter wind shifted to NNE and breeze up latter employed in breaking out for shooks and heads for water casks So Ends took in studding sails.

Latt. by Obs. 15°25 North. Long. by Chro. 142°42 East.

...

Remarks on Sunday Jan 18th

... at 1 PM spoke Ship **Marcia** of New Bedford Capt Wing...

Latt. by Obs 20°49 [N] Long. by Chro. 125°48 [E]

...

[The bark went on to Hong Kong, then to Kamchatka and the Arctic, with Capt. William Davis, Jr., in command. Down to Valparaiso, and back up to the Okhotsk Sea, then to Sandwich Islands, and home.]

Document 1851N

Logbook of the Hibernia II, Captain Baker

Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 900; Log Inv. 2300.

Extract from the log kept by Captain Archelaus Baker, Jr.

...

Sunday December 21 1851

... spoke the ship **Metacom** of New Bedford 18 months out 1200 whale...

...

Sunday December 23 1851

... at 1 PM spoke the **Bengal** New London 10 M;. 100 W oil and the **Monhork** [sic = Mohawk] of Nantucket 20 months out 600...

...

Thursday December 25

Begins with light breezes the land in sight at 2 PM the natives came off with fruits[.] a sail in sight...

...

Sunday December 28 1851

Begins with light breezes and pleasant at 2 PM the natives came off at 5 spoke the bark **Fortune** New Bedford...

Lat. 00°11 Long [blank]

...

Thursday January 1 1852

Begins with light breezes and pleasant the land in sight at 4 PM spoke the ship **Rome** of Sidney Capt Denes [i.e. Dennin]...

...

Wednesday January 14 1852

Begins with moderate trades steering W all sail set 4 PM saw the land and of the Ladrone Islands...

[The ship went by the Marianas without stopping. The log soon ends.]

Document 1851O

The Washington of New Bedford visited Pohnpei

Source: Logbook in the Peabody Museum of Salem; Lob. Inv. 4840.

Note: This ship had been built at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1819.

The logbook of Captain Martin Palmer

Voyage 21 Oct. 1850-17 March 1853 from New Bedford(?) to Japan, Bering Strait, Formosa, Bering Strait, Hawaii, returning to New Bedford.

...

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Sunday November the 8th 1851

All these 24 hours light airs and calm from NE and pleasant weather. Steering W by S to WSW with all sail set. At 10 a.m., saw the Island of Ascantion [sic] bearing W 30 miles distance. At 11 a.m. took in a pilot;

Lat. by obs. 6°44' N

Sunday November the 9th 1851

All these 24 hours light winds from E to ENE. First part and middle [part] laying off. At daylight keppt off steering in for the harbor. At half past 11, let go our anchor in the Weather Harbor at the Island of Acension [sic] in 7 fathoms of water with the larboard anchor with 50 fathoms of chain out. Furled the top gallant sails and jibs.

Monday November the 10th 1851

All these 24 hours fine breezes from E to SE and pleasant weather. Lying at anchor. All hands employed in getting water and washing ship.

Tuesday November the 11th 1851

All these 24 hours lying in port. One watch ashore on liberty. The other employed in washing ship and painting her bends.

Wednesday November the 12th 1851

All these 24 hours fine breezes and pleasant weather. One watch ashore on liberty and the other employed in painting the ship. So ends this day.

Thursday November the 13th 1851

These 24 hours commences with pleasant weather. Lying in port. One watch ashore on liberty, the other employed in ship duties. At 11 p.m. by sea account fresh squalls of wind and rain. Furled the sails and got the other anchor ready for letting go. Ends with light winds and hard rain. Lowered the topsails again to keep them from spoiling. So ends.

Friday November the 14th 1851

All these 24 hours pleasant weather. One watch on liberty. The [other] got off 3 boatloads of wood and painted ship.

Sunday November the 16 1851

All these 24 hours strong winds from E by N to ENE and squally. One watch ashore on liberty. The other on board.

Monday November the 17th

All these 24 hours all hands employed in getting off water and 2 boatloads of wood. Painted the larboard side of the ship.

Tuesday November the 18th 1851

All these 24 hours strong NE winds. All hands employed in painting ship and healing her and fitting the sheathing and the copper on her starboard bow.

Wednesday November the 19th 1851

All these 24 hours, all hands employed in stowing down the wood and water and getting off more. At 11 p.m., caught Sine [=Simon?] and Ira and the carpenter trying to desert the ship. I took them, put them in irons and kept them in the run nights for safe-keeping.

Thursday November the 20th 1851

All these 24 hours, all hands employed in getting the ship ready for sea and painting a little.

Friday November the 21st 1851

All these 24 hours, winds from ENE to NE. At 11 a.m. hove short and loosed our sails to get under way. The wind came ahead. Geve her 60 fathoms of chain and furled the sails again.

Saturday November the 22th 1851

All these 24 hours strong breezes from ENE and clear weather. Lying waiting for a wind to get out to sea.

Sunday November the 23rd 1851

All these 24 hours strong breezes from E to ENE and a heavy swell heaving into the passage. Could not get out. Those 3 deserters still in irons nights and let loose days.

Monday November the 24th 1851

All these 24 hours strong breezes from ENE with rain squalls. Still waiting for a wind to get out of Port and painting. Ship cooper and smith sick.

Tuesday November the 25th 1851

All these 24 hours strong trades from ENE. Lying waiting for a wind to go to sea. Got off six casks of water.

Wednesday November the 26th 1851

All these 24 hours, winds from ENE to ESE with rain squalls. Still lying at anchor.

Thursday November the 27th 1851

All these 24 hours light winds from E to SE by E. At 1 p.m., took our anchors and tried to work out to sea but could not gain any and came to again in 8 fathoms of water with 45 fathoms of chain out. Furled the sails.

Friday November the 28th 1851

All these 24 hours light winds from ENE to E with rain squalls. Still lying at anchor with all hands on board but Capt. and he(?) is gone to the Lee Bay to get help to get out. All hands well but the cooper.

Saturday November the 29th 1851

All these 24 hours strong breezes from E by N. Still lying at anchor waiting for a time to get to sea.

Sunday November the 30th 1851

All these 24 hours strong trades from ENE and clear weather. Lying at anchor.

Monday December the 1st 1851

These 24 commences with strong trades from E by N. At 6 a.m. 13 boats and their crews came from the Lee Harbor to help us to sea. At 6 a.m. sea account got under way and at 11 a.m. all clear of the reef and hauled aback heading SE.

Tuesday December the 2nd 1851

These 24 hours strong trades from ENE and clear weather. At daylight, stood in for the Lee Harbour. Captain went on shore on business with a boat's crew, and James Aberhart and James Thomas deserted. Detained the Captain all night, the ship lying off and on.

Wednesday December the 3rd 1851

These 24 hours commences strong trades from NNE. Lying off and on. At 8 a.m. caught the deserters, Capt. came on board, got the anchor on the bows stowed, the chains and flogged the prisoners. Gave James Thomas 19 blows and James Aberhart 10 blows with several parts of fish line ends. Steering SE under double reefed topsails.

Thursday December the 4th 1851

... in company with the **Hibernia** of New Bedford.

...

Document 1851P

Captain Woodin visited Pohnpei and Palau

Notes: See Doc. 1841I for earlier voyage. This voyage was from Hobart Town, Tasmania, to the South Sea Islands after bêche-de-mer for the China trade.

Extract from the log of the barque Eleanor, Captain E. Woodin

...

Saturday 22 [February 1851]

... Mr. Cocklin [sic] came on board as 2nd officer.¹

...

Thursday 27th

... Mr. T. Aldridge came on board.

Sunday March 2nd 1851

... At noon got underweigh with a light breeze from ESE. Working down Strun(?) Bay...

...

[Via New Caledonia, Steward's Island, and Strongs, i.e. Kosrae, Island]

...

Thursday October 2nd 1851

... 10 a.m. Fine and clear. Spoke the brig **Margaret** of Sydney out 6 months 150 Bbls of oil. Lat. by obs. 0°23'11" ...

...

Friday [Oct.] 17th 1851

... Passed a Barque under English colours standing to the northward...

...

¹ Ed. note: The Chief Mate is later identified as Mr. Eastaway (see entry for 3 July 1852). He was the keeper of most of this log. He had first joined the ship as Second Officer in Hong Kong on 1 May 1850.

Sunday Oct 26th 1851

... Noon. Fine and clear. Lat. by obs. 5°55' N. Long. 160°46'. Finding the current setting strong to the ENEastward. Proceeded towards Wellington [Mokil] Island. Light variable airs and cloudy weather.

...

Thursday Oct 30th 1851 (Towards Ascension Island).

... Noon. Fine and clear. Lat. obs. 9°6'19" N.

...

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Friday Oct. 31st 1851

... Noon. Fine and clear. Lat. by obs. 6°41'2" N. At 20 minutes past 12, Ascension Island bore W by N.

2 p.m. Steady breeze.

4 p.m. do. weather.

6 p.m. Squally with heavy rain.

8 p.m. Heavy squalls. Stowed the Top Gallant, Jib and Mizzen.

[10 p.m.] Squally throughout.

Midnight. Tacked.

Saturday November 1st 1851

2 a.m. Fresh breeze and dark cloudy weather.

4 a.m. Squally with rain. Tacked.

At daylight, Ascension Island bore W by N.

8 a.m. Squally with rain.

10 a.m. Course West. Winds East.

Lat. obs. at noon 6°44'41"

At 2 p.m., the pilot came on board.

At 3 p.m., came to anchor in 4 fathoms

5 p.m. Squally with rain throughout.

Lying in Ascension.

Sunday Nov. 2nd 1851

Squally with incessant rain throughout. People on liberty.

Monday 3rd

Hot and sultry throughout. People employed repairing sail and various otherwise [= other ways].

Tuesday 5th

Fine and clear. People employed watering ship and various otherwise.

Wednesday 5th

People employed repairing sails and as most useful. T. Mathews, A. Quin, T. Duncan came on board [as] passengers to China.

Thursday 6th

Fine weather with breeze from the N.East. People employed watering ship and getting ready for sea.

Friday 7th

At 7 a.m., weighed and made sail and running out of the harbour. The Pilot mistook the channel and ran the ship against a rock. Hove all aback and got off clear. Pump sounded every half hour. Employed working ship round the NW side of the island.

Saturday 8th

Fine weather with light breeze. Employed trading for bêche-de-mer and shells. At 6 p.m., steered towards Wellington Island. Squally with showers of rain.

...

Monday Nov. 10th 1851

... Noon. Cloudy with showers of rain. Ascension Island WSW dist. 25 miles...

[Visit to Mokil]

Tuesday Nov. 11th 1851

... Noon. Moderate and clear. Lat. by obs. 6°53'12"

1 p.m. Wellington Island SSE dist. 12 miles.

3 p.m. Fine weather with a steady breeze.

4 p.m. Abreast of Wellington Island. Stowed the T. G. Sails... reefed Topsails. Standing off tand on the island.

9 p.m. Squally throughout.

Wednesday Nov. 12th 1851

Employed working along the coast and trading for coconut oil. Fine weather and a steady breeze.

5 p.m. Sailed for Ascension Island WNW, wind ENE.

6 p.m. Squally with rain.

10 p.m. Do. weather.

11 p.m. Steady breeze throughout.

Thursday Nov. 19th 1851

2 a.m. Cloudy with a steady breeze.

4 a.m. Squally with incessant rain throughout.

10 a.m. Ascension Island bore W by S dist. 16 miles.

Noon. Thick cloudy weather with rain.

...

Friday Nov. 14th 1851

... Course SW by W, wind ENE.

1:30 p.m. Made sail towards Skiddy's [Namoluk] Group.

...

[Visit to Ngatik]

Saturday Nov. 15 1851

... Course West, wind NNE.

Noon. Fine weather and a steady breeze. Lat. by obs. 6°2'45" N. The Raven Islands bore S by W dist. 15 miles...

Sunday Nov. 15th 1851

... Noon. Course West, wind NE. Fine and clear. Lat. obs. 6°6'21"...

(Towards the Royalist [Losap-Nama] Group)

Tuesday Nov. 18th 1851

... Noon. Fine and clear. Lat. by obs. 6°36'54"

1 p.m. Course NW, wind ENE. Fresh breezes and squally... Lowered studding sail.

4:30 p.m. The Royalist Islands bore North dist. 8 miles.

5:30 p.m. Shortened sail and brought the ship to on the starboard tack.

...

Wednesday Nov. 19th 1851

2 a.m. Tacked ship to the SEast.

3 a.m. Cloudy with showers of rain.

4 a.m. do. do.

5:30 a.m. Made sail [towards the] Royalist Group NE by N dist. 10 miles.

At noon, cloudy with showers of rain. Employed running along the coast.

3 p.m. heavy squalls with rain.

6 p.m. ... Reefs of the topsails. Stowed the courses and jib and brought the ship to on the port tack.

Thursday Nov. 20th 1851

1 a.m. Tacked ship to the NEastward.

4 a.m. Squally with showers of rain.

6 a.m. Daylight. Made sail. Employed along the coast.

Noon. Fair and clear. Lat. by obs. 7°25' N. The Royalist [Losap] Island bearing from E by S to NE by E dist. 30 miles.

4 p.m. Strong breeze with heavy squalls...

Friday Nov. 21st 1851

... Daylight. Made sail.

8 a.m. Heavy squalls attended with rain.

Lat. obs. at noon 7°27'33" N.

3:30 p.m. Saw islands bearing from NNW to SW dist. 14 miles...

Saturday Nov. 22nd 1851

... 8 a.m. The Enderby [Puluwat] Islands bearing NW by W dist. 10 miles. On finding the water coloured, sounded 10 fathoms sandy bottom. Hauled the ship to the wind on the starboard tack.

3 p.m. Fresh breeze and cloudy.

6 p.m. Enderby Islands S by E dist. 10 miles.

9 p.m. Hauled up the courses and stowed the T.G. sails...

Sunday Nov. 23rd 1851

... Daylight. Made sail, course steered NW by N. Set the T.G. sails.

11 a.m. Squally with rain. In T.G. sails.

Noon. Lat. obs. 8°39'17" N...

Monday Nov. 24th 1851

... Noon. Lat. by obs. 10°7' N. Long. 148°10'...

Tuesday Nov. 25th 1851

... Noon. Lat. by obs. 12°11'52" N. Long. 145°50'...

[Visit to Guam]

Wednesday Nov. 26th 1851

2 a.m. Squally with rain throughout.

4 a.m. Do. weather.

6 a.m. The island of Guam bore N by E.

At noon, abreast of Umatac Bay. Lat. by obs. 13°23'17" N.

3 p.m. Employed running up the coast towards Apra Harbour.

Lying in Port Apra, Guam.

Thursday Nov. 27th

Fine weather and fresh breeze. At 9 a.m., came to anchor in 20 fathoms in Port Apra, the fort bearing SE1/2S, the point bearing WSW. People employed as most useful. Fine throughout.

Friday 28th

A fresh breeze with showers of rain. People employed repairing sails and rigging and various otherwise.

Saturday 29th

Fine weather and a steady breeze throughout. People employed repairing sails and various other.

Sunday 30th

Strong breeze and squally with showers of rain. People on liberty.

Monday Dec. 1st 1851

Fresh breeze and fine. People employed repairing sails and various otherwise.

Tuesday 2nd

Strong breeze and squally with rain. People employed repairing sails and various otherwise. At 1 p.m., the second mate David Koncklin [sic] came aft and demanded grog which was denied him, he being at the same time quite intoxicated. Shortly afterwards, he came aft again, and made use of much blasphemous language, threatening to beat the steward. He was desired to go below to his berth which he declined, but still continued his blasphemous language threatening to beat the steward [at] the first opportunity. At 1:30 p.m., the steward went to the galley to prepare dinner for the cabin. The Second Mate observing him forward immediately began beating him unmercifully with his fists about the head.

E. Woodin
Master

G. Eastaway
Chief Officer

Wednesday Dec. 3rd 1851

Fine weather and a steady breeze throughout. People employed repairing sails and various otherwise. Saved the crew out a quantity of limes.

Thursdfay 4th

Fine weather with a steady breeze throughout. People employed repairing sails and various otherwise.

Friday 5th Dec. 1851

People employed as most useful. Showers of rain with sudden gusts of wind and squally throughout.

Saturday Dec. 6th /51

Commences with light winds from NE. People employed cleaning sandal wood, stowing spare spars, preparing ship for sea, etc. At 3:30 p.m., weighed, made sail and headed to sea under direction of the Harbour Master. At 5 p.m., the Harbour [Master]

left the ship. Set all possible sail, steering NW by W. At 6:30 p.m., "Point Orote" SSE1/2E dist. 3 leagues from which I take my departure. AT 8 p.m., steady breezes and fine clear weather. At 10 p.m., fine weather. At midnight, steady breezes and fine clear weather. This log contains 24 hours and ends at midnight to commence the sea log.

Log of Barque Eleanor from Guaham towards China

December 7th 1851

...

[They made the Bashee Islands on 18 December, Hong Kong on 21, where they unloaded the sandal-wood, the bêche-de-mer, etc. ...

Log of the Barque from China towards the islands in the N. Pacific.

...

They left Hong Kong on 6 March 1852, went down the east coast of Luzon, and reached Angaur Island, Palau, on 10 April 1852.]

...

[Visit to Palau]

Sunday April 11th 1852

... 6 a.m. Light breeze and fine.

lat. at Noon 7°1'21" N.

[1 p.m.] Light breeze. Employed working up to Coror Harbour...

...

Monday April 12th 1852

... Employed working up to Coror Harbour.

3 p.m. Light variable wind approaching to a calm...

Tuesday April 13th 1852

... Employed working up to Coror Harbour. At 2 p.m., came to outside the reefs of Coror harbour in 18 fathoms with 45 fathoms small bower.

Light breezes and cloudy throughout.

Log of the Barque Eleanor Lying in the Outer Roads of Coror Pelew Islands.

Wednesday April 14th

Fine clear weather with a steady breeze from the westward. Employed staying the bowsprit and jib boom and watering ship and various otherwise.

Thursday April 15th

Dark cloudy weather with a fresh breeze from the westward with passing showers of rain. Employed watering ship and other necessary work.

Friday April 16th

Weather as days past. Employed watering ship, cutting firewood and various otherwise. Wind west.

Saturday April 17th

Fresh gales from the westward with heavy rain and dark cloudy weather. At 3 p.m., the ship dragged her anchor into 35 fathoms. Let go the best bower and veered away cable to 60 fathoms and the small bower to the bear [sic] end. Frequent squalls. At 4 p.m., sent down T.G. yards. At 9 p.m., more moderate but a heavy swell from the SWest. Wind veering from the WNW to SSW with frequent squalls attended with thunder and lightning from the westward.

Sunday April 18th

Moderate with a fresh breeze from the WSW with a heavy swell. HOve up the best bower anchor. Moderate throughout.

Monday April 19th

Fine weather with a light breeze from the SEast. Employed watering ship and various otherwise. Broached a barrel of pork.

Tuesday April 20th

Employed watering ship and as most requisite. Fine and clear throughout with a light breeze from the SEastward.

Wednesday April 21st

Fine clear weather as days past. At 10 a.m., weighed and made sail with a light breeze from the NEastward. At 4 p.m., set the lower and T. Studding sail on the port side. Course steered SW by S. AT 10 p.m., steered SW by W. The island of Angaur bore North dist. about 2 leagues from which I take my departure. This log contains 24 hours and ends at midnight to commence the sea log.

Log of Barque Eleanor from the Pelew Islands Towards St. Andrews Islands.

Thursday April 22nd 1852

These 24 [hours] commences with fine weather and a steady breeze.

At 4 a.m., Do. Do.

... Lat. Obs. at Noon 6°31'14" N.

...

Friday April 23rd 1852

... Lat obs. at Noon 5°49'54" N.

2 p.m. Do. weather.

4:30 p.m. St. Andrews [Sonsorol] Islands bore SW1/2W dist. about 16 miles.

6:30 p.m. Took in the studding sails and brought the ship to on the port tack.
Midnight, tacked ship.

[Two Sonsorol natives rescued at sea]

Saturday April 24th 1852

These 24 commences with squalls and passing showers of rain.

4 a.m., tacked ship to the SEastward.

6 a.m., made sail. The island of St. Andrews WSW.

8 a.m., squally with rain.

10 a.m., Do. weather.

At Noon, took in the Top G. sails and hauled up the courses and hove to with the ship head to the SE. Landed the two natives that was picked up by the Brig **Fair Tasmanian** which we received at Hong Kong.

At 3:30 p.m., made sail. Squally with rain. AT 6 p.m., the largest of the islands bore SW dist. 8 miles from which I take my departure.

8 p.m., steady breezes and fine.

Midnight, Do. weather.

Log of Barque Eleanor from St. Andrews Towards the Islands of the N. Pacific.

Sunday April 25th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 4°16'30" N.

...

Monday April 26th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 3°36'21" N...

6 p.m., broached a cask of beef...

Tuesday April 27th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 2°51'38" N., Long. 134°5'45"...

Wednesday April 28th 1852

... Lat. by obs. 1°49' N., Long. 134°2' E...

Thursday april 29th 1852

... 2 p.m., the St. Davids [Mapia] Islands bore SE 1/2 E from the fore T.G. yard.

At 3 p.m., the island bore from E by S to SE dist. about 5 leagues.

5 p.m., clam. Ship heading round the compass.

8 p.m., light breeze.

10 p.m., tacked...

Friday April 30th 1852

2 a.m., moderate with a light breeze.

4 a.m., tacked ship.

6 a.m., cloudy with a light breeze.

8 a.m., tacked ship. The islands bore from E to NE.

10 a.m., light breeze and fine. Offshore about 1 mile. Finding there were no natives on either of the islands, bore up for the Pelew Islands at noon.

2 p.m., steady breeze and fine.

4 p.m., light airs...

Log of Barque Eleanor From St. Davids Towards the Pelew Islands.

May 1st Saturday 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 1°36'41" N. Atsing, Chinese seaman, sick...

Sunday May 2nd 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 2°45'11" N...

Monday May 3rd 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 4°21'23" N...

Tuesday May 4th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 5°51'45" N...

Wednesday May 5th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 7°0'6" N.

Thursday May 6th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon 8°22'4"...

Friday May 6th 1852

... 10:30 a.m., the island of Babelthouap bore E by S dist. about 8 leagues.

Lat. obs. at Noon 7°19'58" N.

2 p.m., decreasing breeze and fine clear weather.

4 p.m., Do. do.

6 p.m., the island of Angaur bore South dist. 10 miles.

7 p.m., tacked ship.

10 p.m., steady breeze and fine throughout.

Saturday May 8th 1852

... Employed working up to Coror Harbour.

At 5 p.m., came to inside the reefs in 12 fathoms with 45 fathoms small bower...

Sunday May 9th 1852

... 8 a.m., light breeze. Weighed and made sail.

9:30 a.m., came to. Calm and cloudy with showers of rain.

At 11 a.m., weighed with a light breeze from the NEastward.

At 6 p.m., came to in 15 fathoms with 30 fathoms small bower. Squally with heavy rain throughout.

Log of the Barque Eleanor Lying in Coror Harbour, Pelew Islands.

Monday May 10th 1852

At 6 a.m., weighed and made sail.

At 7:30 a.m., came to in 17 fathoms with 45 fathoms small bower. Fine weather with a light breeze. Sent down T.G. yards and unwore the running gear and various otherwise employed.

Tuesday May 11th 1852

Fine weather with a steady breeze throughout. Unbent the sails and unwore all the running gear. Sent down Top G. yards and otherwise employed.

Wednesday May 12th 1852

Employed as most requisite on board the ship and a party of men ashore erecting a house to cure bêche-de-mer. Fine weather throughout.

Thursday May 13th 1852

Employed as yesterday. The beginning of this day, fine weather. The latter part, cloudy with rain.

Friday May 14th 1852

People employed as days past and cutting off fire wood and other necessary work. Showers throughout.

Saturday May 15th 1852

People employed as days past and on most requisite. Fine weather through.

Sunday May 16th 1852

Fine weather with a steady breeze throughout. People on liberty.

Monday May 17th 1852

Squalls with showers of rain. People employed cutting off fire wood and as most requisite.

Tuesday May 18th 1852

Fine weather throughout. People employed cutting off fire wood and other necessary work.

Wednesday May 19th

Squalls with showers of rain. Employed cutting off fire wood and on most requisite.

Thursday May 20th

People employed cutting off fire wood and various otherwise. Francis Souter, seaman, sick. Atsing, Chine, sick.

Friday May 21st

Squally with rain. People employed cutting off fire wood and as most requisite.

Saturday May 22nd

Strong breezes and squally. Employed as days past collecting bêche-de-mer and trading.

Sunday May 23rd

Fine weather and a steady breeze throughout. No work performed this day. People on liberty.

Monday May 24th

People employed collecting bêche-de-mer and various otherwise. At 5:00 p.m., Captain Woodin and myself came on board and found Mr. Joss Joseph, 2nd mate, asleep on the quarter deck. When Captain Woodin remonstrated with him on such conduct and more particularly while a number of natives were on board, he made use of very improper language and told Capt. Woodin he would leave the ship.

Fine weather throughout.

Tuesday May 25th

Showery throughout. People employed as yesterday. At 3:30 p.m., the Second Mate left the ship taking his chest and bedding and clothes with him, threatening to bring the natives on board and take any articles out of the ship to the amount of balance of wages due to him.

Wednesday May 26th

Fine weather throughout this day. People employed collecting bêche-de-mer and various otherwise.

Thursday May 27th

Weather as days past. Employed as most requisite collecting bêche-de-mer etc.

Friday May 28th

Fine weather throughout this day. Employed collecting bêche- de-mer and various otherwise. Fine throughout.

Sunday May 30th

Fine weather throughout. People on liberty.

Monday May 31st

Fine weather with a steady breeze. People employed collecting bêche-de-mer, trading with the natives.

Tuesday June 1st

Strong breeze throughout. People employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer and various otherwise.

Wednesday June 2nd

Weather as days past. People employed collecting bêche-de-mer and various otherwise.

Thursday June 3rd

The beginning of this day fine and clear, the latter part showery. People employed as days past.

Friday June 4th

Strong breeze and cloudy with passing showers of rain. People employed collecting bêche-de-mer.

Saturday June 5th

Fine weather throughout. People employed collecting bêche-de-mer and trading for bêche-de-mer.

Sunday June 6th

Cloudy with very heavy rain throughtout. No work performed this day.

Monday June 7th

Squally with rain throughout. People employed cutting off wood and collecting bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday June 8th

Fine weather throughout this day. Peter Turner, seaman, left the ship and Francis Souter, seaman, left the ship.

Wednesday June 9th

Squally with rain. People employed as days past collecting bêche-de-mer and various otherwise.

Thursday June 10th

Squally with rain. Employed as days past cutting fire wood and various otherwise.

Friday June 11th

Fine weather throughout this day. Employed collecting of bêche-de-mer and various otherwise.

Saturday June 12th

Fine weather throughout this day. Employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer.

Sunday June 13th

Squally with rain throughout. People on liberty.

Monday June 14th

People employed collecting of bêche-de-mer and various otherwise. Squally throughout with rain.

Tuesday June 15th

People employed as most requisite. Squally with rain throughout.

Wednesday June 16th

Employed collecting bêche-de-mer and various otherwise. Squally with rain throughout.

Thursday June 17th

Squally with rain throughout. People employed collecting of bêche-de-mer and other necessary work.

Friday June 18th

Employed as most requisite as days past. Broached two casks of pork and beef.

Saturday June 19th

Squally with rain throughout. People employed as most requisite.

Sunday June 20th

Fine weather throughout. People on liberty.

Monday June 21st

Squally with rain throughout. Employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer, cutting fire wood and various otherwise.

Tuesday June 22nd

Fine weather throughout. People employed collecting of bêche- de-mer and various otherwise.

Wednesday June 23rd

People employed collecting bêche-de-mer and as most requisite. Fine weather throughout.

Thursday June 24th

Employed as most requisite. Squally throughout.

Friday June 25th

Fine weather throughout. Employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer and as most requisite.

Saturday June 26th

The beginning of this day squally with rain, the latter part fine. Employed as most requisite.

Sunday June 27th¹

Variable weather throughout with heavy squalls from the SW.

Monday June 28th

Variable winds with heavy rain. People employed as most useful curing and trading for bêche-de-mer, etc.

Tuesday June 29th

Strong breezes and squally throughout from the SW. People employed cutting fire wood, curing and trading for bêche-de- mer, etc.

Wednesday June 30th

Strong gales with hard squalls accompanied with delubes of rain, mostly from the SW. Employed trading and curing bêche-de-mer.

1 Ed. note: There is a change of handwriting at this point, most probably to that of Capt. Woodin.

Thursday July 1st

Continued strong gales with hard squalls and heavy rain throughout from the SW. Employed curing and trading for bêche-de-mer, etc.

Friday July 2nd

Moderate gales and squally at intervals with heavy showers of rain from the SW. People employed cutting fire wood, curing and trading for bêche-de-mer, etc.

Saturday July 3rd

First part steady breezes and fine pleasant weather from the SW veering at 5 p.m. to the SE with dark cloudy weather accompanied with much rain, lightning and thunder. Employed curing and trading for bêche-de-mer.

At 7 p.m., sent the Chief Mate, Mr. Eastaway, and 14 of the crew, to Arramelongway,¹ about 22 miles to the northward of this place, to form an establishment for the purpose of collecting and curing bêche-de-mer.

Sunday July 4th

First part squally with heavy rain from the South veering at daylight to the NE with clear weather.

Monday July 5th

Moderate breeze with fine weather throughout. People employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer, etc. Carpenter making a new stock for the best bower.

Tuesday July 6th

First part fine pleasant weather from the NW veering at 5 p.m. to the SW with heavy squalls and much rain. People employed trading and curing bêche-de-mer. Carpenter finishing and fitting anchor stock.

Wednesday July 7th

Continued squally weather with heavy rain from the SW. People employed getting best bower anchor over, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday July 8th

Strong breezes and squally with heavy rain from the SW veering at noon to the WNW and blowing a strong gale. Let go the best bower. At midnight moderate.

Friday July 9th

Moderate breeze and fine pleasant weather throughout. People employed collecting, curing and trading for bêche-de-mer and carpenter employed fitting a chock for swivel

¹ Ed. note: Same as Ngeremlungui or Almongui.

on the starboard bow.

Saturday July 10th

Fine pleasant weather throughout from the SE. People employed clearing hawse, heaving up the small bower, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, cleaning ship, etc.

Sunday July 11th

First part moderate and fine from the SE veering at 4 p.m. to the SSW with heavy rain.

Monday July 12th

Steady breezes and fine weather throughout from the NNW. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer. Carpenter caulking the half deck. At 1 p.m., saw a quantity of bêche-de-mer and pearl shells from the station at Arramelongway.

Tuesday July 13th

Moderate breezes from the SW with occasional showers of rain. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, etc. Carpenter caulking the half deck. At 2 p.m., despatched the whale boat to Arramelongway with provisions and trade, etc.

Wednesday July 15th

Light winds from the SW and cloudy weather first part, veering at 4 p.m. to the SE with light showers of rain. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, carpenter as most useful.

Friday July 16th

Moderate breezes and fine pleasant weather mostly from the northeastward. People employed collecting, curing and trading for bêche-de-mer, carpenter as most useful.

Saturday July 17th

Moderate breezes and fine weather throughout from the southward. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, breaking out all the provisions from the other hold and examining the same. At 4 p.m., the boat arrived from Arramelongway with bêche-de-mer, etc.

Sunday July 18th

Light airs approaching to calm mostly from the southward. At 10 a.m., despatched the boat to Arramelongway.

Monday July 19th

Moderate breezes throughout from the WNW. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer. Carpenter employed caulking the half deck.

Tuesday July 20th

Light airs throughout, mostly from the eastward. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Wednesday July 21st

Commences with moderate breezes from the southeastward veering at noon to the south west with squally weather and rain. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold. At 3:30 p.m., the whale boat arrived from the station at Arramelongway with bêche-de-mer, and with only two men in the boat and a report from the Chief Mate that four of the crew (Chinese) had deserted the station this morning at daylight, their names being Tysing, Aheue, Achop and Amyng. Those four men had been frequently absent from their duty without leave.

E. Woodin, Master.

Thursday July 22nd

Moderate breeze and clear weather from the westward. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer. Carpenter employed caulking the half deck. At 9 a.m., despatched the whale boat to the station at Aremalongway [sic]. At 11:30 a.m., the four men (Chinese) Tysing, Aheue, Achop and Amyng came alongside in a canoe. They were ordered to return to the station at Arramelongway and reprimanded for leaving the station, they knowing that the Chief Mate, Mr. Eastaway, was very ill and having only three men with him, leaving everything at the mercy of the natives.

E. Wooding, Master.

Friday July 23rd

Strong breezes and cloudy weather with frequent showers of rain, mostly from the north eastward. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold.

Saturday July 24th

Light winds with hot sultry weather throughout from the eastward. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold, cleaning ship, etc.

Sunday July 25th

Commences with fresh breezes from the NNW veering at noon to the SE with heavy showers of rain. At 2 p.m., received a note from Mr. Eastaway, the Chief Mate, stating that thr four men who absconded on the morning of the 21st of this month from the station had not returned.

E. Woodin, Master.

Monday, July 26th

Commences with squally weather and much rain from the eastward veering at 6 p.m. to the SSW with continued heavy rain. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Tuesday July 27th

Commences with heavy rain, wind veering round the compass. Until 8 a.m., wind steady at NW with fine clear weather. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday July 28th

Commences with light winds from the SW with continued heavy rain. People employed curing bêche-de-mer. AT about 10 a.m., two of the Chinese that absconded from the station at Arremalongway, viz, Amyng and Aeue, returned to their duty.

E. Woodin, Master.

Thursday July 29th

Light winds throughout, mostly from the north eastward with repeated heavy showers of rain. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold. Carpenter caulking the main deck, etc.

Friday July 30th

Commences with light winds from the eastward with heavy rain veering at 1 p.m. to the SE with clear weather. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold.

Saturday July 31st

Continued heavy rain until 9 a.m. with the wind veering between south and WSW and blowing in squalls. At 4 p.m., wind steady at west. At 5 p.m., the whale boat arrived from Arremalongway with bêche-de-mer and people employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, cleaning ship, etc.

Sunday August 1st

First part strong breezes and squally with frequent heavy showers of rain from the SW veering to south towards midnight with fine clear weather.

Monday August 2nd

Steady breezes and fine pleasant weather throughout from the SW. At 7 a.m., despatched the whale boat with trade and provisions to the station at Arremalongway. People employed trading for and curing bêche-de-mer, cleaning pearl shells and car-

penter employed caulking the main deck on the starboard side.

Tuesday August 3rd

First part calm and cloudy until 9 a.m. when a fresh breeze sprang up from the SW with fine clear weather. At noon, squally with frequent showers of rain. People employed collecting and trading for bêche-de-mer and cartpenter employed caulking the starboard side of the main deck.

Wednesday August 4th

Moderate breezes with squalls at intervals from the SW throughout. People employed collecting, trading for and curing bêche-de-mer and clearing out the fore hold, carpenter caulking the port side of the main deck.

Thursday August 5th

At 1 a.m., strong breezes and squally from the NW with heavy lightning until 5 a.m. Wind veered to the SW with heavy squalls and thick rain. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, clearing up the fore hold and dunnaging the same to stow cargo, carpenter as most useful.

Friday August 6th

First part moderate breezes from the westward with clear weather until 10 a.m. Wind veering suddenly to the SW with heavy rain. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, restowing water casks in the fore hold, carpenter as most useful. At 1:30 p.m., the party stationed at Arramelongway in charge of Mr. Eastaway, Chief Mate, returned to the ship, in consequence of not being able to collect any more bêche-de-mer of any consequence, at that station.

Saturday August 7th

Fresh breezes and fine steady weather throughout from the SW. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, landing water casks to be cleaned, stowing the fore hold, carpenter employed caulking the port side of the main deck, etc.

Sunday August 8th

Light winds throughout, mostly from the southward.

Monday August 9th

Moderate breezes throughout and fine weather from the southward. People employed taking in ballast. Carpenter employed caulking the counter and wood's ends, etc.

Tuesday August 10th

First part light winds from the NE veering at noon to the SW with heavy rain. People employed taking in ballast and fresh water for sea stock. Carpenter employed caulking, etc.

Wednesday August 11th

Light wind mostly from the SW with showers of rain at intervals. People employed taking in fresh water for sea stock. Carpenter employed caulking the deck and, etc. [sic]

Thursday August 12th

First part moderate breezes and clear from the eastward veering at noon to the SSE with continued rain. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, cutting fire wood for sea stock and stowing fresh water. Carpenter caulking top sides and bends on the starboard side.

Friday August 13th

First part strong breezes and squally weather from the SW accompanied with incessant rain until 9 a.m., weather clear and fine. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, stowing the same in the after hold, cutting fire wood for sea service. Carpenter caulking the bends on the starboard side.

Saturday August 14th

Light air throughout with hot sultry weather from the southward. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, stowing the same between decks abreast of the main mast, cutting fire wood for sea service, cleaning ship, etc. Carpenter caulking the bends and otherwise employed.

Sunday August 15th

Light airs and hot sultry weather throughout.

Monday August 16th

Light breezes and close hot sultry weather throughout from the eastward. People employed curing bêche-de-mer and cutting fire wood for sea service. Carpenter caulking top sides and bends starboard.

Tuesday August 17th

First part calm. Until 11 a.m. a moderate breeze from the SE. People employed curing bêche-de-mer, cutting fire wood for sea stock. Carpenter employed caulking bends and top sides on the port side, etc.

Wednesday August 18th

Moderate breezes and fine clear weather throughout from the SW. People employed

cutting fire wood for sea service. Carpenter employed caulking the bends on the port side.

Thursday August 19th

Light winds throughout and warm sultry weather from the SW. People employed cutting fire wood for sea service. Carpenter employed caulking the bends on the port side.

Friday August 20th

Moderate breezes with passing showers of rain from the WSW. People employed trading for bêche-de-mer, sending topsail yards aloft, weaving running gear and carpenter as most useful.

Saturday August 21st

Light airs, mostly from the SW with passing showers of rain. People employed preparing ship for sea.

Sunday August 22nd

Commences with heavy rain, wind veering round the compass. Until 11 a.m. fresh breezes and squally from the SW.

Monday August 23rd

First part heavy rain and strong breezes from the NNE veering at 3 p.m. to the SW with fine clear weather. People employed swaying up the fore and main top gallant masts, mizzen top mast and getting out jib boom and carpenter as most useful.

Tuesday August 24th

Fresh breezes and squally with passing showers from the SW. People employed setting up top gallant rigging and otherwise employed preparing ship for sea, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Wednesday August 25th

Fresh breezes and squally weather throughout, accompanied with heavy rain from the WNW. People employed as most useful.

Thursday August 26th

Moderate breezes and cloudy weather with variable winds and much rain. People employed preparing ship for sea, carpenter employed making handspikes, etc.

Friday August 27th

First part fine clear weather with moderate breezes from the westward with much

lightning in the NW quarter. At 6 a.m., strong breezes and squally wind veering between SSE and SW accompanied with heavy rain, until 3 p.m.. Wind settled at WSW and fine. People employed getting on board fire wood, etc.

Saturday August 28th

Commences with fine steady clear weather from the SW. People employed bending sails and otherwise preparing ship for sea.

Sunday August 29th

Light winds, mostly from the SW accompanied with heavy rain throughout.

Monday August 30th

First part strong breezes and squally with heavy rains. Until 10 a.m. settled weather and clear. People employed preparing ship for sea and completion fresh water for sea service, etc.

Tuesday August 31st

Light winds and close sultry weather from the southward. People employed as most useful about the rigging. Carpenter at sundry jobs.

Wednesday Sept. 1st

First part calm. At 9 a.m. weighed and proceeded down the harbour in tow of the war canoes. At noon, moderate breezes from the southward. AT 4 p.m., came to abreast of the fairway channel with the best bower and 45 fathoms chain in 13 fathoms water. Midnight, calm.

Thursday Sept. 2nd

First part, calm. At 9:00 a.m., weighed and proceeded through the reefs in tow of the war canoes. At 11, past the reefs with a light breeze from the southward. At noon, the canoes cast off. Made all possible sail steering ESE. At 4 p.m., wind veered to the NW with moderate breezes. At 6 p.m., light breezes from the northward. Unbent the cables and stowed the anchors. At 8 p.m., calm with a long swell from the NE, ship heading east. At 10 p.m., clear weather. Midnight, calm, ship heading ENE, the land bearing from NNW to West. This log contains 24 hours and ends at midnight to commence the sea log.

Log of the Barque Eleanor From the Pelew Islands towards Ascension.¹

Friday Sept. 3rd 1852

1 a.m., calm throughout. Ship heading ESE.

¹ Ed. note: The handwriting returns to that of the Chief Mate, Mr. Eastaway.

At daylight, the land bore from NNW to WNW dist. about 35 miles. Lat. obs. at noon 6°57'35". Long. 135°23'15"...

Saturday Sept. 4th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°41'41"...

Sunday Sept. 5th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°34'1". Long. 135°28' East...

Monday Sept. 6th 1852

... Noon the sun obscured...

Tuesday Sept. 7th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°27'19" N., Long. 136°29' E...

Wednesday Sept. 8th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°19'31"...

Thursday Sept. 9th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°4'53"...

Friday Sept. 10th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 5°40'22" N. Long. 140°22' East...

Saturday Sept. 11th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 5°16'11" Long. 142°0'...

Sunday Sept. 12th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 5°20'26" N...

Monday Sept. 13th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 5°26'7" N., Long. 144°48' E...

Tuesday Sept. 14th 1852

... Lat. obs. 5°21'3" N...

Wednesday Sept. 15th 1852

... At noon moderate, Lat. by obs. 5°13'28"...

Thursday Sept. 16th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 5°13'18" N., Long. 146°37'...

Friday Sept. 17th 1852

... Noon moderate. All possible sail set. The sun obscure. Lat. by D.R. $5^{\circ}12'$ N., Long. by D.R. $149^{\circ}50'$ East...

Saturday Sept. 18th 1852

... Lat. obs. $5^{\circ}17'32''$ N., Long. $150^{\circ}45'$ East...

Sunday Sept. 19th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon $5^{\circ}3'11''$ N., Long. by lunar obs. $151^{\circ}19'$ East...

Monday Sept. 20th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon $5^{\circ}17'35''$ N...

Tuesday Sept. 21st 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon $5^{\circ}23'34''$...

Wednesday Sept. 22nd 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon $524'2''$ N., Long. by lunar obs. $152^{\circ}38'$ East...

Thursday Sept. 23rd 1852

... 6 a.m., saw the small islands on the SW part of Young Willimas [Satawan] Group bearing E by N dist. about 10 miles.

10 a.m., the land bore E by N to North.

11 a.m., squally with heavy rain.

Noon, do. do....

Friday Sept. 24th 1852

2 a.m., employed standing off and on the island of Tir [rather Ta]...

6 p.m., the easternmost island of the Young williams Group bore W by N dist. about 10 miles...

Saturday Sept. 25th 1852

... 10 a.m., light winds and cloudy. At 7h44m p.m., the mer. alt. of the Star Polaris was $27^{\circ}28'$ making the Lat. $5^{\circ}17'$ N. At 8h20m p.m. the obs. dist. between the Star Aquila and Moon was $54^{\circ}8'15''$ making the Long. $156^{\circ}23'15''$ East. At 10h47m p.m. the mer. alt. of the Moon was $74^{\circ}2'49''$ making the Lat. $5^{\circ}17'42''$ N.

Monday Sept. 27th 1852

... Lat. obs. at Noon $5^{\circ}30'25''$ N....

Tuesday Sept. 28th 1852

... Noon, cloudy with rain...

6 p.m., the Raven [Ngatik] Islands bore WSW dist. about 15 miles...

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Wednesday Sept. 29th 1852

... 6 a.m., light breeze attended with rain. The island of Ascension bore north...

6 p.m., light breeze and dark cloudy weather. The small islands off the harbour Kitty NE by N dist. 8 miles...

Thursday Sept. 30th 1852

2 a.m., light breeze and dark cloudy weather. Employed standing off and on Ascension Island.

7 a.m., light variable winds attended with rain.

Noon, do. weather. Sun obscure.

4 p.m., the Pilot came on board. ight variable winds and dark cloudy weather attended with lightning and rain. Ship heading around the compass...

Friday October 1st 1852

2 a.m., fine weather with light variable winds.

4 a.m., dark and cloudy.

6 a.m., calm and cloudy.

10 a.m., calm.

Noon, do. do.

2 p.m., light breeze. Working up to the New Harbour.

6 p.m., light variable winds and cloudy throughout.

Saturday October 2nd 1852

At 2 a.m., calm and cloudy.

4 a.m., do. weather.

6 a.m., light breeze from the SEastward. Course steered SW by W. The entrance of the New Harbour WNW dist. about 15 miles.

At 2 p.m., came to in the New Harbour in 30 fathoms with 60 fathoms best bower. Steady breeze and fine weather throughout. This log contains 24 hours and ends at midnight.

Sunday Oct. 3rd 1852

Lying in the New Harbour, Ascension. The beginning of this day fine and clear. The latter part squally with rain. No work performed this day.

Monday Oct. 4th

Squally with rain throughout. People employed as most requisite.

Tuesday Oct. 5th

Fine weather throughout this day. People employed setting up the rigging and various otherwise.

Wednesday Oct. 6th

The beginning of this [day] fine weather and a steady breeze, the latter part showery.

Thursday Oct. 7th

Showery throughout. Employed as most requisite about the rigging.

Friday Oct. 8th

Fine weather throughout. People employed watering the ship and various otherwise.

Saturday Oct. 9th

Fine weather. People employed fitting foot ropes for the fore and main yards and various otherwise.

Sunday Oct. 10th

The beginning of this day fine and clear, the latter part showery with heavy gust of wind from the NEastward.

Monday Oct. 11th

Fine weather throughout this day. People employed as most requisite.

Tuesday Oct. 12th

Fine weather. People employed as most requisite trading for cowrie and otherwise.

Wednesday Oct. 13th

Employed as most requisite trading with natives and as most useful.

Thursday Oct. 14t

Fine weather throughout. Employed as most useful and getting ready for sea. Broached a cask of beef.

Friday Oct. 15th

Fine weather with a light breeze. People employed as most requisite.

Saturday Oct. 16th

Employed as most requisite and getting ready for sea. Weather as days past.

Sunday Oct. 17th

Fine weather with a light breeze. No work performed this day.

Monday Oct. 18th

Fine and clear with a light breeze.

At 10 a.m., hove short the cable.

At 11 a.m., weighed with a light breeze from the westward.

At noon, all possible sail set to advantage.

4 p.m., light variable airs, ship heading SW.

6 p.m., Do.

8 p.m., calm and clear.

This day contains 24 hours and ends at midnight to commence the sea log.

Log of the Barque Eleanor From Ascension Island Toward China.

Tuesday Oct. 19th 1852

1 a.m., calm and clear throughout, ship heading SW...

Noon... Lat. by obs. 6°34'57"...

6 p.m., the island of Ascension bore NE...

Wednesday Oct. 20th 1852

... 11 a.m., the Raven [Ngatik] Islands bore SW by S. Lat. obs. 6°5' N...

Thursday Oct. 21st 1852

... 6 a.m., light airs and fine weather. The Raven Islands bearing from WSW to South...

Lat. by obs. at noon 5°53'18" N. The most westernmost [sic] island of the Raven Group SW dist. about 7 miles...

Friday Oct. 22nd 1852

... 6 a.m., steady breeze and cloudy. The Raven Islands WSW...

Saturday Oct. 23rd 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 6°8'58" N...

Sunday Oct. 24th 1852

... At noon, bent all new sails. Course steerdd NNW...

Monday Oct. 25th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 8°29'31" N., Long. by Chron. 157°7;'E.

Tuesday Oct. 26th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 8°29'58" N., Long. by Chron. 156°51' E.

Wednesday Oct. 27th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 8°51'43" N., Long. by Chron. 155°10' E.

Thursday Oct. 28th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 9°16'40" N...

Friday Oct. 29th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 9°3'36" North...

4 p.m., made part of the group of islands seen by Capt. Cook bearing from E by N to WSW...¹

Saturday Oct. 30th 1852

2 a.m., squally with rain. Standing off and on the islands... Noon, made all possible sail...

Sunday Oct. 31st 1852

... 11 a.m., the Hall Islands W by S to S.

Noon, fine and clear with a light [breeze]. Lat. obs. at noon 8°36'35" N...²

Monday Nov. 1st 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 8°31'32" N...

5 p.m., saw an island [Namonuito] bearing NW to West...

Tuesday Nov. 2nd 1852

... 10 a.m., employed standing off and on the island.

Noon, do. weather, do. employed.

4:30 p.m., made sail. Steady brteeze and fine clear weather...

Wednesday Nov. 3rd 1852

... Lat. obs. 8°32'48" N., Long. 149°29' E...

Thursday Nov. 4th 1852

... Lat. obs. 9°5'41" N...

Friday Nov. 5th 1852

... 11 a.m., passed over a shoal³ with 14 fathoms of water, 17, 20 and 25. Lat. obs. at noon 9°10'40" N., Long. 148°8' East. Sounded, got bottom 31 fathoms.

2 p.m., sounded bottom 24 fathoms.

1 Ed. note: Murilo Atoll. However, Captain Woodin was mistaken. Captain Cook never saw any part of Micronesia.

2 Ed. note: It appears that Captain Woodin passed between Murilo and Nomwin, as he sailed northwestward.

3 Ed. note: This was the McLaughlin Bank.

3 p.m., sounded no bottom.

Saturday Nov. 6th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 10°7'54" N., Long. by lunar obs. 148°15' E., Long. by Chron. 148°30' E...

Sunday Nov. 7th 1852

... Lat. obs. 11°21'6" N...

Monday Nov. 8th 1852

... Lat. obs. at noon 12°1'9" N...

Tuesday Nov. 9th 1852

... Lat. obs. 12°28'8" N., Long. 146°47' E...

Wednesday Nov. 10th 1852

... Lat. obs. 12°48'8" N...

Thursday Nov. 11th 1852

... 10 a.m., the island of Guam bearing WNW dist. about 14 leagues. Lat. obs. at noon 13°23'51", Long. 145°42' E.

4 p.m. light variable winds and fine clear weather.

6 p.m., the island of Rota N by W, the island of Guam WSW.

Midnight, tacked ship to the eastward.

Friday Nov. 12th 1852

... 6 a.m., light breeze and fine. All possible sail set. lat. obs. 13°49'37" N. The island of Guam S by W, island of Rota NE1/2N...

Saturday Nov. 13th 1852

2 a.m., fine clear weather with a steady breeze throughout.

6 a.m., do. All possible sail set to advantage.

10 a.m., broached a cask of bread.

Lat. obs. 14°44'41" N., Long. 143°39' E...

...

[The ship reached Hong Kong on 28 November and stayed there until 2 April 1853, when it began the return voyage to Tasmania.]

Document 1851Q

The whaler Harvest, Captain Almy

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library,; Log Inv. 2151.

Note: Regarding the 1850-54 voyage of the Bark Harvest of New Bedford, under Captain John C. Almy, Jr., to the North Pacific.

Extract from the log kept by George W. Bailey, First Mate

...
 [In 1851, the ship visited Hawaii, Japan, then went north to the Anadir Sea, before visiting Micronesia.]

...
 [Visit to Kosrae]

Tuesday Nov. 11th 1851

At 3 p.m., cleared up, made all sail steering W by S. Saw land bearing WSW, steering for it. Supposed to be Strong's Island.

At sunset, 20 miles off... Laying to most of the night. At sunrise, made all sail steering for the land SW1/2W. At 11 a.m., employed getting up the chains and bending them. No obs.

Wednesday Nov. 12th 1851 (407th day out)

... Ship standing in for the harbour. Got the anchors off of the bows. At 1 p.m., a boat came off from shore and Capt. Hussey¹ came off and stood pilot. At 3 p.m., came to anchor in 10 fathoms with 45 fathoms chain. Furled the sails and sent all hands on shore.

Middle and [latter part] squally weather. All hands on shore but enough to take care of the ship.

Thursday Nov. 13th 1851

... The ship's company on liberty... The watch on liberty. Employed getting casks ready for water...

1 Ed. note: Captain I. B. Hussey, formerly of the Planter, then residing at Kosrae. He is the same man who was to be killed in a mutiny aboard the William Penn a few months later.

Friday Nov. 14th 1851

... A watch on shore. The watch employed getting on board a raft of water.

Saturday Nov. 15th 1851

... The watch employed stowing down water... Latter [part] employed getting off water.

Sunday Nov. 16th 1851

... The watch on liberty...

Monday Nov. 17th 1851

... Discharged Tom Munger and Jos. Orotong...

Tuesday Nov. 19th 1851

... Employed getting off wood. Middle [part] Hamlin and Jim Rotam as runaways. Latter [part] pleasant, the watch on liberty... Employed stowing wood.

Thursday Nov. 20th 1851

The first part of these 24 hours, heavy showers of rain. Employed stowing down water and wood. At 3:30 p.m., Hamlin and Jim were sent on board by the King and put in irons... A watch on liberty. Getting off wood.

Friday Nov. 21st 1851

... Got on board 3 loads of wood... Employed breaking out and stowing off the after hold...

...
Sunday Nov. 23rd 1851

... Employed getting off wood... All ready for sea, waiting for a wind. All hands on shore but enough to take care of the ship. Took Hamlin and Jim out of irons and returned them to duty.

Monday Nov. 24th 1851

... Employed trying to warp the ship into the passage. Moved her 1/4 of a mile. Came to anchor and sent all hands ashore.

Tuesday Nov. 15th 1851

... At 2:30 p.m., took one anchor and hauled the ship into the passage, wind dead ahead, dropped anchor in 20 fathoms... Ship laying windbound. Got off 4 casks of water.

Wednesday Nov. 26th 1851

... One watch on shore... Latter ... took our anchor and tried to tow the ship out,

lost ground, let go anchor. Put the cook in irons for stealing.

Thursday Nov. 27th 1851

... At 5 a.m., took our anchor and towed out of the harbour. A light air from the Eastward and a heavy swell; let go anchor close to the reef. At 9 a.m. ran a kedge and warped off so that the ship layed off clear of the land. At 12 a.m. ship heading NNW, 8 miles from the land bearing to the SE.

Friday Nov. 28th 1851

... Ship laying off and on, the Capt. on shore. All hands employed stowing anchors and chains. Landed the two men that belonged to the Ship **America**.¹ At sunset, the Capt. came on board, wore ship steering NW by W...

Lat. 5°48 N., Long. 2 p.m. 162°21' E by Chr[onometer].

Saturday Nov. 29th 1851

... Ship steering W1/2S... At 11 a.m., saw McAskill [Pingelap] Islands SW by W. Steering for them.

Lat. 6°15' N., Long. 160°52' E. by Chr.

Sunday Nov. 30th 1851

... At 2 p.m., hove aback to leeward of McAskill Island, lowered 2 boats and went in shore. Did not land as the natives seemed rather hostile. At 5, came on board. Steering W by N. Took the cook out of irons and turned him forward... At daylight, saw Duperrey [Mokil] Island. At 7 a.m., hauled aback under the lee. One white man and natives came off with coconuts and turtle. The Capt. went on shore for hogs and fowl. The Carpenter off duty sick.

Monday Dec. 1st 1851

... Ship laying off and on. Got off some hogs and fowl... Employed getting off hogs, coconuts and fowl. Lucean Huntington, our 2nd officer, went on shore and would not come on board. So ends this day.

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Tuesday Dec. 2nd 1851

... Ship laying off and on getting off coconuts. John McWilliams, seaman, stopped on this island. At 6 p.m., got all on board and squared away W by S... Ship laying aback from 11 p.m. till 4 a.m.... At 11 a.m., saw Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W by N. Steering for it.

1 Ed. note: Probably the ship North America, Captain Pendleton.

Wednesday Dec. 3rd 1851

... At 4 p.m., came aback at the entrance of Lee Harbor of Ascension. Capt. went on shore. Saw the ship **Washington** of New Bedford.¹ Laying off and on. Middle and latter, under double-reefed topsails, foresail and jib. At 11 a.m., the Capt. came on board. Employed getting the cables and getting the anchors off of the bows.

Thursday Dec. 4th 1851

... At 3:30 p.m., came to anchor in Lee Harbor at Ascension. Got on board 3 barrels of yams. Middle, pleasant. Adams Savam (?) away from the ship and stowed himself away on board the Ship **India** of New London.² Latter, fine weather. Employed breaking out the after hold for powder and clothes. Found Adams on board of the **India**, in irons, brought him on board and kept him still in irons. Put Johnson in the rigging and flogged him.

Friday Dec. 5th 1851**Friday Dec. 5th 1851**

The first part of these 24 hours showers of rain. Got on board some yams. Middle and latter, weather the same. A watch on liberty.

Saturday Dec. 6th 1851

... Briaking out for salt... The watch came on board and the other watch went on liberty.

Sunday Dec. 7th 1851

... Dropped the starboard anchor. Found the ship dragging his anchors. Wind hauled to the SE. At 2 p.m., the ship's rudder latched a point of the reef. All the damage done perceivable, carried away one of the wheel blocks. At daylight, took our anchors and hauled off of the reef. Let go the larboard anchor.

Monday Dec. 8th 1851

... Ship laying to anchor... Ship ready for sea, waaiting for a wind.

Tuesday Dec. 9th 1851

... Ship still wind-bound.

Wednesday Dec. 10th 1851

... Ship laying wind-bound. Discharged Edward Johnson, seaman, black... At 6 a.m., took our anchor and towed out of the harbor, laying off of the entrance of the harbor.

1 Ed. note: Captain Martin Palmer, voyage 1850-53.

2 Ed. note: Captain Miller, voyage 1850=54.

Discharged George W. Clark, seaman. Employed stowing anchors and chains.

Thursday Dec. 11th 1851

... At 3 p.m., Capt. came on board and bore away S by W... The Carpenter returned to duty...

Friday Dec. 12th 1851

... Ship steering SW by W. Saw Raven [Ngatik] Islands at sunset bearing WSW. Ship heading for the land.

Lat. 5°38' N., Long. 3 p.m. 157°35' E. by Chr.

Saturday Dec. 14th 1851

... Heading in for th Raven Islands about NW. Middle, calm. Latter, light baffling airs, land 10 miles off and reported that there plenty of hogs to be had.

Sunday Dec. 14th 1851

... Ship standing in for the Westernmost Island, at sunset bearing NW by W by compass, 7 miles off. The Capt. went on shore and came off at 4:30 p.m. Got nothing... Latter... laying off and on. The Capt. went on shore after 8 a.m. for hogs.

Monday Dec. 15th 1851

... Ship laying off and on at the Raven's Islands. At 1 p.m., the boat came off with 11 hogs and went on shore, brought off 1. At 5 p.m., ship steering NE. Middle, fresh breezes. At 7 p.m., steering SW by S by compass... At 8 a.m., saw sperm whales, lowered 2 boats without success.

Lat. 4°52' N., Long. 4 p.m. 156°40' E. by Chr.

Tuesday Dec. 17th 1851

... At 6:30 a.m., saw sperm whales... Lowered 2 boats for the whales. The larboard boat got stove in, fastening, lost the whale and line. Starboard boat struck, and lost whale and line.

No obx.

Wednesday Dec. 18th 1851

... Ship standing to the N and W...

...

Tuesday Dec. 23rd 1851

... At 2:30 p.m., the ship hauled aback within 1/2 mile of one of the group of Young Williams [Mortlocks]. 3 canoes came off, had nothing to sell... Latter, standing in for the Islands. At 10 p.m., close in to the land, had heavy squalls, split the jib and fore topmast staysail. Took in all sail. At 11, set double-reefed toppsails and courses, bent the jib and fore topmast staysail.

Wednesday Dec. 14th 1851

... Ship standing in for the land. At 2 p.m., a canoe came off with a few green coconuts. At 2:30, ship steering N under short sail. At sunset, the Westernmost land bearing SE.

Thursday Dec. 15th 1851

... At 1 p.m., wore ship to the E by N... Middle... Ship steering N by E...
Lat. 7°07' N., Long. 2 p.m. 154°24' E. by Chr.

...

Saturday Dec. 27th 1851

... At 8 a.m., saw land. Houls [Halls, i.e. Murilo] Islands steering for them. When about 3 miles from the reef, saw a canoe coming, hauled aback.

Lat. 8°52' N., Long. 152°46' at 2 p.m. by Chr.

Sunday Dec. 28th 1851

... At 1 p.m., a canoe came alongside, had nothing for trade, could not understand them. At 1-1/2 p.m., braced the yards, steering NW...

Lat. 10°08' N., Long. 2 p.m. 151°18' E. by Chr., by dist. 151°04' E.

...

Thursssday Jan. 1st 1852

... At 9 a.m., saw land [Saipan] bearing W by N.

Lat. 15°11' N., Long. 2 p.m. 146°36' E. by Chr.

Friday Jan. 2nd 1852

... At 6 p.m. the NW end of Saipan bearing W 15 miles off, ship steering W by N. Middle, laying off and on the island. Latter, stood in to the W side of the island. At 9 a.m., the Capt. went on shore and came off at 13, brought some legumes. So ends the day.

Saturday Jan. 3rd 1852

The first part of these 24 hours light breezes from the E. Employed bending chains and the starboard anchor off of the bows and beating up to the anchorage. At 4 p.m., let go the anchor in 12 fathoms of water. Middle, weather the same. Latter, employed getting off yams and bananas, hogs, etc.

Sunday Jan. 4th 1852

... Employed getting on board recruits... At 9 a.m., took our anchor, steering for the Island of Tinian. At 12, hauled aback off of the town.

Monday Jan. 5th 1852

... Ship laying off and on the harbour of Tinian. The Capt. went on shore. At sunset, he came on board. Middle, beating up to the anchorage. At 8:15 a.m, let go the an-

chor in 20 fathoms of water. Latter, weather the same. All hands employed getting off hogs and breaking out bread, etc.

Tuesday Jan. 6th 1852

... The ship laying at anchor. Employed getting off yams. At 5 p.m., got under way, ship steering SW. Latter... ship steering SW by S, the watch employed extracting the juice from lemons.

Lat. 14°23' N., Long. 144°50' E. by Chr.

Wednesday Jan. 7th 1852

... Ship steering SW by S... Took the steward out of irons...

Lat. 12°54' N., Long. 3 p.m. 142°53' E. by Chr.

...

Sunday Jan. 11th 1852

... Latter, light breezes, the ship laying to part of the night, steering WSW, saw a number of islands [Ngulu].

Lat. 8°26' N., Long. 4:30 p.m. 137°44' E. by Chr.

Monday Jan. 12th 1852

... Ship steering SSW. At 1 p.m., the island of Matelotas bearing WNW, 2 canoes came off with a few coconuts. At 2, braced full, steering SSE...

Lat. 7°16' N., Long. 2 p.m. 137°40' E. by Chr.

...

[The ship then proceeded North towards the Bashi Islands, then to Hong Kong, to the Arctic Ocean, Honolulu, then north again in 1853, back to Hawaii, south to Aitutaki and the Cook Islands, then home.]

Document 1851R

The voyage of the Arco Iris around the world

Source: Captain George George Coffin. A Pioneer Voyage to California and Round the World, 1849 to 1852 (Chicago, 1908).

A visit to Asunción Island in 1851.

...

Chapter XXVII.

On the 23rd of November, 1861, I left Honolulu for Singapore in search of business for my barque. For the first week out the trade wind was light and I made ut little progress. It afterwards freshened up and my little craft began to show what she could do; she has probably shaken the shaggy coat from her copper. In crossing the Pacific my route lay directly across two positions where islands are laid down on the charts, but I saw no land, nor any of the usual indications of its vicinity; probably some ancient navigator saw at a distance a fog bank, such as sometimes would deceive the most experienced, and, being ambitious of being the first discoverer, had made haste to report, without going near enough to be certain that he was right.

On the 13th of December I passed within two miles of Volcano [Asuncián] Island, the northernmost of the Ladrone group. This is an abrupt cone rising to the height of one thousand feet, with a crater at the summit, from which issued volumes of white smoke. On the 18th, I passed through the passage and entered the China Sea.

The northeast monsoon was blowing fresh, and I had a fine run down to Singapore, where I anchored at daylight on Sunday, December 28th, thirty-five days from Honolulu.



Captain George Coffin.

Documents 1851S

The Charles W. Morgan, Captain John D. Sampson, 1851-52

Introduction

The story of this long-lived whaling ship of New Bedford, 1841-1921.

Sources: 1. Otman Schöffelen. *Great Sailing Ships* (Praeger); 2. John F. Leavitt. *The Charles W. Morgan (Mystic Seaport)*.

Note. Built at Fairhaven, Massachusetts; launched on 21 July 1841; capacity 313 tons; length overall 169 feet; breadth 27 feet 7 inches; depth 17 feet 6 inches; fully-rigged, she carried 20 sails.

Schöffelen has aptly summarized the story of the **Charles W. Morgan** thus: “The Charles W. Morgan is the only surviving wooden whaling ship. Her first owner was the Quaker merchant Charles W. Morgan... The ship had a painted line of gunports dating from the time of her construction which were intended to deter raiding pirates.”

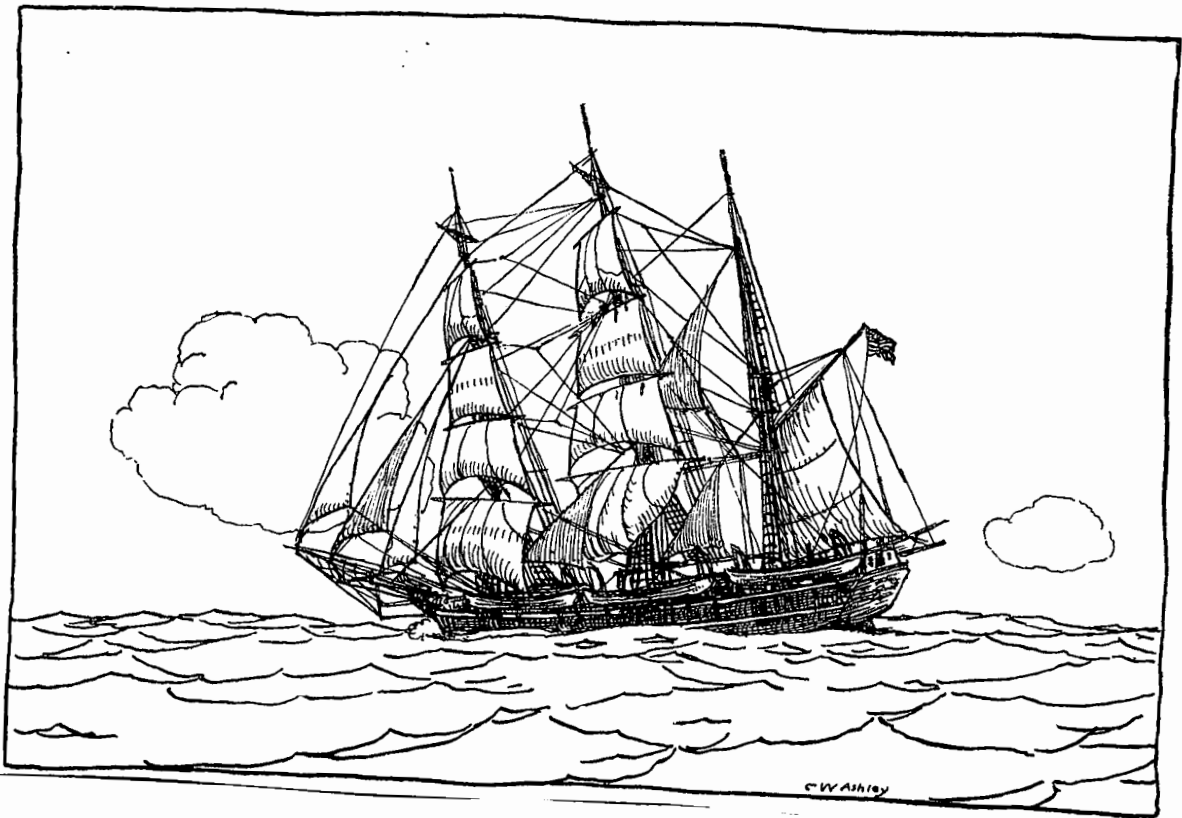
“During her 80 years of whaling, the Charles W. Morgan made 37 voyages in all seas. These often lasted several years, for it was only when she was fully laden that she returned home. Over one thousand whale fishermen sailed in the Charles W. Morgan and altogether more than 2,500 whales were harpooned and killed by her boats. She carried up to seven boats, which were usually manned by six men—four men on the oars, the harpooner and the helmsman [i.e. boat-steerer].”

“From 1841 to 1866, her homeport was New Bedford; from 1867 to 1906, it was San Francisco. Then she returned to New Bedford from which port she made her last seven whaling voyages which lasted until 1921. That year she once more set sail for the film: ‘Down to the Sea in Ships.’ In November 1941 the Charles W. Morgan was towed from Round Hills, Dartmouth, to Mystic Seaport in Connecticut where she lies today as one of the main [tourist] attractions.”

S1. The journal of Nelson Cole Haley

Sources: Ms. journal kept in the G. W. Blunt White Library at Mystic Seaport; Log Inv. 958; published as a book entitled: *Whale Hunt* (New York, Washburn, 1948).

Note: The ms. for this journal was written in 1864 when the author was living in Honolulu, and is supposedly based on an original logbook which he had kept during the voyage.



...

Extracts from this logbook—Visits to Nonouti and Kosrae.

...

[The ship sailed through the Indian Ocean, around the south coast of Australia and visited the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, before going northward to the Line.]

...

Chapter 4. Cruising down the Line [in 1851]

A few days after we stowed down the oil, a sail was reported from the masthead, two points on the lee bow. As we were standing on opposite tacks, we soon came abreast of each other. The stranger, when four points on our lee, hauled up his mainsail. This, amongst whale men, is an invitation to have a gam (or to speak the other ship).

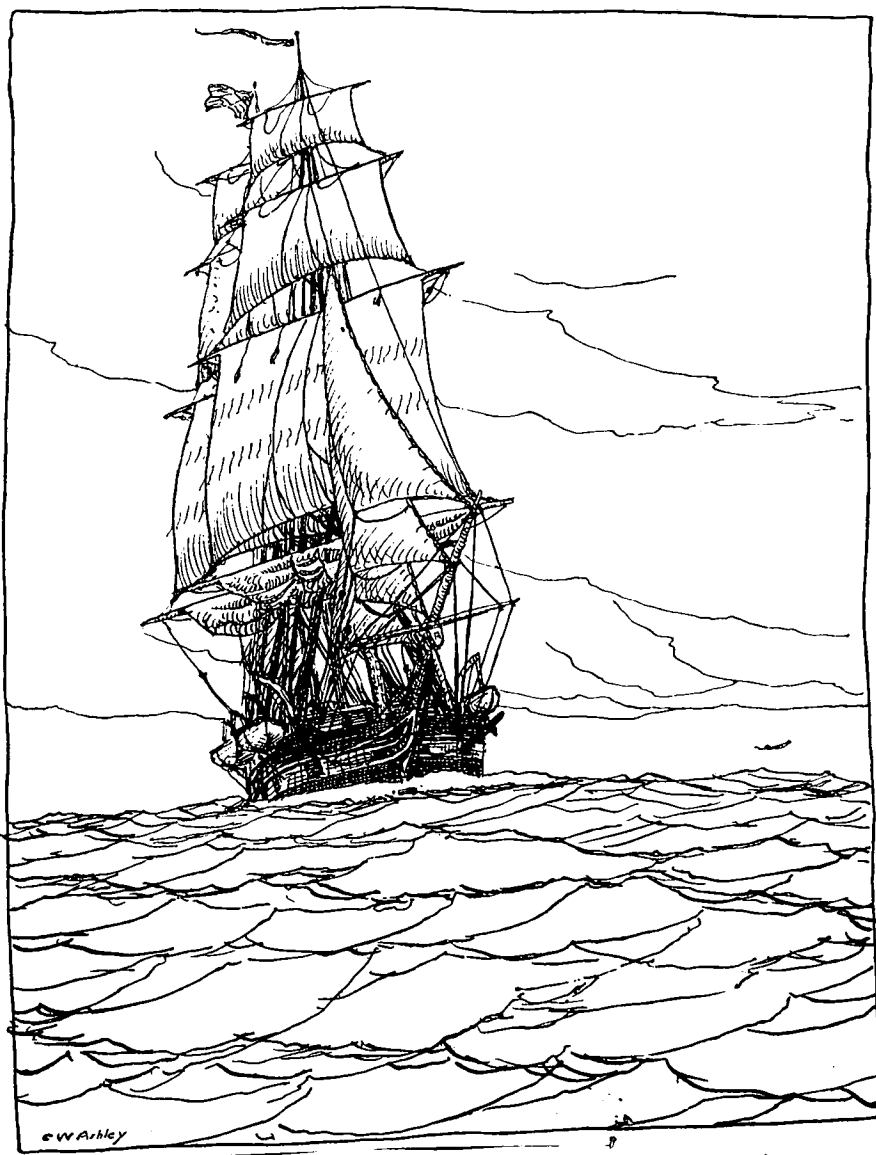
When our Captain saw this, he gave the order to haul up our mainsail, to show we accepted the offer. Standing along until the other ship bore about two points forward our lee beam, our wheel was put hard up and the yards squared. As the ship got before the wind and pointed her flying jibboom for his mainmast, he at the same time hauled aback his main-topsail, and being not far apart, we soon came within speaking distance of each other. Running across his stern, we found this to be our old acquaintance the **Mitchell**.¹ When asked the question, "What success?" he said in reply, "Six hundred and fifty barrels of oil since seeing you last." This caused a feeling of sadness among the whole crew on our ship, not because we envied him his good luck, but to think we had been so unlucky.

On the invitation of Captain Sullivan for our Captain to come on board, we rounded the ship to, under his lee, with our mainyard aback, on the same tack he was laying, and lowered a boat, and our Captain went on board. The boat shortly returned to our ship with the chief officer and a boat's crew from the **Mitchell**, for a day's gam. After hoisting our boat up we braced forward the main topsail and kept the ship off until we had separated two or three miles, to spread our chances of seeing whales. When this was done, we hauled up and stood along together.

As a rule, when gamming, where the captain of one ship visits another, the mate of the ship visited, with his own boat's crew, returns on board the ship the captain leaves. Sometimes where there are two or three ships gamming and the captains go to one ship, the mates to another, the second mates to another, lots of fun is had during the time. In fine weather, at such times, half the night is passed in singing, dancing on the decks, and spinning yarns.

The two mates talked over what had taken place since last we met. They had seen whales quite often and those taken were all large size, one of which made them one hundred and twenty barrels of oil, so the difference was not so great in the number of whales

1 Ed. note: The Christopher Mitchell of Nantucket, Captain Sullivan, 1848-52 voyage.



taken. They had experienced the same hurricane we were in, had bulwarks and boats stoven, and lost the flying jibbom and some sails.

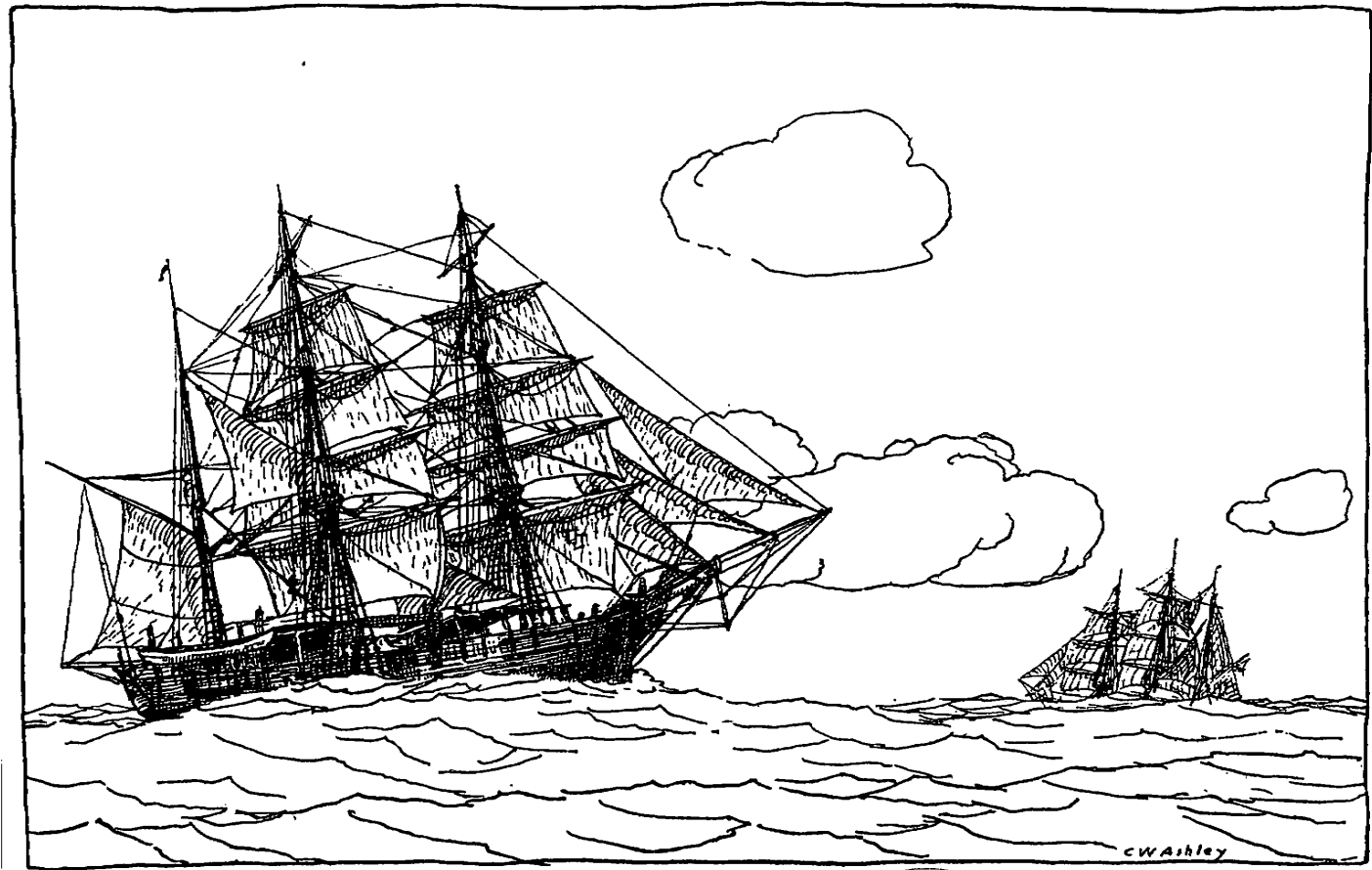
About ten P.M., a light being set for their mate to return, he went on board. Our Captain shortly after came back, telling our Mate that we would keep company with that ship for a time. The mainyard was braced forward, and all hands but the watch went below.

In company with the **Mitchell** we cruised for about two weeks, the ships working to the westward from the force of the current. During the time we had seen no whales, but every few days the captains would pass evenings together. We were now about on the meridian of Greewich and Lat. 2° S., no great distance from the S.E. island of the Kingsmill Group (or, as called by some, the Gilbert Islands). In conversation between the two captains, when the subject of allowing the natives to come on board the ships was discussed, Captain Sullivan said he had no reason to stop them when his ship was near some of these islands; but around some of them he had no doubt it would be dangerous to allow any on board. Our Captain, who had for many years cruised among the different islands of the Pacific, including the Kingsmills, and knew pretty well what islands to trust, called the names of several in this group that might be trusted, among which he mentioned the name of the S.E. island, Byron [Nukunau], the one we should sight first.

One afternoon the ship with all sail set was heading to the S.W., going through the water about three or four knots. The blue color of the sea was so intense that a wash-tub prepared for bluing clothes would have been nowhere. The sun was shining brightly out of a sky so clear that it would seem a thousand miles could be seen into it by looking above in any direction.

The 2d Mate and myself had the lookout at the masthead, both leaning over the main-royal yard (the sail was furled), one each side of the royal mast, with feet placed on the topgallant crosstrees. The **Mitchell** lay hull down to the windward, head along by the wind on the same tack and showing that she, like ourselves, could not catch sight of the low bushy spouts. The 2d mate and I had been spinning yarns about some scenes of home, when I saw him gaze steadily off the lee bow for a few seconds, then reach his hand back of the mast and take out the spyglass from a box fastened there to hold it, at the same time saying, "I was just going to sing out, "Sail O!" He put the glass up to his eye and looked steady for a minute, then dropping it over his arm on the yard, asked me, "Do you not see something looking like a sail two points on the lee bow?" After looking a few minutes I could see what looked like three or four ships. "Well, I do," said I, "but there are six or eight, seems to me, very near together. What does it mean?" He burst into laughter, saying, "Here, take the glass, and look at them. See what you make out of it."

Taking the glass to my eye for a minute, I could not help saying, "That beats anything yet, trees growing out of the ocean!" That's what it looked to be through the glass. This was the first time he or I had seen what became familiar to us afterwards. The trees we saw were coconut, growing as they do in that low latitude, to perfection, reaching



often with their tuftlike tops one hundred and twenty-five feet from the ground without a limb, leaf, or branch until the bunch of graceful, long, waving, fanlike leaves or branches spread out from the pipe stem of a trunk, which carries almost the same girth from the ground to its top, where the coconuts grow in clusters.

What we could plainly see through the glass was the trees two-thirds of their length, but the land they were growing out of was so low it could not be seen until on nearer approach. This island, like many other atolls, was but eight or ten feet above the level of the sea. Most of the kind are circular and inclose a lagoon, with a passage into it, through the coral reef and sand, that will in some of them allow quite a large-sized vessel to anchor. As a rule, outside the reef that compasses them the water deepens abruptly, and no great distance from the line of breakers that surrounds them, 100 fathoms can be run out and no bottom be found.

There are many theories accounting for their formation. The one I think the most reasonable is that the coral insect has built up the foundations from the rims of sunken volcanic craters. Of course, that the insect cannot work above water is a well-known fact: but when the surface of the ocean is reached, pieces by the force of the sea are broken up, some ground into sand, and, drifting matter being caught on the inside edge, in time is formed a barrier that only the highest wave would wash over. The coral insect, being unable to build seaward on account of the depth of the water, extends his work on the inside; so in time a place is formed that some drifting coconut can lodge on and take root—and so the job would be done.

[Visit to Nukunau Atoll]

The land, or trees, being reported by the 2d Mate to the deck, the Captain said in answer, "All right, that's Byron [Nukunau] Island. You will shortly see the yellow-bellied beggars coming in their canoes by the dozen."

We had not stood towards the land more than an hour longer before we could see thirty or forty canoes. Some had sails set, standing toward us. Others had not but were paddling partly across our bows to intercept us. They had five to six persons in each canoe; more women than men, we found, on their approaching nearer.

By the time dinner was called, the land was plainly in sight, a low bank laying on the water like an immense raft, with hundreds of sticks standing upright at different angles, the numbers and height of which gave it a top-heavy look that was added to by the wide-spreading fanlike leaves on top. The natives climb to the tops of these trees through the day and watch for the appearance of a ship, which from that high elevation can be seen almost as soon as a ship can see the island. Upon a ship being sighted, the canoes are hurried to the water.

Some coconuts, shells, fish, and sometimes the sap of the coconuts are brought off to exchange for tobacco. This above all other things they crave. Money they spurn, bottles they will take next to tobacco; but they care for little else. Some of the islanders in the group braid the finest kind of hats and mats, some of which will take them days

to make; yet these can be bought for a piece of tobacco that does not cost in the States over one or two cents.

The sap from the coconut trees, when first taken down in the morning, before the sun warms it, is one of the most delicious drinks I ever tasted, but it will soon ferment after becoming warm, and in a day or two will produce intoxication and afterwards a roaring headache, so I have been told. It was enough for me to hear about it, without trying it. As both kinds of the sap are brought off to the ships in like containers, empty coconut shells, if a lookout is not kept by the officers to see what kind comes on board, some of the men will soon get in a way that it would be impossible for them to say "Truly rural," twice running, without unshipping their lower jaw.

After dinner the mainyard was hove aback and the foresail hauled up. The island was about two miles off, right ahead, and by the way we were set to the leeward by the current, the ship with her main-topsail to the mast would forge about enough ahead in an hour or two so that we would come under its lee about half a mile clear of the gleaming line of snow-white surf that was breaking on the edge of reef that surrounded it. The other ship had run off with her yards checked in and was hove aback a mile or so to the windward of us.

Before we went to dinner, some of the canoes had made out to catch on the ship's side and, by having some ropes thrown them, the natives scrambled on deck. One watch with an officer had remained on deck, while the rest got dinner. When the mainyard was thrown aback and the ship's way deadened, the other canoes, that had been lying off watching how the first lot were received, came shouting and paddling alongside, with great glee and pleasure. Soon we were three deep with canoes on the lee side, and others who could not get in there had piled in alongside to the windward.

In a short time our decks were full. A rope was stretchel across from the mainmast to the rail on each side, and officers were placed on guard to allow no native by, except now and then when one would have something to trade that the after folks wished. By this means the quarter-decks were clear, but from amidship to the bows was one mass of shouting, laughing, happy natives around the men, offering for a small piece of tobacco anything the sailors would take. the other ship seemed to have as many canoes around her as we had.

These natives are quite pleasant-featured. They have a yellowish-colored skin, but constant exposure to the burning rays of the sun makes them look darker than they would otherwise. Some of the women, for such kind, are quite pretty. Now and then one can be seen with a faint tint of red showing through her dark cheeks. The men are lightly clad by having a narrow strip of some kind of fabric wound once about the body and one end brought up between the legs and caught in the standing part around the front. A good many of them did not have even as much dress on as that. The women had a fringe of rushes, split into shreds and fastened to a string, tied around the waist. These hung over the hips down halfway to the knees, and, with the care they used, afforded proper protection. The young girls had pretty forms, as a rule.

[Gilbertese canoes]

The canoes showed masterpieces of work in more ways than one, as they were built of small, short lengths of different kinds of woods. They were finely shaped, about fifteen or twenty feet long on top, and sat, when loaded, with the gunwales about twelve or fourteen inches above water, as graceful and buoyant as a duck. On one side two long pieces of light timber projected out some eight or ten feet, the ends of each lying across both gunwales about ten feet apart. The ends on the gunwales were firmly lashed to both. On the other ends were sticks of timber of some light, floating wood, fashioned like sled runners. These lay on the water parallel to the canoe, fastened by lashing the projecting ends two or three times. This was to prevent the canoe from rolling over.

The hulls of the canoes were built of small narrow strips of wood, neatly fitted together and held in place by being strongly lashed, piece by piece, to each other with the fiber of coconut husk twisted into strings and run through holes. When done, they showed as pretty a model and finish as though made from one piece of wood. The sea-going qualities of these canoes are fine; and with their sails, made of mats, spread in a good breeze, they will fairly fly trough the water.

By four P.M. the ships had drifted four or five miles to the leeward of the island. All of the stuff they had brought on board had been disposed of, but still they seemed to be in no hurry to leave the ship. The Captain told the Mate to brace forward the mainyard. This being done and the foresail set, she was kept off four points from the wind. This caused the old ship to raise a white bone under her bows, and set the canoes, huddled together alongside, to smashing and crashing into each other and against the ship's side in such a manner that in a short time there would have been no whole ones left. Seeing this, the natives on deck began yeling and rushing fore and aft, some jumping overboard from all parts of the ship, those in the canoes casting off the lines that held them and adding their frantic yells to the others'. The ship's wake for a mile astern was seen covered with canoes, some bottom up, others half-sunken, among which were men's and women's heads bobbing up and down with one hand raised high, holding their precious tobacco to keep it dry, as they swam like fish for their canoes. It was rather a rough way to use the poor devils, but it did not take long to clear the ship off them.

After we had the decks clear, we wore ship to the N.& E. on the same tack, the other ship having gone a short time before. Men were put over the side to draw water and the scrub brooms set to work washing decks. The mess to clean was almost as bad to handle as a barnyard. In about an hour the job was done and we went to supper. All hands seemed to have enjoyed the fun, some showing the hats and mats, others shells, green coconuts, fish lines and other things they had bought.

I spoke to the 2d Mate, during our watch on deck that night, about the canoes that were upset, and said I was afraid that they might lose them.

"Fiddle-de-dee," he replied, "lose nothing! In the water those natives are like fish. They can bail out one of those canoes, when swamped, in a very few minutes, by get-

ting to one end and bearing down on it. By so doing they raise the other end as high out of the water as they can, give it a shove from them, and let it go at the same time. This will send half the water out of it; and doing this once or twice will so relieve it, they can get into it and bail the balance out, pick up their loose stuff floating around, and think no more about it than a person would about taking a bath."

For a couple of weeks we cruised in company of the **Mitchell**, but saw whales only once, and took one. He made sixty barrels, one half belonging to the other ship, as we were mated. That is to say, the ships agree, a long as they are in sight of each other, that both ships' boats are to help each other as belonging to one ship; and the oil taken during the time is to be equally divided between them.

One morning after breakfast the **Mitchell**, on our weather bow about four or five miles off, suddenly put up his wheel, squared in his yards and headed down before the wind for us. Our Captain, seeing this, observed to the Mate, "He evidently wants to speak to us. Haul up the mainsail, and haul aback our mainyard." This was done, and while lying there waiting for him to run down, various reasons were given for his wanting to speak us. We were hove to on the starboard tack, and as he approached Captain Sullivan could be seen sitting in the starboard boat with his speaking trumpet in his hand. As he got within hail he raised it to his lips and bellowed out to our Captain a hearty "Good morning." "The same to you," replied our Old Man. This was followed by Captain Sullivan saying, "I have made up my mind to go South. I will haul to a few miles under your lee and you can get my share of the oil ready, run down, drop it overboard and I will pick it up." "All right," was our Captain's answer.

He ran down to the leeward four or five miles and came to the wind on the same tack as us. After bracing forward the mainyard and boarding the main tack, we hauled out casks enough to make thirty barrels from the side where they had been lashed, and put beackets on them as described in preparing water casks to raft. We gave the hoops a good driving, and, with a raft rope lying handy, all was ready by dinner-time.

As soon as all hands had dinner, the wheel was put hard up and we ran down to within a short distance of the **Mitchell**, who had hove aback on seeing us keep off. Everything being ready, the five or six casks were soon tumbled out of the gangway and rafted alongside. Two boats came from the **Mitchell** and caught the raft as it floated out astern.

Our Captain took a boat and went on board her, stopping long enough to have returned to us the raft rope and as many empty casks as we had sent full ones. As soon as the Captain left her, she put up her wheel and headed off to the South. By dark her topgallant sails were dropping below the line of the horizon, leaving us alone on the waste of water to continue our weary cruise.

For a week or two more we cruised in vain; not a whale could we find. The wind had been getting less and less, and now one afternoon it gave out altogether. The ocean was like liquid glass. The heave of it was so slight that the ship would hardly take or drop the upper course of copper on her sides above or below the water, and no noise was

made by the sea on the side except the tinkling of the bubbles coming from the nail holes in the copper as the water now and then reached them. The sun poured down its bright rays with such intense heat and the sides of the ship became so hot that the pitch in the seams swelled from them in small bubbles, melting and running down the sides.

The decks were kept fairly cool by keeping them wet. The poor hogs were lighting and squealing for shady places, and grunting with satisfaction when water was thrown over them while wetting deck.

Below, in the forecastle, the heat was almost unbearable. The watch below lay in their berths trying to sleep, the perspiration streaming from their bodies, with nothing but the curtains drawn in front of their bunks for covering. The cabin and steerage were not so uncomfortable but they were hot enough, even with the big windows in the stern, and all doors between, wide open.

The men on deck at work on various jobs sought, when possible, the little shade afforded by the masts or sails. But the men at the mastheads had to take it straight up and down. The mirrorlike ocean, reflecting the sun's hot rays, made it hard on the eyes, and this, added to the rest of it, made them glad to hear the bell strike for relieving mastheads and wheel. When the sun went below the line of the horizon, a sigh of relief went up from all hands, and shortly after merry laughter was heard from knots of the boys around the windlass, and seated in different parts of the ship forward, smoking and spinning yarns.

The calm continued through the night. The ship with her tall masts and square yards seemed resting on air, her sails hanging flat up and down; not a reef point seemingly moving, but hanging straight from the grommet where it came through the sails. All through the night the ship had stood apparently still, but one could see by watching the compass that she would sometimes turn completely around; this no doubt being caused by the action of the current, which we knew was setting us to the westward at least twenty or thirty miles every twenty-four hours.

[Visit to Nonouti Atoll]

At daylight all hands were called, the mastheads manned and decks scrubbed off. The sun rose like a red hot ball of fire and looked twice her common size. We knew by the look of it that another hot calm day was before us. Just before we went to breakfast, the boat-steerer at the main sung out, "Land, O!" "Where away?" asked the Captain. The reply was, "On the Port beam." By the compass, it bore due West. "That is Sydenham [Nonouti] Island, and if we do not get some wind today, I am afraid we shall be set by the current nearer to it before the day is out than I like to be," said the Old Man as he went below to breakfast.

The 2d Mate joined me at the masthead where I had relieved the other boat-steerer after getting my breakfast with the Captain and the officer, as it is rutable for the boat-steerer who has the masthead relief to do; the officer coming up later on. After he finished his smoke on deck and we were leaning over the royal yard, talking about the land in sight and remarking, among other things in connection with it, how similar most of

these islands were to each other: "Yes," he said. "But the natives are not. Did you notice how uneasy the Old Man was at breakfast this morning, and how many times he said how much he wished we could get a little wind?"

I told him I had, but that I thought he, like the rest of us, wanted the wind to come so that we could have some relief from the heat and stand a better chance of seeing whales.

"Not altogether that, but something worse than not seeing whales, or being inconvenienced by a little heat. That is to say, we may lose our ship and our lives also," was his startling remark. "This island, that we are drifting so fast towards, no doubt is one of the worst in the Kingsmill group for murder and outrage on any that may be so unfortunate as to get into their hands. We may be set by the current on to some outstanding point of the reefs that surround it, if we have not wind to steer clear. As to lowering our boats to tow the ship clear, it cannot be done, as the men in the boats would be at the mercy of fifty or a hundred canoes in no time. So if the wind does not spring up and we do strike on any part of it, you make up your mind like a man, before another day's heat troubles you, that after today you will think this to be in comparison Arctic weather to what you are surrounded with. In other words, your whaling days most likely will be over."

My reply to his remark was, "Most likely you and I will still be shipmates, if it comes to that;" and I asked him what ships had suffered by these Devil's babies.

His answer to that was, "A number of ships have been lost around here that none have been saved from to tell how it occurred; but pieces of burnt stuff have been picked up by whalers that may account for some of it. Their plan is, after capturing a ship and killing all hands, to take out from her what they care for, which would be all the tobacco first, knives and pieces of hoop iron, and then set her on fire. When they can do so after getting possession of a ship, they run her on shore, then plunder and burn her. The heavy surf would soon remove from sight all record of the crime. This island is one, with some others, that escaped English convicts have settled on and taught the natives more devilry than they knew before.

"There was a ship lost somewhere around this island, it was supposed, for the reason the last time she was heard of a ship spoke her just to the eastward of here, and on my last voyage we spoke a ship that had picked up a canoe some distance from this island that had been blown at sea and had only one man alive, left from five natives that started in the canoe from shore. He was almost starved and perishing for want of water. They brought him to all right and kept him as one of the crew; named him after the ship, Starbuck. He soon picked up English enough to understand what was told him and make himself understood.

"Afterwards he told the crew about a ship that had been taken, a short time before he left the island, by two white men and the natives, and the ship burnt, after killing all hands and taking all they wanted from her. He said the ship had her four boats chasing whales a long distance from the ship and the canoes boarded her. As there were only a few men left on deck, the white men killed them while the natives held them down.

The Captain, who was aloft, was the last one killed, by one of the white men, who found a gun in the cabin and shot him. He fell on deck, his head was cut off, and both head and body were thrown to some hogs running around decks. Then they tried to run the ship on shore but they could not work her. The boats, seeing something was wrong, started to come on board. Two boats were stove alongside by throwing pieces of iron and grindstones into them, and the men were killed in the water. The other two boats' crews were killed by the natives in the canoes that surrounded them when they attempted to pull away from the ship. He said that he never helped kill anyone but he got some of the tobacco."

I felt the hair on my head stiffen, listening to the tale he told about this infernal place that was now plain in sight, and towards which our ship was silently but surely drifting. Turning my head in different directions, I hoped to see a light cat's paw of wind somewhere that would give a little steerage way on the ship. Only a few miles either way, north or south, would clear us of this horrible octopus that seemed drawing us to our fate.

The dead calm was in the sky as well as on the ocean. The few light-colored clouds that could be seen were like puffs of cotton, hanging here and there at great heights, without motion. Nothing that gave signs of a breeze could be seen anywhere. The sun poured down its heat equal to yesterday. Turning to him, I said:

"There seems no chance of much wind today. Maybe if we do strike, the beggars, having the ship on the reef, will not murder us without we show fight, which would seem to me useless, as, if we beat them off, where could we go? The only way would be to take the boats and try to get to one of the other islands where they are not so hostile."

"If the ship strikes, no doubt, if we do not show fight, which would be foolish to do, as two or three thousands against thirty or forty of us would be too great odds, they will keep us, after plundering the ship, until some ship takes us off and ransoms us with a box or so of tobacco," was his reply.

"I think we have time, before our masthead is out, to tell you about how some of the devils got served in trying to capture the ship **Triton**, of New Bedford," he said.

[The Triton Incident]

"The **Triton** was commanded by a young man of my acquaintance.¹ It was his first voyage as master. Just before sailing, he married a young lady who was called the Belle of New Bedford. After taking a cruise on New Zealand, he stood to the North for the Japan whaling ground, and on his way there he thought to take a short cruise along the Line, through this same group we are now amongst. Not knowing the nature of these natives on this island, he landed in his boat and the natives treated him and his boat's crew to the best they had; took them up to their houses and gave them everything they

¹ Ed. note: His name was Captain Thomas Spencer. The event in question took place in 1847 (see Doc. 1847T).

asked for. The sailors thought it was a Turk's paradise. There was a white man living on that part of the island, but he kept out of sight until later on.

"The captain and men had a good time until the afternoon, and then he told the boat-steerer that came on shore with them to find the men, and get the boat ready to shove off to go on board. The ship had been lying off and on all day. The boat-steerer hunted up the men. It did not take long to do so. They had not gone far from the landing, as the natives kept them well supplied with everything. But when all were assembled, ready to start towards the boat, without a word or action to warn them, the natives pounced on them, tied their hands and feet, tumbled all into a house and put a guard over them. When this was done the white man appeared and told them they had best keep still; if not, every one would be knocked on the head; that he was going to take the boat and go on board the ship and take her, and if successful he would have all hands killed, including those on shore. If not, and the ship got away, then they would be used well until some ship came in sight of the island, when one man would be sent on board of her with a letter stating how much tobacco must be paid for their ransom. With this pleasant information given, the bloodthirsty wretch left them.

"This devil in human shape waited until about sunset, launched the boat, and took twelve or fifteen of the best fighting natives with him, and shoved off. When he left the reef it was light enough for the mate on board the ship to see the boat leave the shore, but before the boat would reach the ship it would be quite dark. This was what he wanted, for it might arouse the mate's suspicions if he saw so many natives in the boat before he got alongside. All worked as he planned until he got alongside. Then, much to the mate's astonishment, he told him the captain had come to the conclusion to send him on board to stay all night, and to tell him to have the ship kept well in with land during the night.

"The mate did not like the look of things and wondered why the captain had not sent him some note. This was accounted for by the pirate saying there was no paper or pencil to write with. After the watch was set, the mate had some talk with the man who had come on board in such a strange way, but could see nothing wrong in his conversation. He seemed perfectly at ease and told the mate that when he left the shore the captain and men were having a splendid time.

"When it came time to turn in, this man said, in offer of a bunk to sleep in by the mate, he preferred to lay on deck with a jacket under his head for a pillow. He would be all right. A coat was given him and he lay down on deck, close to the man at the wheel, with five or six natives amongst the crew and boat-steerers about the decks. Some were laying down among the crew who were having some fun trying to get the natives to pronounce English words.

ø Before the mate turned in he left orders to keep the ship pretty well in with the land, and to call him at twelve o'clock. It was about nine o'clock when the mate went below. The 2d mate had the watch, the 3d mate had taken a pillow and laid down in the stern of the waist boat, only telling the boat-steerer who was to call him where to find him when his watch came on deck.

“By ten o’clock everything was quiet. The officer of the deck and the pirate, who said he did not feel sleepy, were talking together just forward the main riggin’, with elbows resting on the mainrail on the starboard side. At a signal given by this fiend, two or three natives, who had quietly slipped behind them, caught the officer by the body and legs, and before he could utter a word he was tossed over the rail into the sea, and by the time his head got above water he was so far astern his voice would hardly have been heard if he cried for help. At the same time two or three natives caught the man at the wheel by the throat and boay. He also made but little noise as he was thrown over the taff-rail into the sea.

“While this tragedy was going on aft, the boat-steerers in the waist had been disposed of, one thrown overboard and the other, knocked senseless, laying stretched on deck. The men on deck had been attacked at the same time. Some had escaped down the fore hatchway, which was open, some run into the forecabin, others had tumbled overboard or been knocked over and lay dead or senseless on deck, the heavy oak heads of scrub brooms with handles in them four or five feet long affording murderous weapons in the hands of these bloodthirsty wretches—these laying around the try-works right at the time, ready for them to use.

“The pirate and his natives now had possession of the decks. All who were not killed were below, except the 3d mate, asleep in the waist boat, who had been awakened just about the time when the last man was tumbled over the rail into the sea. He was not seen by the natives as he sat in the boat, with only his head above the gunwale, but he could see by looking under the foot of the mainsail which left a space of a foot or so between the boat’s gunwale and the bottom of the sail—the ship being on the starboard tack with the main sheet hauled aft—between the stern of the boat he was in and the head of the larboard boat.

“He was almost paralyzed with horror when he saw the natives had charge of the ship. He thought of cutting the falls to the tackles that held the two ends of the boat, and the grips that held her to the side of the ship, and letting her roll off the cranes into the sea, taking a slim chance that way for his life. But, thinking before he could cut her clear and roll her off the cranes he would be seen and killed, he abandoned the idea and crept forward in the boat, showing as little as he possibly could of his body above the gunwales, to where the lances were tied to the boat’s side. Quietly casting off one of these, he crouched in the boat with this in hand, the sharp head pointing inboard, resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible. He looked hard to catch sight of the bloodthirsty white man, thinking, if he could get a chance to put the lance through him before he was killed himself, that he would die with less feelings of regret.

“He had not been watching long before he saw him crouching along the deck, working his way towards the boat he was in, peering towards the stern, thinking perhaps he was in some of the boats as he could not find him in his stateroom below where he had hunted for him after killing the mate, who was asleep in his berth when this fiend had split his head open with an axe.

“The 3d mate held his lance ready, which owing to the darkness this wretch did not see, its wicked head sticking through between the lanyards of the mainriggin’, or any part of him who held it, as he now had dropped his head below the gunwale of the boat, ready to spring up when the other approached near enough. Now judging his time right, the 3d mate raised on his knees. At the same time, the other man sprung towards the boat, brandishing in his right hand a fleshing knife.” (Such is used to cut off the pieces of meat that sometimes adhere to the blubber when cutting in a whale, the blade of which is about eighteen inches long.) “He made his last spring, for the 3d mate darted his lance with such force and skill that the head of it went through the body and into the deck, pinning him fast on the four or five feet of its shank.

“His yells were fearful, as he in his wild efforts to clear himself tumbled around the lance that held him to the deck as a butterfly would be held to a board with a pin through its body. The natives seeing him in such a queer position, with the blood flying from him and he fast to the deck, and not knowing how it occurred, got panic-stricken. Instead of helping him free himself, they hid themselves under the windlass and around the try-works, leaving him in the hands of the Devil, as they thought he must have done the act. Their superstitious feelings gave the officer a good chance to crawl over the stern of the boat behind the lee clew of the mainsail on to the ship’s rail, out of their sight, and in on deck. Keeping close to the rail on the port side until abreast of the cabin companionway, then making a sudden dart, he was quickly down the cabin stairs.

ø Hoping to find some of those below alive to help him take the ship back, he looked into the mate’s stateroom. The ghastly sight of the dead mate’s body, half out of his berth, told him no help could be had from his. Next stateroom was the 2d mate’s. Of course no-one was there. His stateroom was occupied by himself and the steward. The steward was not there. He sprung to the door that led into the steerage from the cabin. Opening it, he found all in darkness and not a sound to be heard; no-one was in the berths. This made his heart almost stop beating from the thought that no-one was left of the afterguard but himself, but, as he had seen no-one but the mate dead in the cabin, or so far in the steerage, he thought perhaps the steward, cooper and some of the boat-steerers might have crawled on top of the casks in the afterhatch between decks.

“The door leading from the steerage into it was open. He stepped quickly through it up to the tier of casks that stood just forward of the afterhatch, and sung out, ‘I am the 3d mate. If anyone is stowed away in here, come out as quickly as you can, and help me take the ship back from the natives, who have killed everybody on deck and the mate. Do not be afraid, but come out quick, before the natives get over their fright of seeing that head devil of a white man pinned to the deck by a lance through his body. That is him you can hear now, yelling, but he dont’ yell so loud or as fast as he did. You need not fear anything from him, so come out quick.’

“Hearing the 3d mate’s voice, those that had stowed themselves away on hearing the groans of the mate when this pirate was killing him came out from their hiding places amongst the casks, and they went into the cabin to gather up what weapons they could lay hands on. There were only four of them to retake the ship from twelve or fifteen na-

tives. The 3d mate took from under his mattress the two boarding knives that he had charge of, and that are never left but in some safe place, as they are dangerous tools to have in a place where a desperate man might get hold of them. The blades are about three feet long, sharp as razors, having long handles, turned round to fit the grasp of both hands. The blades are two-edged where they fit into the handles, have a width of two inches running to a sharp point at the end, and are thick in the middle to keep them stiff. A very light push on one placed against a man's body would send it through as easy as a fork would go through a dish of cold mush. Placing one each in the hands of the cooper and boat-steerer, he asked the steward where the pistol and sword that belonged to the captain could be found. He soon had hold of them. Finding the revolver, which was a Navy Colt, all loaded ready for use, he slipped some cartridges loose in his pocket.

"Giving the sword to the steward, he gave them the plan of action. They would creep up the cabin stairs, ready at the word he would give when he saw fit to make the rush forward, two on the port and two on the starboard side, not stopping for anything until they reached the forecabin scuttle, and reaching there to get the men on deck as soon as possible if any were alive. If none were left, then to sell their own lives as dear as possible. The chances were against them, but they might still get the ship back as the natives had lost their leader. To encourage them, he said, 'No doubt but what there are eight or ten men cooped up in the forecabin and, getting them out to help, we can retake the ship in half an hour.'

"He cautiously crawled up the cabin stairs, the others following close after. Leaning over the top step with just his eyes past the side of the companionway, his head close to the deck, he could see the deck forward without being seen himself. After he had taken a look on both sides, and aft around the wheel, he in a whisper told them no-one was aft and no-one in sight on the starboard side, but on the port side he could see five or six natives coming towards the fellow that was pinned to the deck, who between his curses seemed to be telling them to do something. 'Now,] he says,]we must move quick. That devil of a white man seems to have life enough to raise hell yet if he gets those natives to pull that lance out of the deck and clear of his body. The steward alone must take the starboard side of the deck. I do not think he will meet anyone on that side. If he does he must use his sword and get to the forecabin as soon as he can, tell the men to get on deck, arm themselves with iron belaying pins, sticks of wood, or anything, and rush to where they see any fighting going on. Us three must take the port side and get between that white man and the natives.'

"By the time they were all on deck, crouching behind the companionway out of sight from anyone looking aft from forward. The natives, half panic-struck, creeping towards the howling and cursing wretch, did not notice in the darkness of the decks the three men advancing with bare feet rapidly towards them, until the boarding knives and pistol were doing murderous work amongst them.

"One thrust of the boarding knife through their naked bodies soon opened the way, and caused those that could to run in every direction. The steward reached the fore-

castle without trouble, and the eight or ten men there had now got on deck, arming themselves with whatever they could, and joined in the chase of the naked devils. In a short time there was not a live one left on deck. Some had jumped overboard and no doubt were swimming for hours, until they drowned or got eaten up by some shark.

"The natives being cleaned out, the white man was looked after. There was not much life left in him for he had been thrust through with a boarding knife two or three times during the first part of the recapture. It took two men to pull the head of the lance out of the deck, they having a good hold of the pole in doing so. No doubt a shark had him eaten before he could have been in the water half an hour."

I had been listening to this story of the 2d Mate's with such eagerness that I hardly had paid any attention to looking out for whales or anything else, and when he suddenly broke off his conversation and said, "Damn them, here they come!" I almost jumped off the crossrees on which I was standing.

Looking in the direction of the island, which was now plain in sight, there could be seen numbers of black spots on the mirrorlike surface of the ocean. I spoke up, saying, "There must be a lot of canoes if all the black spots I see are canoes." "Take the glass and look at them. It is likely you will see with it twice as many more, and as we get nearer to the land more yet will be seen," was his reply. On looking at them I could see at least fifty or sixty, all headed for the ship. Putting up the glass I said to him, "How many men do you suppose are in each canoe?" "Well," he replied, "if they have no women in with them there would be perhaps four to six in each one, but they no doubt have some women; just enough, likely, to make it appear that they do not mean bad, and to get a deck hold. But the Old Man won't allow that if we can help it."

I was not feeling very hilarious, but still wanted to know how the affair terminated with the ship after they had retaken her, so I asked him about it.

"Well," he said, "there is not much more to it. After they tumbled the dead natives overboard, laid those of their own crew who had been murdered out for burial, and washed off decks, the ship had lost, with the captain and his boat's crew, fourteen men. The ship, when daylight broke, was out of sight of the island, but they thought it no use to try to work her back to it. As they thought the captain and those men who went on shore with him had been murdered, the best course to pursue would be to take the ship to the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands and turn her over to the Consul. The men who lay dead were given a proper burial. When this was done, sail was made on the ship and a course laid for Honolulu, to which place she safely arrived in a few weeks'

time. The Consul took charge of the ship for the owners, sending word to them by the way of San Francisco and an account of the affair to Washington.

"The funny part of the whole thing was: after the ship had been laying in Honolulu some time, the Consul waiting for instructions to know what to do with her, a ship came in one day that had on board of it the captain and his whole boat's crew. On coming ashore the captain reported to the Consul he had been treated well by the natives after his ship left him, and had been released by the captain of the ship he came on, paying a ransom of two or three boxes of tobacco. He also said not one of the natives that went

on board the **Triton** had been heard of after, and he had felt sure the ship had not been taken; was sorry so many lives were lost, but glad to get back his ship again. He shipped more men and officers and went on with his voyage. The 3d mate got a good deal of credit for his bravery.”

By the time he had finished his yarn, the bell struck for the relief of the mastheads. The 4th Mate relieved the 2d Officer, a boat-steerer took my place, and we went down the riggin’ on deck.

By the time we arrived on deck the canoes could be seen from the rails. The island was about six or eight miles off and we seemed drawing towards it faster than ever. The Captain had the steward and boy bring on deck what firearms were in the cabin, consisting of some flintlock muskets, a few revolvers, and one double-barreled shotgun. These were loaded and stood against the mizzenmast. The lances were taken out of the boats and placed on top of the try-works, ready for use. The cutting spades were taken from the racks overhead, where they were kept, and laid along the decks, ready to be caught up at a moment’s notice. All ropes that were outside the ship and could be caught hold of to help anyone climb up the side were hauled in.

During the night I had had the toothache. It was still causing me a great deal of pain, so I went to the Mate and asked him to pull it out. He was always willing to do anything in the dentist or surgeon’s line for anyone on board the ship. He seemed to take pleasure in cutting or hacking on the human frame. He ought to have been a surgeon. When I spoke to him of what I wanted done, he stopped in what he was doing, looking at me for a minute straight in the eye, and suddenly broke out with the words. “I will be damned if I ever heard of such a damn fool thing in all my life. Here you are with three or four hundred black-skinned, whooping, roaring ugly devils just ready to board us, and if they do they will most likely feed the sharks with us before the sun sets—and you want me to p-u-l-l out a t-o-o-t h. Great Guns and bags of gold, who would have thought it? What in the name of Old Moll Row, or any other woman, do you want it done for just at this time, even if it does ache?”

“Well, I will tell you,” I said. “If the ship is taken by those fellows, some of us may be saved, and among those I may be one. Now, the 2d Mate tells me that about the only thing they have to eat is coconuts. I shall starve to death if my jaws are not in working order.”

He stood looking steadily at me without saying a word for a second or two, wheeled suddenly around, and started for the cabin, muttering, “Coconuts, be damned. I will pull your head off if you want me to. 170

It was not long before he came out of the cabin with a pair of those old-fashioned tooth pullers in his hand. Sitting me down on the after corner of the main hatch with my head leaning back against a coil of riggin’ hanging from a pin in the fife rail around the mainmast, he looked into my mouth and found the right tooth, shoved the instrument of torture over it, and bringing a sudden jerk on it, brought it out of my mouth with the tooth in its claw. Thinking by the shock he gave me he must have taken the jaw with it, as I wanted nothing removed but the tooth, I remarked as soon as possible,

that if he had no further use for my jaw to please put it back where he had taken it from. "Pooh," he said, áyou will not miss the piece I have. It is not more than half an inch long." He was right, I did not miss it, or some three or four more pieces that afterwards came out from the place he had fractured by letting the claw catch below the tooth, I suppose. "Such times as these, people must not be too exacting," he said. I thanked him.

It was about time, now, to make preparation for keeping the blueskins from boarding the ship. The Captain told the Mate to call the men down from mastheads and hoist all boats up to the davit heads, so the men would have no trouble handling the spades and lances under the boats against any that might attempt to crawl up the side under them; also, to station the men at working distance apart from bows to taffrail, each one armed with a spade or lance. The Captain would take charge of the quarter-deck, 4th Mate on one side, he on the other; 2d and 3d Mates amidships with three boat-steerers; and the Mate with one boat-steerer forward.

All was according to orders, and when the first canoes came close alongside and attempted to make fast to the ship, over the side came the bright gleaming spades and lances, with their sharp edges close to their hands reaching out to make fast on anything to hold the canoes, which caused them to shove off with shouts of fear and eyes sticking out like crabs'. After the first lot had tried it, they paddled out a good ship's length on each side of us, forming a line parallel with the ship that extended a short distance ahead and astern and was added to by canoes constantly arriving for an hour or two, and they formed a cluster twice the length of the ship and at least five or six deep. They were on both sides, jabbering and gesticulating with a din and uproar that made things hum. There must have been at least five hundred persons. Out of the number perhaps there might have been fifty women. Now and then some canoe with women in it would try to come alongside, but a clip with the sharp spade that took off from its side a sliver would send them paddling furiously away again.

The Captain gave orders not to kill any if it could be helped, unless some white man should be in one of the canoes and attempted to board the ship; and if he should attempt it a second time after being once warned, to kill him on sight. Now and then one would shake his fist at us. Sometimes one would brandish a short sawlike sword made of a strip of coconut wood, having on each edge the teeth of a shark lashed firmly the length of it and leaving just enough to form a handle—a wicked thing to use on a man's head or face, as, when they strike with it, at the same time it is drawn back, cutting the flesh like a saw from half to an inch in depth.

The Captain, standing on the poop deck with his musket in hand, seemed to afford them a good mark for ridicule. They jeered at him, made faces and signs of cutting his head off, and pointed to the island, as much as to say, "When you strike there, off will come your head." The old fellow stood it well. He would walk back and forth, whistling for a puff of wind to help carry us out of our trouble, and mutter an oath now and then.

This had gone on for some time, and we had got within three-quarters of a mile of the reef and midway of the island. The ship, which up to this time had been drifting straight as though steered for it, could now be seen to draw by the land almost as fast as she neared it. "If the reef under water does not bring us up, there is a good chance of our getting clear all right, after all." "Yes," said the Mate, "we seem to draw by faster now than we drift on the land. If we could put two boats ahead we could soon swing her clear, but the men in the boats would have no chance against the large numbers of natives that might pounce on them, so that cannot be thought of."

The natives about this time showed by their actions that they thought we might clear the island, after all, and they would lose the chance to pick the old ship's bones. It made some of the men in the canoes very demonstrative. Five or six of the canoes that had no women in them started from the crowd, paddling rapidly towards the ship. Each canoe had five men in it. As about the same number were approaching from the opposite side, it began to look like business had opened up; but we did not fear them much, as they had no firearms, and the shark's-teeth swords and spears they had would be dangerous only in close quarters, where we who manned the side would see that they did not get.

The Captain saw the movement and sung out, "Look out there for those fellow! Do not allow any to stop alongside but do not kill any if you can avoid it."

What was their motive in rushing in on us that way, I failed to understand, for when we put out the spades and lances against them as the canoes came dashing alongside, they sheared off and paddled away as fast as they had come, back to the crowd of canoes again, yelling and shouting like blue lightning. Now and then one canoe would paddle halfway out from the others towards the ship, and someone would raise up and yell out a lot of lingo, at the same time gesticulating rapidly, which would be answered with loud shouts accompanied by the pounding of the paddles in the other canoes in the water and against the sides. One or two of the orators, after winding up their harangues, would with the most indecent insults take their seat in the canoe, and away they would paddle.

By this time the Old Man was overrunning with rage. He sung out for someone to pass him up the shotgun that was loaded with double-B shot. Taking this in place of the musket, he swore to make it warm for the next fellow that attempted that insult again.

It was not long after that, before a canoe shoved out again and commenced the same harangue. This time the orator was a large dignified-looking chap, who had a big white shell fast to a string around his neck. His motions were all according to rule, and when he turned around in the canoe to go through the final act, as the others had done, Chesterfield could have been no more precise about it than he. To give his bow, backwards, more effect, he had placed a hand on each side of his person. As he bowed very low to give it all the effect possible, no clothes obstructed the shining mark. The Captain raised the gun to his shoulder, taking sure aim at the bull's eye, and pulled the trigger. The

next instant the native, with the same dignity as in all his former motions, went head-first into the water and that was the last seen of him.

No doubt he swam under water to the outside canoes and crawled into one, as quite a stir could be seen shortly afterwards amongst some of them. The canoe the dignitary had disappeared from lay quiet for a few minutes. The men in it seemed dazed, looked towards the hole in the water made by the sudden dive of their leader, then dipped their paddles into the water and furiously paddled the canoe into the center of the others. Not a word was heard from any of the natives for a time. Then a shout went up from them that almost made the reef points, hanging up and down against the lifeless top-sails, go pitter-p[atter].

"Look out now," exclaimed the Captain. "Some of the bold ones may make a rush. If they do try to board us, keep them off, but do not kill any unless you cannot help it."

In a few minutes a commotion could be seen amongst the canoes. Some six or eight on each side of the ship separated out from the others. In each one of these were six men. They seemed stout, ugly-looking fellows. The canoes took positions on both bows, beams, and quarters. After a few words with each other they commenced paddling towards the ship, coming alongside about together. Four or five in each canoe dropped their paddles like so many fool monkeys, caught hold of the chain plates and moldings with their fingers, and tried to climb up the ship's sides, which were bristling with steel fore and aft. Confusion reigned among them a few minutes after, as they tumbled back into the canoes and overboard, many of them bleeding from the cuts received on their bodies, arms and heads. None were killed outright but some could be seen hanging partly over in the canoes as they paddled slowly away, using but half the number of paddles. These canoes made straight for shore.

The body of those canoes that the boarders came from had drawn close in around the ship from both quarters, forming a circle around the bows; and of what must have been their reason for doing so, we could form but one idea. That was, in case the first lot had been able to get on deck, the others would rush in and overpower us, not taking into consideration that it was impossible for them ever to get through the line of glistening steel that guarded the ship's side.

No more attempts at boarding were made by them, nor were any more demonstrations of insult offered of the kind that had afforded a target for the Captain's workmanship. Both attempts to board having failed, they seemed satisfied that it was no use to think of getting charge of the ship that way.

We had now drifted in close enough to see the bottom under the ship and had neared the reef so that it was less than a quarter of a mile off. The critical moment was on us. Fifteen or twenty minutes now would tell the story, as the ship was very near the turning point of the island.

Five minutes passed. A dark-looking mass of coral passed slowly by on the starboard side, the copper on the bottom clear of it but scraping it just enough to break off some fringelike prongs, but touching it so lightly no jar was felt in the ship. At the same time other patches could be seen here and there on each side of us.

The natives now commenced to shout in a most infernal manner, rising up in their canoes, tossing up their paddles in the air, catching them by the handles when they came down and swinging them around like war clubs. No mistaking, the motions meant they would soon be beating out our brains, as the ship would soon strike and we would be at their mercy.

The minutes more threw out its long extent, the ship still drifting clear. The strain amongst us was easing up a bit for it now seemed that the distance had certainly widened between the ship and the reef out of water, on which the breakers were lazily showing a roll of milk-white foam where the blue edge of the sea crumbled itself.

The suspense for the last half-hour had been so great that no loud word had been spoken. The Old Man walked the poop deck with nervous steps, now and then gazing over the side down into the water, then towards the shore on which crowds of men, women and children could be seen among the coconut trees and around houses built of grass that line the shore, back of a white coral-sand beach.

The Mate in the bows suddenly caused every man's heart to jump into his throat by singing out to the Captain and pointing at the same time ahead: "Here is a patch of coral right across our bows just under water. The ship can never get over it."

"How far are we from it?" asked the Captain.

"Only about three ship's lengths," replied the Mate.

"How much on each bow?" was the next question.

To which the Mate answered, "On the starboard bow I can see no end, on the port bow about four points is the outer end.ø

This was apparently our final resting place, as from what he reported the ship would likely bring up on it in a few minutes. The natives thought so too, for those on shore could now be heard joining their caterwauling to those in the canoes, and they were dancing up and down with delight. But we had hardly made up our minds that there was no show for the ship when we all took notice that she commenced to turn around and to drift almost at right angles seaward from her former course; and in less than ten minutes we swept by the obstruction, all clear by fifteen or twenty feet. In half an hour we were in water a mile deep, by the look of it.

When we saw all danger past, did we not yell in derision to those blue-bellied beggars, who had stopped their clatter on seeing the ship pass what they made sure would be her doom! The guns and pistols were all fired off. At the same time three cheers were given, as they turned and paddled ashore.

By sunset the island was hull down, the decks were all cleaned up, and the spades and lances put away in the places where they belonged. The calm continued through the night. A light wind from the S.E. came up with the sun. With all sails swelling out from yards and clews, there was the merry rippling swash of the water under the bows as the old **Charles W. Morgan** slid through it without hardly raising or dropping the end of her fly jibboom. Adding to this, the coolness of the fresh morning breeze sent such feelings of relief and pleasure through the crew that they acted more like a lot of

wild schoolboys than men who had been almost baked by the sun's heat two or three days and had just got clear of a shipwreck, if nothing worse.

The wind increased during the next twenty-four hours until it blew a good topgallant breeze. It was quite a change for a few days from the light winds we had been having; then we had light winds again for the rest of our cruise, but no more such calms as came near piling us up on the reef of Sydenham Island.

We felt more thankful than ever about our escape from going ashore on Sydenham Island, after speaking the ship **Two Brothers**¹ and hearing her report of a ship belonging to Sydney which had been lost on that island only two or three weeks before our escape.²

It seems that this ship must have run on the same reef under water that we passed in getting out of our scrape. She, however, went ashore in the night, during a squall of wind and rain. She was a whaler and the captain had his wife on board. When daylight broke he took his wife in one of the boats and pulled on shore. On landing, the captain and men were immediately knocked on the head and the wife was carried away as a slave, which is the custom of these devils with all women captured by them. Another boat that was following the captain on shore was surrounded by natives in canoes, and the crew killed. Those on the ship, seeing this, and large numbers of canoes coming off to the ship, immediately lowered the other two boats. Throwing into them what few provisions could be got handily, and also a little water, they shoved the boats off from the ship, set the sails and stood out to sea, preferring to take the chance of being picked up by some ship before they starved than the sure chance of being killed by attempting to land. They were picked up a few days after by a ship the **Two Brothers** had spoken.

There was no sign of the ship when we went by the island. She had been burnt, no doubt, and the unburnt portion had most likely slipped off the reef into deep water. Months after, it was found out the captain's wife had met a fate far harder than that of those who had been killed outright. If this occurrence had been known to our Captain and officers at the time of our encounter with the natives, there would have been some less of their number left to perform such acts of outrage, as, let our fate be what it might, never from the start would one have escaped alive that could have been reached with anything to have killed him; This feeling was expressed by all, from the Old Man to the little cabin boy.

1 Ed. note: Of New Bedford, Captain E. Nichols, 1851-54 voyage.

2 Ed. note: The **Flying Fox** was her name, according to Jones (aboard the *Emily Morgan*), but the year was 1850.

Chapter 5. Strong's Island

[Visit to Kosrae in early 1852]

We continued our cruise for some six weeks longer and took whales enough to make us about two hundred and fifty barrels. When we had got into the Long. of 165° E., Lat. of 7° N., the time was drawing near for turning our jibboom to the South for a cruise off the New Zealand whaling grounds, but, as we needed wood and water, the Captain made up his mind to make a port of an island about one day's sail from the position we then occupied, called by sailors Strong's Island.

The course being laid for it N.N.W., all sail was set, with fore- topmast and main-topgallant studding sails sent out. In twenty- four hours' time, with a fair fresh breeze, the island hove in sight. We did not get near enough to anchor on the day we sighted it, so at sunset the studding sails were hauled down and the ship brought to the wind under whole topsails. During the night we laid off and on. At daylight, the island being some eight or ten miles off, all sail was set on the ship except the studing sails, and she headed towards it. Shortly after breakfast we had approached within two miles of it and luffed the ship by the wind with the main topsail to the mast.

The Captain had never been at this island before, nor had any of the officers, and no chart we had on board gave any directions how to find anchorage. The Captain started in a boat towards the land, telling the Mate to keep the ship close in, and, upon seeing the boat with a flag set, to keep the ship for it, as he would have found the anchorage.

The boat pulled in to the land and I, being at the mast head, could see her go out of sight into a line of breakers. Knowing the Captain must have found a passage through a reef that seemed from where I stood to form a barrier from two points across a deep bay, I reported to the Mate the fact of the boat's disappearance through a passage in the reef. "All right," he replied, and shortly after gave the order, "Wear ship," as the boat had entered the reef on the ship's lee quarter, Wearing around until the ship pointed towards where I last saw the boat, the wheel was steadied and the yards trimmed. After running by that course until we got within a short half- mile, the yards were braced sharp up and the ship brought to the wind. The Mate hailed me and asked if I could see anything that looked like a passage through the reef,

I told him that I could see a passage into a small beautiful bay, but hardly thought a ship could go through it as it was very narrow, although it seemed deep and short.

The ship's head was then brought to the wind and the yards braces sharp up, and we tacked back and forth for a couple of hours, until the boat with a flag set could be seen pulling out of the passage.

"That means the place," said the Mate. "Hard up the wheel!"

"Aye, aye, sir!" said the man at it.

"Square in the after yards," was his next order.

We headed now for the boat and soon ran down to it. The Captain, who was in the boat, called out to the Mate, when near enough to hail the ship, to keep right ahead on the course now steering; that he could get out of the boat without luffing the ship by the wind. The wind being light, the boat swung alongside without any trouble and the Captain and boat's crew came on deck, leaving one man in the boat to keep it off from the ship's side.

Arriving on deck, the Old Man told the Mate that it was the prettiest little harbor he had seen for many a day, although the entrance to it, through the reef, was very narrow. "You can see the opening now, in the line of breakers, just as the jibboom points," he said, "Have you the anchors all ready to let go?"

"Yes, sir," replied the Mate.

The passage could now be plainly seen no great distance off, showing a smooth opening in the milk-white, dashing, roaring breakers that were sending up sheets of foam as the sea rolled against the obstruction on each side of it. The passage was perhaps one hundred feet in width and very deep, so that the sea had no chance to form a comber but had to be contented in raising a slight roller at the mouth, which soon ran down in the smoothness of the lake-like harbor, completely land-locked.

It looked queer to see the ship heading for that little opening not as wide as her length, where a sudden whirl of a few spokes of the wheel, either to port or starboard, would send the noble ship with her lofty masts and white swelling sails to destruction in a few minutes. By looking on either side, as she sent her jibboom into the passage, sharp-pointed masses of coral rocks could be seen, against which the sea exhausted its force and settled back with loud and angry roars that might mean, "We failed to tear you asunder this time—but look out, when we roll in on you next time!"

Hardly had we entered the passage when came the orders from the Captain, who stood on the bows between the knightheads, conning the ship. "Haul up the foresail! Haul down the jibs! Clew up top-gallant sails!"

These orders were quickly obeyed and the ship now was running under her three topssails. As we had been running before the wind, the mainsail had been hanging in the buntlines.

From the entrance to where we were at the time sail was taken off the ship might be one thousand feet. Then we shot into a bay of glassy smooth water of an oval shape, the passage to it about one third its length from shore, where it ended on the left. To the right could be seen a longer stretch of water, extending some way past the point of land that joined the reef we had passed through. We had hardly time to glance at the surroundings when the Captain gave the order to "Port the wheel!" Then, "Brace up the topsails, port braces!" And, "Steady!" as the ship luffed and headed towards the head of the lovely lake-like harbor, shooting past the point of land on our right.

Two or three ships lengths later came the next order: "Clew up the topsails! Stand by the anchor!"

The topsail halyards were let go by the run, at the same time the topsail sheets were cast off from the pins that held them, and before the yards had hardly settled on their lifts, all three topsails were hanging to the yards by clewlines and buntlines.

“Hard a port your wheel” The ship, having still way enough, turned her head towards the right-hand shore, which was now some three ship’s lengths off. “Let go the anchor!”

“Aye, aye, sir,” replied the Mate, at the same time saying to the boat-steerer who had it all ready, “Let go ring stopper! Stand clear the chain!” Down went the anchor into the water with a splash, and the chain flew out the hawser hole and around the windlass with a rattle that woke the echoes from the highlands on three sides of us. After giving the ship thirty fathoms of chain on her anchor, which lay in four fathoms of water, the men lay aloft and soon had all sails furled.

After the riggin’ had been coiled up and the decks swept off, we took a look at our surroundings. The ship lay within three hundred feet of the beach that was composed of sand coral and disintegrated lava. This beach extended to our right until, joining the reef we had passed through in getting in, it followed around a point out of sight from where we lay. On our left, looking towards the land near us in both instances, the beach followed the land until it was lost around a point that was near the main island beside which was a passage to the sea for canoes. By this we found the harbor formed from an island that had two points running into the sea about two miles apart, the widest part of the bay joining the shore on the main island about a mile distant. The mangrove trees all along on that side gave the appearance of a thick jungle of shrubbery growing in the open water. No beach or any landing could be seen when the tide was high.

The land on the main island rose quite abruptly to the height, I should think, of twenty-five hundred feet, and was covered thickly with tropical vegetation to the summit. The small island was in the highest place, say, fifty feet, running from that point each way fore and aft (lengthwise) with a regularity in its outline that a batch of dough would have, when poured out of a pan, before it had time to flatten. The island was not much over half a mile across; and the whole affair was volcanic, with trees and shrubs growing in pockets of alluvial and in the crevices amongst the rocks.

[Kosrae natives described]

Not many houses could be seen from the ship. A large house stood out clear from the coconut trees that stood quite thick just back of the beach, and this was pointed out as belonging to Captain Hussey, who had left his ship and taken up his home here, for reason I will speak of later on. The strange thing was the few canoes they seemed to have. Up to the time we went to supper, but two or three unseaworthy-looking affairs had been alongside, they bringing only a few coconuts and some wild mountain bananas that were better cooked than eaten raw. The natives that came in the canoes seemed such down-hearted, broken-down, lifeless things that it caused great surprise to us all; but later on I, for one, could see a good reason for it. Those we saw first were a fair sample of their class. Their color was lighter by a number of shades than those we had

seen among the Kingsmill group when cruising there, and their features more regular, but physically there was no comparison.

Shortly after the decks were cleared up, the Captain had gone on shore to visit Captain Hussey, sending the boat back for bread, flour, tea, coffee and other stores, with word to the Mate that he would make his quarters in Captain Hussey's house while the ship remained in that port.

After supper the Mate told the other officers that everybody but a boat's crew watch could go on shore if they wanted to, as there would be no liberty given during the week days. The 3d and 4th Mates with most of the crew went on shore, but I, having the first watch with my boat's crew, did not join them.

The Mate and the 2d Officer stopped on deck most of the watch, smoking and talking. The night was lovely, with a small moon just large enough to cast a faint shadow of the ship's tall masts and yards on the glassy smooth water; so still that only a faint tinkling sound could be heard from the beach as the ripples tried to creep up and run back on the shore without disturbing the death-like silence of the secluded and wonderful little place. The stars shone with such a clearness from the dark-blue sky that the smallest one that could be seen by the naked eye could be plainly observed. Not a sound from shore could be heard, any more than from a graveyard. The officers and men on deck talked in a low tone of voice, seeming fearful to break the peaceful silence.

Walking aft to where the officers sat, I spoke to them of the holy silence of the night and asked them if it could be possible that such a peaceful place could ever have been disturbed by such acts of horror as many of the South Sea Islands had been.

The Mate spoke up and said, "Beyond a doubt this island, like many others, has had lots of fighting and killing amongst themselves, but of that I have never heard, and seeing so far but few natives, it leads me to suppose that plenty of that going on has reduced the number."

Turning to the 2d Mate, he asked him if he ever heard of that brig being taken here and burnt by the natives? The 2d Mate replied that he had heard something about it, but did not know how it occurred.

"It seems," said the Mate "a brig that was sailing from Hobart Town, on a whaling voyage some two or three years ago, put in here for wood and water, as we have. She had some liquor on board, which was handed around pretty freely, the captain keeping drunk most of the time. During the time this was going on, quite a number of quarrels had happened between the natives and crew. At last some trouble about women occurred and the natives rose on them one night, when most of them were on shore sleeping around at different houses, and killed them, the women helping. As soon as the men on shore were disposed of, they went on board the brig and killed the captain, who had gone to bed drunk, and slaughtered the rest of the men except the cabin boy. Him they took ashore and he lived some time with them, until a ship called and he escaped on board of her. The natives plundered the brig of what they wanted and then burnt her—the hulk of her lies somewhere on the bottom beneath us."

“Well,” said the 2d Mate, “if they wanted to do so, they could play some such a game on us, if the men are allowed to keep on shore.”

“I don’t think there is any danger from them now. The instance I spoke of is the only one I know, and besides, Captain Hussey has been living here amongst them for some time,” said the mate, at the same time rising up from his seat. Saying he was going to turn in, he told me to keep a good lookout that he did not wake up with his throat cut by the beggars coming on board.

With a word or two more about how pleasant the evening was, he and the 2d Mate went into the cabin, leaving me the deserted deck. The five or six men on the deck forward were stretched out full length, with a coil of riggin for a pillow.

Walking the deck and thinking, I told myself that somewhere under the ship lying on the bottom were the charred bones of men who had gazed on the scenes now around us; men who perhaps had as much affection for their homes and friends as I, and looked forward to meet on their return fond mothers and loving brothers and sisters, cut short of life by the hands of some of these same savages that now were almost within hail of us. Such notions running through my mind caused the night to have a different look, and the moon settling behind the hills seemed to add by the loss of its light to my dismal thoughts. When the boat-steerer and his crew that relieved us came off from shore at ten P.M., I went below and turned in feeling far different than I did at the first part of my watch. I soon fell asleep, though, and had no bad dreams, as I recall.

At daylight all hands were called and by noon we had rafted empty casks enough to hold at least 150 barrels of water. When dinner was over three boats took the raft in tow. A native went in our boat to point out the place we had to go, as the shore line on the main island towards which we were pulling showed no openings in the mangrove branches that were sweeping in the water. After we had pulled almost near enough to send our boat crashing into the branches, the native said something in his lingo that sounded more like telling you to go to hell than anything else, and waved his hand furiously for us to turn the boat to the left. After a few strokes more, an opening could be seen a ship’s length wide.

We pulled for a little time longer and came to an opening in a bank of mud through which, by hard pulling, we succeeded in placing the raft. The mangrove trees were now quite a distance away from us on each side, and we were in a stream of pure fresh water fifteen or twenty feet wide, flowing quite swiftly towards the bay and carrying a depth of four or five feet.

making the ends of the raft rope fast, we knocked out the bungs of the casks, and by rolling them partly over we soon filled them. During this time, eight or ten young girls were tumbling about in the water, close to the men at work; and the most timid man in the crew at work there said he was not afraid, even if they had left their bathing clothes at home.

By dark we had the casks alongside and hoisted aboard. After getting supper, the mate said the Captain had told him there would be no need of a watch, but that during the

night any officer or boat-steerer who happened to be sleeping aboard could take a turn now and then on deck; and a boat with a line fast at each end, one on shore and one fast on ship, could be used by anyone to come or go in, without having to hail the ship or shore. This was rendered easy, as, during the time of our being away filling water, the Mate had run out a hawser to the shore, making it fast to a convenient tree and taking the other end through the hole in the quarter (used for the head rope in cutting a whale) to the capstan. Heaving the same taut, he kept the ship from seinging around her anchor and brought the stern within 100 feet of the shore. This was perfectly safe to do, as but very little wind ever blows there.

From what the other boat-steerers told me about what they had seen on shore the night before, I came to the conclusion to take a turn myself, so, taking as the rest did a lamp that had a tubelike fixture in the bottom that would fit over a stick three or four feet long, I went on shore with two or three others. AS it was dark when we landed, we lit up as soon as clear of the beach and into the shrubbery, those who had been on shore before going ahead.

The night was perfectly calm, with no more flicker to the wicks than being in a closed room. After tumbling over a path of rough stones with thick bushes on either side, we entered what seemed to me a deep cut, the sides some twenty to thirty feet apart and at least twenty high. Of that I could not determine, as the lamps would not throw out light high enough to see, but the stars could be seen overhead where the trees and vines left openings.

"Hold on, boys," I sung out. "What in the name of thunder have we here on each side of us?"

The reply to my question was, "Stone walls." Sure enough, they were, and, my sight getting better as we passed along, I could see many enormous rocks in these walls. After stumbling along between them for a time, we came to an opening in the one on our right. The sides of this opening were about ten or fifteen feet apart, and it could be seen that the large flat stones were laid with such care and precision that a stone mason might be proud of the work.

The boys ahead turned into this open gateway and I followed. After entering, we found a large open space, covered with stunted grass, in front of a long thatched house that could have been no less than one hundred feet in length by twenty in width, having sides ten or twelve feet in height, with a row of stout timbers, each some twenty feet tall, running through the center to support the ridge. In front of the house a bonfire was brightly burning, back of which sat a man by himself, who at our approach made signs for us to sit around him. As we stowed ourselves on the ground I asked MacCoy, one of the boat-steerers, who this fellow might be.

"His name is Kanker," he answered, "and he is the King's son, and can talk first-rate English when he is not full of *awva* [kava], which he seems to be tonight." This I found true, and on becoming acquainted with him, as I shall presently relate, I found him to possess the most wonderful abilities of memory that I have ever seen displayed by any man.

The fire in front of us lit up the whole enclosure, showing on our right a high wall that joined the wall we had followed in coming here at right angles, just clear of the open gate way. On the left, coming in, it was about the same height, and ran back into the darkness. Just clear of the end of the house, on our left, the bushes cut off all view beyond twenty or thirty feet, and the wall was lost to view in the same jungle that ran to it from out of the darkness. Where we were showed like a large courtyard, with the house and front walls for background on our right, and on our left shrubbery.

Shortly after we had got into our places, coconut shells cut in half, answering as cups, were handed round by natives crawling on their knees to reach us. Looking into the one handed to me, I saw it was two-thirds full of nasty-looking liquid, almost as thick as mustang liniment. This I knew to be *awva*, U gad seeb *awva* before but never cared to taste it. This that I had in my hand may have been some of the finest that ever was chewed [sic]; and if to use the rule they who drink it say is the test, "The worse *awva* looks, the better it is when drank," then what I had in my cup must have been nectar borrowed from the gods.¹

I quietly set the mess partly behind me. I was not longing for an emetic just then, so I kept my eyes away from it, or no doubt I should have spilled myself all over the banquet ground. As it was, looking up to MacCoy, who faced me, just as he removed the shell that contained the dose he had been drinking away from his mouth, I saw strings of the vile decoction showing in the bright light, running down his moustache. I left the table pretty suddenly and went into the house.

Looking around me, after getting inside, I found the two ends were not enclosed. This, with a wide space left open on each side, one of which I had entered through, gave plenty of ventilation. A short distance apart, between the posts through the center of the house that supported the roof, were sticks stuck in the ground, on which were rows of the meats from a nut. These were nearly round and about the size of a large shell-bark. These contained so much oil that, by lighting the one at the top first, it would burn freely and, when consumed, would ignite the next in row, and so on until the last one had burnt out. Each nut would give about the power of three candles. When burning they gave out lots of smoke, but it would not be noticed in a place so open as this was.

Along one side of the house, halfway between it and the posts and midway of the house, was a smooth piece of timber of some hard wood, having an oval shape on the outside. Two-thirds around it the inside had been hoolowed out, leaving a shell from two to three inches its full length, which was some twenty-five feet. The rounded side lay upwards; and when struck with a piece of ironwood used for that purpose, it gave out a note that sounded more like the croak of a bullfrog with a cold than any other musical sound.

1 Ed. note: Haley's description of how kawa was made in Kosrae (see below) was certainly borrowed from Polynesia, as it does not correspond to how it was prepared in Micronesia, by pounding. Remember that he lived in Hawaii, when he wrote this, and that kava is called *subka* in Kosrae.

Some eight or ten men and women were in one end of the house, preparing the provisions in liquid form. This was done by breaking off, from a cluster of spider-shaped roots, a piece the size that could be conveniently placed into the mouth and chewed. After thorough mastication, it was removed from the mouth in a wad that looked like a bunch of dirty strings, only a little more so. This was thrown by each one into a large open calabash, and when it was full a man took it to one side and added water to the mess, manipulating it for a time. When he had succeeded in bringing the water to as sickly-looking a porridge as possible, he would withdraw his hands, streaming with that mustang liniment-looking affair. Next he took a piece of the fibrous substance that is found attached to the top of the coconut tree, around the trunk close to where the stems of the leaves join. This looks something like a hair sieve, and will strain anything about as well. Placing this over a part of the calabash, he strained this most delectable nectar into shells held out to him by man or woman.

Oh, ye gods! To what lengths will not humans resort for the gratification of vile passions? This stuff has to be drunk as soon as made, I have been told. Some of the machines manufacturing this compound, as they were quite good-looking girls, might help the stuff go down better; and that was all I saw about the process that was not too disgusting.

I went out again into the square. A number of natives could be seen on their knees with heads bowed down, around the entrance to the enclosure. On my asking what that means, the boys told me they could come no farther until Kanker had made a sign or told them to move, as it was death for any native to move backwards or forwards after coming in his sight until he gave them leave so to do; and then as long as he was in their sight they could move in no other way but stooping as low down to the ground as they could make progress. This custom I found to prevail, and a more abject class of natives I never saw. Everything belonged to the rulers, nothing was exempt.

On a signal being given by Kanker, the natives at the gateway came crouching close along the wall as far from where we sat as possible and crawled into the house. There must have been forty of them at least. When all had got in, Kanker, half-stupefied from the *awva* he had inbibed, staggered towards the opening in the house, saying to us, "Come on, boys."

We followed him in and found, on getting inside, a row of natives seated along the hollow log, each one having a short stick in hand, and on the opposite side, facing them, another row of men and women with garlands of leaves around their necks; this being about all the dress they did have. Well, the night was warm anyhow. All bowed low and kept their heads down when kanker came in and took a seat that had been prepared by placing on the ground a number of fern leaves. I did not know but some of the poor devils would unjoint their necks before the heartless Kanker gave the word for the band to strike up.

The first burst of the music and song was heart-rending. I commenced to feel for the top of my head to see if it had followed the hair. After a time I recovered from the shock,

and I then could understand what I had heard about persons becoming used to horrible sounds and thinking nothing about them.

Becoming somewhat calm, I took a look at the actors and found that their arms and bodies were moving in sympathy to the song they were howling with voices like mad bulls, though not so loud sometimes but what the log music could be caught. The fellows pounding it were doing their level best, with their skins shining with perspiration like a porpoise's hide when he springs out into the air.

If it had not been for the infernal din raised by them, the sight would have been more pleasing. The song that created the most disturbance had words over and over again that sounded like:

A-h—f-a-r—a-w-a-y—f-a-r—a-w-a-y,
A-h—f-a-r—f-a-r—a-w-a-y.

At times they would stand erect, all except the drummers, their bodies leaning forward, backward, sideways, stooping halfway down, raising up, arms to right or left, above the head or pointing down, in perfect keeping with each other, as perfect as machinery.

I suppose a side issue was given for our benefit when six men and six women stood up opposite each other. The band struck up, and catching step with its strains they skipped towards each other with hands raised above the heads, palms outwards. Meeting halfway, the palms of the hands were brought forward together, making but one sound; then down on their naked thighs on the outside, and back again, something like the boys and girls do when playing "Pretty Polly Hopkins."

After repeating this a number of times, accompanied with the usual screeching that must pass, I suppose, for singing, back they would step into their places. Then taking some other queer freak into their heads, they would kick out first one leg nearly at right angles to the body, drop it, take one step forward, and send out the other. Coming together in the center at the right moment for the woman's right leg to be raised when the man's left came up, each stood with the other's leg in his crotch for a few moments, then made a stern board to places again. At times they would appear almost as if no bones could exist in those parts. As most of the time during this exhibition the women faced us backwards, a good chance was afforded for us to see the full development of their muscles. In some of their movements they were almost as supple as the Sandwich Island women, who are noted as being the leaders of the world in that art, or pastime.

This and other kinds of entertainment were kept up for some hours. There was quite a display of different things in the way of eatables, such as breadfruit, yams, a poor kind of taro, fish, wild pigeon and bananas. These all had been cooked in the ground, but no-one took any of it except ourselves and the chiefs. During the time the programme was being carried out, *awva* had been passed around freely. Some of our boys

and the 4th Mate were as drunk on it as Kanker was, who lay snoring in a drunken slumber, leaning against two or three of his slaves.

One of the dishes served that night I ate more heartily of than anything I ever have had compounded for me by such natives, before or since. The boys called it pudding. Well, it certainly did look like one, and a rich one at that. The arrangement was placed before us resting on a number of bright green leaves. These leaves, some 18 inches long and carrying their size well towards the rounded point at the end, had been placed around the pudding when bringing it to serve. The ends that fastened on top having been cast off, these were laid down to make a clean, inviting resting place for it. It was about the size of a large ball in a tenpin alley, snow white, without the faintest sign of dirt on or around it, and had the rich look of ice cream. I ate so heartily of it that I was ashamed of myself.

Kanker told me afterwards that such are only made for him or his friends, and no one is allowed to mix them up with his bare hands. The pudding is made of breadfruit, a certain sweet kind of yam, bananas, and the meat of the young coconuts when they are just soft. It is handled with a spoon, all moistened with the juice from sugar cane pounded up and squeezed through some of the coconut fiber; then made into a ball, covered with leaves of a certain kind, and baked in the ground for hours. When taken out and all the leaves from the outside removed with much care it is wrapped up as we saw it placed before us.

After finishing my share of the feast, I filled my pipe. Lighting it, I took a look around me. Some of the natives had disappeared. What were left had gathered in one end and were signing something that sounded much better, as one could hardly hear it. Most of the women had also gone, and so had all the boys that the *awva* had not sent to sleep. The 3d Mate had disappeared about the same time one of the Prima Donnas had, but I do not say that that had anything to do with it. The last nuts were burning out on the sticks in the ground as I took a final look at the wreckage in the house and started to go on board.

I lit my lamp, which I had put out and stowed away when first coming there, and took my way towards the boat by the path I had come. As I passed by those wonderful walls, my mind was made up that my first Sunday should be in part devoted to having a look at them.

Next morning the Mate roused out what men there were on board, and by sunrise the rest made their appearance. Some of the boat-steerers and crew looked as though they had passed through a bad winter—and poorly housed, at that. By noon we had stowed down the water and started another raft of empty casks on shore; and then I was put to a job that suited me the best of anything while we lay in that place. The Mate wanted pigeons shot, to give us in the cabin fresh meat of some kind for the table. As wild pigeons abounded in the woods, he inquired which of the boat-steerers could handle a gun. None of the others seemed to care for tramping through the woods with

a double-barreled shotgun, to shoot pigeons or anything else, and as I was most eager for such sport, it was voted that on me rested the duty of supplying the demand.

I took with me plenty of powder and shot and a native boy about twelve years old to carry the game. In the morning, after breakfast, a boat would be sent to land me on some point where solid ground existed on the large island, clear of the mangrove trees, and it would come for me in the afternoon on my coming in sight and discharging my gun.

Well, I need to have barrels of fun wandering among the immense, strange tropical growth of trees and shrubbery. I found plenty of wild pigeons, but took fine care not to shoot so many in any one day that it would interfere with my shooting the next.

One of the days when out four pigeons, I came out of the woods onto a beach, clear of trees back of it, except for a grove of coconut trees under which lay a number of nuts that had ripened and fallen from them. As it was about noon, I chose a comfortable seat in the shade. Sitting on a slight mound made where the roots of one entered the ground, and resting my back against the trunk. I had a fine cool seat. I took out my lunch of salt beef and hardtack and began to eat, feeling as happy as a lord.

Nothing disturbed the quietness of the surroundings (I had not brought the native boy with me) except the attempt of a bird, now and then, amongst the trees farther back, to sing a low note. Perhaps frightened at his own voice, he would stop almost as soon as he started. Even the surf on the beach, as the sea was calm, would roll a comb in, start to curve and break, but tumble itself into a heap and send a small wave rolling a short distance away. These put me in mind of a mother raising a threatening band to her child, and, after raising it quickly to the full extent over her head, slowly lowering it and saying as it reached her side, "I—am—a—good—mind—to-o-æ

I had been gnawing away on my hardtack and salt junk for a bit, when I saw one of the coconuts some little distance away from me roll over. I stopped eating, for I was startled. It turned completely over; but not seeing any more movements in it, I commenced to eat again. Shortly after I caught a chill, and it went all over my whole body. Even my hair seemed bristly. I certainly could hear plainly the rustlings of the dry coconut stems and leaves that thickly covered the ground around me, and could see some of them move.

There was not wind enough to move a feather, let alone one of those stems that would weigh four or five pounds. I lost my appetite right away, I do not think I finished chewing what was in my mouth, but dropped it into the lower hold as quickly as possible. I began to believe that the supernatural did exist when the climax took place; for I saw a dry coconut not more than thirty or forty feet from me fly into the air a foot or so (it had been lying on a bunch of leaves and stems on a slight ridge, and come tumbling towards me. I made up my mind that if the Devil was not here, it was about as good a place as he could find.

Grabbing my gun, pigeons and accoutrements, I started to leave things just as I had found them. I would have humbly made apology for intruding to any and all things, but not knowing how it might be received, I did not attempt it. By going out on the

beach and following it around, I could get within hail of the ship, or at least where my gun could be heard, by ten or 11 P.M To be sure, every step I too, my foot would sink in the soft sand to the ankles, but I should not run any danger of "malaria," as I might by travelling through the woods for an hour and a half the other way.

I think this was about the first time I had thought so much about my health and the danger from malaria. I also about made up my mind to tell the Mate, when I got on board, that the malaria had taken such a hold of me that I did not think it would be safe for my health to shoot any more pigeons, unless two or three of us went together.

I had not made but a step or two from where I had left the balance of the lunch I had no use for, when I saw before me the most wonderful crab I ever have seen before or since. In his two immense claws he had a coconut, and he seemed trying to pull the husk off it. This explained the mystery of the moving coconuts. All thoughts of malaria were banished from my mind and in my eagerness to watch his movements I made too much noise, which caused him to drop his dinner. He was suddenly disappearing under the stems and leaves. Raising my gun to my shoulder, I pulled the strigger; but on pulling the wreck of him from under the stems, where he had partly succeeded in concealing himself, I found the shot had almost destroyed his shape. As near as I could decide from the pieces, he must have been about eight inches long, clear of two heavy short claws, one sharp-pointed, the other more stublike. These denoted that he might be capable of taking the husk off an old coconut, breaking the shell, and eating the meat. I was told afterwards that this is their principal food, and that these crabs have been known to ascend a tree and cut the stem of growing coconuts when none could be found on the ground. They live mostly on dry land, only going into water at certain seasons of the year; are very shy and only pugnacious when cornered; and they have been known to crush a dog's legs in their claws. The natives will not eat them, as they say they will dig up a person who has been buried and eat the meat from the bones.

Another day, I brought down an immense animal, bird or vampire. These things I had seen, now and then, through the openings in the trees, flying back and forth from one igh tree top to another. The shot broke one of its fins, or wings, and when it struck the ground "thud" with only one of those things attached to it, the young imp of a dark-complexioned gentleman, standing just below, started off into the woods away from it, yelling at the top of his voice, "Dibalo!". He meant, as I found out afterwards, that I had shot the Devil, and until I had left the thing some distance behind on the ground, he would not come near me again.

On my approach to the thing, which was lying partly on its back, it struggled to right itself up and make for me, showing a shining row of sharp white teeth in a mouth stretched to its limits, with two long fangs projecting from each row of teeth, like a dog's. The head of this arrangement was in shape like a fox's, the eyes small, black, and running over with a devilish look that made me a little careful not to get within the reach of his teeth. His ears were sticking up straight from his head, which was three inches long, I should say, and covered with a short reddish hair like its body, which was in shape something like a squirrel's, and perhaps ten inches in length. Where the fore-

legs should project, long slim whalebone-like bones extended, having three joints ending in numerous fibers. These all ran downwards except two at the first and second joints. They were larger in size and ran upwards, having a claw-like hook projecting half an inch or more on the ends. These answered to hold the beast in place when he hung on the limb of a tree with all sail furled, looking like a bundle of black stockings on a line to dry. A short outrigger of the same kind ran out each side, where the hind legs would be. Over this network of bones and fibrous matter hung a loose, greasy, black, nasty-looking membrane. This formed the sail, when spread.

To put it out of longing for bananas or pawpaws any more, I gave it the charge of shot remaining in the other barrel of my gun. I found out afterwards that my fears were groundless about its biting me, as I was told they can be handled without fear. The natives, however, are superstitious about them, and will not go near one if they can help it.

Among the things the natives do believe in, is the existence of the Devil; and as far as I could sound the depth of water they drew in that direction, that was all they did believe, anyway, in the dim and distant. When one of the head men (the common man has no place here or in the future, with them) has a dream that his Satanic Majesty figures in, he assembles everybody at one end of this small island, on which the King and leading dukes live. (There are no duchesses or ladies here; they have other uses for the female women in this hell hole of depravity.) With loud shouts they form a close line stretching from water to water. Drumming on calabashes, pounding with a stick in one hand on a joint or two of bamboo held in the other, blowing huge conch shells through small holes made in the spiral ends to fit the mouth, yelling and screeching, they slowly advance towards the opposite end of the island until they reach the beach. Then, jamming together so that a cat could not well get through the line, they advance into the water until waist deep. After splashing the water furiously for fifteen or twenty minutes, they have succeeded in removing the Devil from their midst—as the dream was supposed to tell he had been.

If this line of march is broken by a man falling down, or a gap being made in any way, then all have to return and form over again, as through such an opening the Devil has found a way to dodge. If a dream happens on the very night after these poor devils have, the day before, put him to flight, the same religious worship is repeated. Need missionaries? Oh, no; why should such saint-like devotions be interfered with?¹

During the time our ship lay there, they had one of these sublime and soul-stirring damnable times, and the dreadful din they made lasted in our ears for a week afterwards. We thanked our stars that no mistake had been made in the grand rally, as, if another had followed the first within a day or two, it might have rattled the royal trucks off the masthead.

1 Ed. note: Protestant missionaries were about to arrive and settle at Kosrae within a year of Haley's visit.

One day, when out cutting ironwood poles, we came to a small village, and the sight of the people in it was perfectly terrible. They were simply being eaten up alive with the most loathsome of diseases. The state some of them were in was so sickening that I hurried away into the woods and cursed the white man who had turned loose this horrible thing among these poor helpless people.¹ The sight of those in that village, where they had been put out by themselves to be slowly eaten up by the disease, haunted me for years.

When I was on shore one Sunday, and he perfectly sober, I made it a point to meet Kanker. He stood about five feet, ten inches in height; a perfect form. His eyes, although a little dim from drinking *awva*, sparkled with spirit and intelligence when talking. His profile was fine, his age I should think to be about thirty-two or three.

I questioned him, asking how he became so well informed of events, persons and matters that were in all parts of the world where he had never visited. "If you had missionaries here," I said to him, "with schools, then I could understand something about how you acquired some of the knowledge you possess. But even then, I can hardly see how from that source you could know so many things that you do."

He informed me that he would tell me all about what I asked him, by and by; but he, right then, wanted me to answer a question about his allowing the missionaries to settle there. Some had wanted to come, but he and his father had refused to allow them to land, as they had been told by a number of captains and the crews of ships that had come here, that the missionaries would, if he allowed them to land, take all of any value from them and leave them poor. And the men who had left ships here, and had lived with them, also had told them no tobacco would be allowed to land, and that the women would not be able to get Jew's-hars, fishhooks and many other things.

"Now, I like you tell me what I do," said Kanker. "I see you no all same plenty other man. You no care stop all night shore, you no drink *awva*. You not tell me lie, I thought so," was the finale of the question he wanted me to answer.

For a few minutes I did not reply. He also was silent, but looking at me steadily out of his beautiful, dark-brown, intelligent eyes. Sailor as I was, with many of the faults that accompany that life, I could not answer him in any other way but what I thought was the truth, and best for him and his island home. I think that for a few moments the thoughts in my mind were as deep as ever I have had, before or since. It seemed that on me hung perhaps the lives of many poor girls, and the ruined health of numbers of young men who would come there in ships. These and many other thoughts flashed with lightning rapidity through my mind; but in a short time I roused up, and with a laugh to myself, if any of the boys saw the reckless, fun-loving and devil-may-care Nelt in the guise of a preacher, how they would roar with laughter, I said to him:

1 Ed. note: The white man was not responsible for leprosy in Kosrae. It was endemic (see HM21:400, 477).

“Kanker, I will tell you what I think is best for you and your people. Let the missionaries come, give them a piece of land, and help them put up a house. Do all you can to get the natives to attend the schools. You can attend the school yourself, and they will be only too glad to teach you. You are too bright a man to kill yourself with drink. Those white men who run away from ships here are bad men. Have nothing to do with them. They are the ones that want nothing good.

“Now, I will tell you what the average men will do who come out here as missionaries, and give you some reasons why you should do all you can to help them. But I warn you to look out at the same time that they do not take advantage of your good nature, and serve you as some natives on other islands in the Pacific Ocean have been—more so perhaps in the Sandwich Islands, where missionaries have been allowed by the natives great privileges, and rule those islands with more power than the King.

169 There must have been on this island, not many years ago large numbers of people. What has killed a great many no doubt, is the disease brought here by the men on ships visiting this place, with no remedy known to you to cure it. They slowly die with it, as numbers are dying today, over on the big island where we saw them the other day when we went to get wood.

“The missionaries will bring medicines to cure such diseases, and will do all they can to stop any more being afflicted by putting a taboo on what is so common here now. They will teach the women and girls how to make hats and other things instead, that will give them such things as they need. Instead of all your people dying off, in a few years there will be more inhabitants on this island than there are today. One thing more I will say. That is, you, who want to know so much how to read and write, and also about the things of the world, should do all you can to have them come, so as to reap the advantages that you will have by their information.”

He had been watching me closely during the time I had been rattling off the answer to his question; and he held his gaze fixed on me for half a minute after I finished. Then, jumping up, he said, “You no lie! I no hear sailor man speak all same you do. Me tell mekenery come quick!”

He no doubt kept his word, as hardly a year elapsed before a Mr. and Mrs. Snow settled on the island,¹ and from all accounts they were among the better class of that kind of people. I have found in my dealings with the missionary element, that while all perhaps may be good, you can still find some a great deal better than others.

Here was the most remarkable native I have ever met; and I must speak of what Kanker told me in regard to his acquiring so much knowledge of the outside world and persons. This prince (for prince he was, even if his royal robes only consisted of a red woolen shirt that had come from some whale ship, and a narrow piece of cloth around his loins, knotted in front, with the two ends passed between his legs and tucked through the standing part where it passed across the small of his back had the most remarkable memory of any man I ever heard of. I have read to him slowly quite a long sentence,

1 Ed. note: They arrived at Kosrae on 22 August 1852.

and had him, after I had finished it, repeat, almost identically, word for word of what had been read; and asking him some days after about it, he could repeat it over again. For instance, he could repeat from the life of Washington, Bonaparte, Wellington, passage after passage; and about the battles they fought he could tell in detail, as far as I know, just as they had been written.

He shamed me one day by asking how many presidents (and what were their names) the United States had had since it became free from England, and then repeating the number and names, as far as I know, correctly. Many accidents and large fires he told about that had taken place in different parts of the world. He had books and papers in numbers piled up in one corner of his house, and begged all he could from us, as he did from every ship visiting his place.

His manner of getting information from them, so he said, was to have someone read aloud to him from them. One man, he told me, was landed from a ship, sick. He took care of him and had him in his house. The man lived some three or four months with him before he died, leaving a large number of books, amongst which were histories and lives of prominent men. "This man," he said, "read to me many things, but the best of all the reading I liked was the battles;" and his eyes would flash like a hawk's as he said, "I would like to do that." Some persons had added to newspaper articles the most astounding things, and he would sometimes repeat these, causing uproarious laughter from those that heard him, much to his astonishment. Some of his words were so far out of their course in the way he pronounced them that a six-fold, patent purchase set of blocks could not hoist them into place.

After supper I took another turn up to Kanker's house, taking with me a few books that I could spare, and a few trinkets. He was sober and seemed pleased to see me. I read some out of the books I had brought him, and he seemed to hang on every word I read. It seemed a pity that he could not be taken to some place and taught what he so much wanted to know, and not have his fine intellect destroyed by the effects of intoxication and his mind debased from the associates that at times he would have around him.

I asked him if there was any information he could give me about what these walls were built for? What was their purpose? He replied that he did not know when they were built, or what they were built for; and the only thing he could tell me was that many, many years ago, their tradition said, men of large stature lived here and were of lighter color than he or his people were. Before I left him to go on board that evening, he said that anything I wanted that he could get for me, he would do. I told him that I was built like the rest, but that I never drank liquor or did anything else for pleasure when the chance was of its hurting me; and I felt convinced, from what I had seen and heard since we anchored here, that when we went to sea a good deal of medicine would be used before we had a well crew—or words to that effect.

Calling a native (that I named Jim, afterwards) inside the doorway, he told him something in native, at the same time pointing to me, and the fellow backed out after he had finished.

On my rising to leave, I bid him good night. Then he told me that he had ordered one of his best men to attend me whenever I came on shore, and to obey no-one else not even himself, when I was in sight. He was to see me on board and be on the watch for me on landing, day or night; and whatever I might ask for, I was to get the best to be had. I thanked him for his kindness, hardly knowing what to think of it. On leaving the house, sure enough, the fellow kept close to my heels until I got into the boat to go on board, and every time when I went on shore after that he would pop up alongside me shortly after, if he was not at the boat to meet me. He was very faithful, and on the eve of the ship's departure I made the poor fellow so happy in presents I gave him that he fairly danced with delight.

One Sunday I thought, in my walks on shore, that I would measure a tree which I had seen growing amongst the rocks one of the high walls was built of. Taking a few fathoms of spun-yarn with me before leaving the ship, I was prepared when I arrived at the spot to see how much it would girth. I gave one end of the string to Jim, who scrambled over the stones that had tumbled out around it, from the side nearest which it grew, and brought it around the trunk to me. Hauling it taut and marking the place where it showed its distance around on the spun-yarn, I measured it when I arrived on board, and found it showed sixty-five feet; the height and spread of its branches was enormous.

This tree had started its growth long years after the wall had been built. There could be no doubt of that, as it grew in a portion of a wall that had been tumbled down enough to allow the shoot it grew from to take root amongst the stones which had formerly been part of the wall that in places was now twenty to twenty-five feet in height. Say the tree was five hundred years old, then certainly the wall must have been built before that; for no seed could work itself from the unbroken part through the stones and reach the ground. Even if it had, the want of light would not have allowed the seed so dropped to germinate. This being the case, the stones had to scatter enough for light and heat to allow a seed to have the benefit after reaching the ground; so, when I say the wall must have been built one thousand years ago, I do not believe I am out of my Lat. or Longitude.

What could have been the purpose of the people who built these things? I wondered about this time and time again, sometimes standing on top of a wall fifteen to twenty feet in height and almost as much in width, and built of stones so large that they would, in many instances, require heavy purchases to raise them into position. How those who built them succeeded in placing stones weighing a ton or two in the places they occupy, without some such appliances as we use today, would puzzle, I think, anyone who saw them, as it did me.

[Captain Hussey's story]

Sometimes I went with stores for our Captain's use from the ship to Captain Hussey's house, and often met him. Captain Hussey was a tall fine-looking gentleman, and one would hardly have taken such a pleasure soft-spoken person to be a man who had

cut himself off from the world and all ties of civilization, except now and then a wandering whaler; but such was the case. He was afraid to seek his home where his loving wife looked with weeping eyes towards the ocean when his ship returned without him, in which three long years before he had sailed away, after kissing her tears away with loving words of hope, on his return, to bring back with him enough so that he no more would have to leave her and the little ones.

But now how different! He, on one of the most blighted inhabited islands in the Pacific, amongst a people so low that a good dog would, no doubt, be better as a companion; and she, thousands of miles away across land and sea in her little home on Nantucket, with many tokens of his love around her to remind her how many happy hours they have passed together in it, since he, a young bright-eyed sailor, on the eve of sailing as captain in his first ship, brought her, a rosy-cheeked young bride, to this home.

The cause of Captain Hussey's choosing to isolate himself in this God-forsaken spot was peculiar. His cruising ground, when on board ship, was mostly on the Line. He had been fairly successful up to the time his ship¹ had been two years from home. Calling at one of the islands in the group that was friendly, he found a good trade for coconut oil could be made with the people on the island, if he would leave on shore casks to the filled with oil, and come for them in a few months.

He landed the casks and sailed away, cruising for whales until the time was up for his return to take the oil that the natives would have ready for him. As he was making the island, a canoe came on board with the Chief in it, who told him a large lot of natives had landed from another island a short time before, and had killed quite a number of the men who were guarding the oil and driven away the others. They would soon take the oil away, as they held possession of it and also that part of the island where the oil was; and he could get it in no other way except by sending some of his men with guns to help drive off the intruders.

The casks that he had landed were worth some \$100.00 or so, and the trade advanced about as much more, which he did not like to have stolen from him. So, after consulting with his officers, it was agreed to assist the Chief to recover the oil, the men agreeing to the same. A force of men were landed with Captain Hussey at their head, armed with muskets, pistols, and a small cannon that was on board the ship. Joining the natives, who had been assembled by the Chief on the opposite side of the island from where two or three hundred raiders held the village where the oil had been gathered, they marched across in the night and took the other party by surprise, just at daylight, by pouring a volley into the huts where they were sleeping.

The battle was soon over. The raiders had had no thought of firearms being used, as nothing but clubs, spears and swords made of shark's teeth were the implements of warfare used by them on either side. Rushing with frightened yells from the houses towards the beach where the canoes lay, as many as could shoved off and paddled for

1 Ed. note: Named the Planter, of Nantucket, a ship of 340 tons that had sailed in 1847.

their lives in the direction of the island they came from, some five or six miles distant. A number were killed with clubs and spears by the natives of Captain Hussey's party, before they could get into their canoes and escape.

The recapture of the oil, with some canoes and a large lot of implements of war, was the result. Paying the Chief for the oil collected, Captain Hussey took it on board.

In visiting Sydney, some months after, Captain Hussey heard that an English man-of-war was in search of his ship to take him prisoner, as the English government claimed jurisdiction over the group that this island was situated among.

This affair, and one other he was concerned in, which I will relate, caused him such fear of what might happen to him, if he did not conceal himself that he settled up the business of the ship to the perfect satisfaction of the owners, when she arrived home in charge of the mate, by getting to some out-of-the-way spot but little visited.

To go on with the statement of the other affair: a mutiny occurred on his ship, led by a man who had been at the bottom of many troubles that took place before this outbreak, which was brought about by the men refusing to lower the boats for whales unless the demand they made of having the ship furnish a better quality of food was complied with.

The captain reasoned with them all he could, and told them, amongst other things, that the food they complained of was all the kind there was on board the ship, and that when the ship went into port where he could get better, he would do so. Trying in vain to have them turn to their duty, he ordered them to take the places they belonged in and lower the boats; and they refusing, he went into his cabin. Coming out with a rifle in his hand, and loading it in their sight, as they were standing forward on the fore-castle deck and could see every movement he made, he said to them, when he had finished ramming home the ball in the gun, that they had five minutes to think the matter over and do as they had been ordered. If at the end of that time they had not returned to duty, he would shoot down the first man he told to take his place if he did not obey.

laying his watch face up on the binnacle, he took a turn back and forth on the quarter-deck. Looking at the watch when the five minutes had passed, he picked it up and put it into his pocket, only saying to them, "The time is up." Taking the rifle, he advanced to the forward part of the quarter-deck. Raising the gun to his shoulder, he leveled it at the breast of the ringleader, who had been standing with his shirt bosom stretched open with both hands, daring him to shoot.

Captain Hussey took a deliberate aim and told him by name to take his place. Instead of that, he jumped to one side as the gun went off, and the ball struck and instantly killed one of the best young men of the crew, who had been led by this wretch to open act of mutiny. Captain Hussey had not time to change his aim, as the other man, when jumping aside, quickly caught and swung the other into the place he had occupied.

A few seconds after this man was shot, every one of the mutineers sprang to the places they had been ordered before this tragedy took place. Among the first was the cowardly villain who had caused the trouble. Every man was now ready to lower boats or anything else he might be told to do.

Seeing the mutiny was ended, the Captain ordered every thing made fast, and the poor fellow who lay dead on deck to be laid out for burial, by sewing him up in canvas with weight enough to his feet for sinking him. He was launched overside into the sea, so closing the second act that caused one man's death and a fond husband's exile.

Both these cases were settled by the courts in the States, on evidence furnished by the logbook and the crew of the ship: the first case on the rights of volunteers helping to protect their own property. The shooting of the man in the act of mutiny was held justified to save discipline and the welfare of ship and owners. The exertions of Mrs. Hussey to bring the thing to an issue were untiring, but by the time it took to reel off the log the amount of red tape required, she had expended about all her means and the Captain was lying like the man he shot, at the bottom of the sea. These facts concerning the cases and his death, we heard at about the time we started for home, two years after we met him at Strong's Island.

The manner in which he met his death I will state as we heard it:

Some six months after our leaving Strong's Island, a brig on a trading voyage called in there. Her captain had been drinking so hard that he was rendered almost helpless, and the amount of trade she had on board was trifling. After Captain Hussey had talked with the captain of the brig about fitting her up and trying to catch a few whales, he consented. As there were two whaleboats on shore, belonging to him, Captain Hussey put them on board, with some line and other things he had got from a whale ship or two that would answer to take a whale. He got together a crew of natives, and with the few men that came in the brig, he started out on a cruise amongst the group.

The information of what occurred after he left the island for the cruise came from some of the natives who sailed on the brig with him, as none of the few white men who were in the vessel when he left ever were seen again. It seems they had taken a whale or two and had also collected some coconut oil up to the time when, at an island, the name unknown, trading for oil, the crew, aided by the natives from shore, attacked and killed Captain Hussey and every white man on board. They then ran the vessel ashore, plundered her of what they wanted, and set her on fire.

A few months after Captain Hussey sailed on his last cruise, letters came from the lawyers who had conducted his case through the courts, stating that he had been cleared of all charges and could now return home. There were also brought, by the whale ship which conveyed the letters, some from his wife, expressing the fond hope of their soon meeting. Sad was her heart, when looking day by day for his appearance, to be met with tidings that no more would they meet in this world again.¹

1 Ed. note: The name of the brig in question was the William Penn, and the Captain's murder is said to have occurred on 6 November 1852.

Chapter 6. Out of the Frying Pan

After spending two weeks at Strong's Island, during which time we had taken on board all the wood and water that we had available space for, and also given the ship a coat of paint on the outside, we took up our anchor just at daylight one morning. With a gentle breeze blowing fair from the large island, we stood out through the reef to the sea, and before the wind failed, had an offing of a few miles. Taking the sea breeze when it sprung up about eight A.M., we trimmed our yards to it and stood towards the South.

About two weeks after we had left that hell's kitchen, we one day sighted a school of whales. A better chance for four boats to get each a whale could not well have happened; but we were able to lower but two boats, on account of so many of the men being laid up with sickness contracted at that headquarters of [venereal] disease. The pain and sight of those who suffered was sickening, making the few untainted happy to think the will to abstain had saved them from such trouble, which in soe instances would last to the grave.

...
After stowing down the oil from the last whale, we took a short cruise through the Kingsmill Group over some of the same waters that we had been through before, but without seeing a whale; and then we hauled the ship to the South for New Zealand, there to take our last cruise and then start for home.

...
[They reached the wathers off New Zealand at the beginning of January 1853. On 23 January 1853, they anchored at the Bay of Islands, "where the English garrison is stationed, called Waapoo (as we sailors pronounce it)." There they took on baord 1,000 barrels of whale oil from the whaler **Brighton** as freight for New Bedford.]

Document 1852A

The Canton Packet, Captain Howland

Source: Ms. log #108 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 242; Log Inv. 396.

Note: The logbook was kept by 1st Mate B. King until November 1852.

Extract from the logbook of the Bark Canton Packet of New Bedford, Captain Holand, Voyage of 1849-53.

...

[Cruising off the Gilberts]

Wednesday January 28

... At 8 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island. At 122, passed it. Employed tarring the rigging...

Thursday January 29

... At 9 p.m., saw Rotch's [Tamana] Is. bearing by compass NW by N... Lat. 2°03' S, Long. 177°57' E.

...

Saturday January 31

... Rotch's Island distant 10 miles. The natives came on board... Latter, fresh trades. Ship beating up for Rotch's Island to land 8 natives taht came on board last night...

...

Monday February 2

... Ship trying to beat up to Rotch's Island to land the natives. Jim Kanaka continues off duty with the Pox... At 8 a.m., saw sperm whales. There were some in the sun glare that saw the Ship; [they] turned and went to windward... Lat. 2°55' S.

...

Wednesday February 4

... At daylight, saw Rotch's Island bearing N by W. At 8 a.m., the natives went on shore...

...

Sunday February 8th

... John Baptist off duty with the pox. Peter kanaka returned to duty. At 3 p.m., saw Sydenham [Nonouti] Island bearing NE... Lat. 56 miles S, Long. 174°20' E.

...

Monday February 16

... At daylight, saw Henderville [Aranuka] Island bearing by compass N by W dist. 12 miles...

...

Friday February 20

... At 4 p.m., spoke Barque **Roscoe** of New Bedford, 33 months, 900 sperm. Lat. 26 miles S., Long. 173°35' E.

...

Sunday February 29

... At 9 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing by compass WSW... At daylight steered off SW... Lat. 46 miles S.

Monday March 1

... At 4 p.m., spoke Ship **Herald** of Fairhaven. Middle and latter Ship laying off and on Ocean Island trading. Ship **Herald** in sight.

Tuesday March 2

... At 5 p.m., the boat came on board. Steered away to the N and Westward. At daylight, Ship **Herald** went out of sight... Lat. 26 miles S.

...

Wednesday March 17

... At 12 Midday, saw Wellington [Mokil] Island. At 2 p.m., came up with it. Boat went on shore. Meddle, laying off and on the Island trading. At 9 a.m., steered away for Ascension...

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Thursday March 18

... Ship bound to Ascension. At 6 p.m., luffed to the wind. Middle, thunder, lightning, and rain. At sunset, saw the Island bearing per compass W distant 30 miles...

Friday March 19

... At 6 a.m., the Pilot came on board. Latter, light baffling winds. Current set the Ship to the leeward of her port.

Saturday March 20

... Beating up for the port... At daylight, got a light breeze from the S, steered in for the port. At 11 a.m., came to anchor in the Lee Harbor of Ascension.

Sunday March 21

Pleasant weather. All hands on shore.

Monday March 22

... Employed stowing water. Two boats away getting yams. Peter Kanaka off duty with the pox.

Tuesday March 23

... Employed filling water. At 6 a.m., Ship **James Allen** let go anchor in this port, 10 months out, 160 bbls sperm.

...

Thursday March 25

... At daylight the boats got back with yams. Employed getting and cutting wood.

Friday March 26

... Employed getting and cutting wood. Friday [sic] off duty sick.

Saturday March 27

... Employed getting and cutting wood. James and Peter deserted last night from the Ship. A., Cook, off duty sick.

...

Tuesday March 30

... Joseph Silva, 2nd [Mate?] deserted from the Ship. At 10 p.m., the natives fetched him back. The day ends getting ready for sea.

Wednesday, March 31

... At 4 p.m., the natives brought back the two kanakas. 9 a.m., took the anchor and went to sea. Shipped 3 men.

Thursday April 1

... At sunset, passed St. Augustine [rather P[akin]. West end of Ascension bearing ESE distant 30 miles. Painted the 2 quarter boats.

...

[The bark bypassed the Marianas to go directly to the high latitudes.]

Document 1852B

The William Hamilton, Captain Shockley**The narrative of James F. Munger**

Sources: James F. Munger. Two Years in the Pacific and Arctic Oceans (Vernon, 1852); reprinted by Ye Galleon Press in 1967.

Note: Although Munger was not aboard the William Hamilton, his ship spoke her, and her log (B2 below) and those of other ships spoken, may help identify Munger's ship... Perhaps it was the Napoleon of Nantucket, Captain William Holley (ref. Starbck, p. 484), voyage 1851-54.

Extract from Munger's narrative.

...

[Cruising off the Gilberts]

Thursday, January 1st, 1852

What weather for New Years! Thermometer standing at 99 degrees [Fahrenheit] in the shade! This hooiday like that of the year preceeding is spent by us in hard labor. Last year it was in working in oil; this, in the rigging. All hands are kept on deck setting up the fore and main rigging.

Friday, January 2

All hands on deck employed as yesterday. A sail seen this forenoon. Hope [Arorae] Island seen at 1 a.m. The natives commenced boarding us at 3 p.m., and remained until 6 o'clock. One of the natives was caught in the act of stealing some clothing and two or three silver spoons from the Steward's pantry. Mr. Stubbs first detected him, and seizing him by the hair of the head, dragged him aft as far as the waist, when the native escaped, minus a lock of hair large enough for a house painter's brush. He jumped over board and swam off for dear life, while the cocoa nuts, hurled at him from the ship, fell about him in showers. The rest of the natives fearing that we might punish them for the fault of the one, immediately mounted the bulwarks, ready to jump over board at the first signs of hostility on our part. They are perfectly harmless while on board the ship, as they carry no weapons; and everything on board is carefully put one side. Capt. H. fired a gun at the thief for the purpose of frightening him, and it had the desired affect.

Saturday, January 3

All hands on deck, working in the rigging.

Sunday, January 4

Set our signal this morning for a ship off our starboard quarter. But it was not perceived as it was not answered. The distance was too great.

Monday, January 5

Two sails seen.

Tuesday, January 6

Gammed with the **William Hamilton** this evening. While on board her, witnessed a total eclipse of the moon.

Wednesday, January 7

The **Wm. Hamilton** in sight, off our weather quarter. We are standing on the wind for Roach's [Tamana] Island.

Thursday, January 8

Weather cloudy, and in the evening squally, with considerable rain. Gammed with the **Wm. Hamilton** and barks **Mount Wallaston** And **Cossack**. Roach's Island in sight to windward at noon.

Friday, January 9

Made Roach's Island this forenoon in company with the **Wm. Hamilton** and bark **Mount Wallaston**. Bark **Cossack** in sight. The appearance of the island is quite like that of Hope Island. The natives, like those of Hope, have the hair cropped off, the ears drawn out to the same prodigious length, and perforated with holes; and the males go entirely naked, but they appear more anxious for trade, and bring off articles of more value than their neighbors. Poultry, and hogs, were sold very cheap here. These I think are not raised on Hope island. We are now running W.N.W. before the wind. Weather fine.

Saturday, January 10

Last night, as well as all of today, the weather has been squally, with lightning, and strong puffs of wind. The **Wm. Hamilton** and bark **Mount Wallaston** in sight, the former about three miles distant.

Sunday, January 11

As we manned the mast heads this morning, we found the **Wm. Hamilton** off our quarter, and the **Mount Wallaston** astern. Lowered the boats during the forenoon and chased finbacks, supposing them to be sperm whales. A heavy swell running, and oc-

casional heavy flaws of wind, nearly capsizing the boat. A squall of rain passed over while in the boats, and gave us a good wetting. The **Wm. H.** lowered two of her boats, and came down to see what we were chasing. Raised two more spouts at 5 o'clock p.m. which also proved to be finbacks.

Monday, January 12

Ocean [Banaba] island was descried at the mast head at sunrise, this morning. Pulled ashore, bargained for and got off three boat loads of wood, during the day. Five sails in sight, among them the **Wm. Hamilton, Gen. Pike, Roman** and **Frances**. The natives commenced boarding us in the morning, and remained on board more or less all day. This island, unlike Hope and Roach's, attains to a considerable height, rising at some points quite abruptly, and at others more gradual. Its foundation is coral rock, which upon one side of the island rises I should say thirty feet, perpendicularly, leaving, however, at intervals a gap, sufficiently wide to admit a wagon. This, at a distance, gives it the appearance of an artificial wall, with gate-ways. Upon the summits of these rocks are the habitations of the natives, built of poles and flaggs. The lower part of the huts are not enclosed, as the upper part, or garret is the only part inhabited. Why they do not sleep upon the ground, like their neighbors of Hope island, I don't know, unless it is, because they are subjected to the bites of some venomous reptile, or perhaps, because it forms a cooler and more comfortable place to sleep above the earth, where the air circulates underneath as well as overhead.

The island is thickly wooded from one side to the other, but the wood is of rather diminutive growth, and a considerable portion of it is the cocoa. The natives' manners and customs are nearly the same of those of Hope. The males and children of both sexes go entirely naked, and all wear the hair at its natural length. The children like those of all the islands at which we have touched, are remarkably intelligent, active and vigorous, while the grown portion are the exact reverse. Another thing that I always remarked, the females are treated like slaves; the whole labor of obtaining a livelihood being imposed upon them, while the males lie basking in the sun, patiently awaiting the hour when his existence upon earth is no more, and his life of *constant toil* is brought to a close. Poor fellow! But what most disgusted me, was to see them oblige the women to bring all the wood down to the beach upon their shoulders. They seem, however, to be well accustomed to it. They will pick up a stick that it requires two men to handle, and tossing it upon the naked shoulder, walk a quarter of a mile to the beach, with apparently very little fatigue; but the invariable application of the hand to the shoulder after the burden is thrown off, proves that it leaves no agreeable impression upon that part. The King (I should have said *His Royal Highness*) condescended so much, as to pay us a visit on board the ship. His entire wardrobe consists of a palm leaf hat, and a strip of bark around each wrist and ankle. He seemed to think himself the most important personage in the wide world. One of the officers presented him with a half pound of tobacco, which he indignantly refused to accept, giving him to understand, at the same time, that a *pound* would be most acceptable! He remained on board until night,

when, upon leaving a splash, and looking over the ships side, we beheld His most Gracious Majesty swimming off to his canoe, with his hat and tobacco held high above the roaring waters, in one hand, while with the other flipper, which had doubtless signed many a death warrant, he was paddling along, very much like a bolster with one claw. "Long live King Taboo!" say we.

Tuesday, January 13

Got off four more boat loads of wood today; for which we pay about seven pounds tobacco per load, of about a cord. Spoke the ship **Roman** at 4 o'clock p.m., and a boat's crew boarded her. At half past five we squared away for Pleasant [Nauru] Island. The **Roman, Wm. Hamilton**, and one or two other ships remain here getting wood.

[Visit to Nauru]

Wednesday, January 14

One sail seen; supposed to be the **Gen. Pike**. Pleasant island first seen at three o'clock p.m. Two large canoes came off at sunset, containing about a dozen natives, with poultry, swine, hats, watermelons, cocoa nuts, &c. Standing off and on at night.

Thursday, January 15

Standing off and on Pleasnat Island. Six or seven sails in sight; some of them wooding here. The natives are more intelligent, and more advanced in civilization than any we have visited since leaving the Hawaian Group. There is no carving of the ears nor tatooing or disfiguring of the countenance in any way. The hair of the females is long, loose and flowing, while that of the males is shaved so close to the skull as to make them look bald-headed. But what is most remarkable, they are all possessors of a heavy black beard, which is suffered to grow to its natural length. This, with the bald-looking pate, gives one an idea of the appearance of the patriarchs of old. They have an inveterate hatred for an Ocean Islander. One of the latter boarded us. He brought articles on board to offer for sale; but the moment he attempted to sell them, four or five of these natives would step up, exclaiming, "No good, 'e Oc'an Ilan." at the same time pointing at his long, disfigured ears, with a sneer, and offering their own articles in stead. They seem to abhor the idea of a man going entirely naked, although themselves, but one strip in advance; a skirt of bark like that worn by the women of the other islands of this group, eing the only thing to hide their nakedness. Their articles of trade consist of hogs, poultry, hats, cocoa nuts, melons, squashes, shells, &c., &c.

Their canoes are sufficiently large to contain a dozen natives, together with their articles of traee, and are provided with the everlasting outrigger to oprevent their capsizing. The name given this island is one that is quite appropriate. It is neither a high, rugged, volcanic heap, nor a low-level, monotonous mass of sand and pebbles, but its surface is diversified with gentle undulations, seeming to rise and recede like the swells of the vast ocean in which it is set. It is covered with trees which are of the nature of those of Ocean Island. Its vegetable productions are not extensive, but whether it is

owing to the want of attention to cultivation, or the deficiency in the soil, is farther than my limited knowledge of it extends; at all events it can be no fault of the climate. Why this is not a good field for missionary labors, I cannot determine. The natives are of a friendly character, and the climate far superior to that of many of the foreign missions. The only objection that can be framed is its limited population, which does not exceed a few thousands; but why not as much necessity of the salvation of these few souls, as that of the same number in another part of the world?

Friday, January 16

Standing off and on Pleasant Island. Gammed with the bark **Jasper** of New Bedford, a sperm whaler, twenty three months out with 550 bbls. of oil.

Saturday, January 17

The **Wm. Hamilton** set her signal for us this afternoon and stood on her course for port. Stood on our course for land.

Sunday, January 18

Several spouts seen supposed to be finbacks.

Bound for Hong Kong via Guam.

Tuesday, January 26

A school of whales came up close about us and the **Wm. Hamilton** just after a heavy squall of rain. The boats were lowered from both ships. The whales had seen the ships and were so badly galled that they brought to and ran about in all directions. We were obliged to pull after them with the oars. The waist boat soon fastened to and turned up a large fellow: the starboard boat assisting. The larboard boat next darted but the whale was at too great a distance, and the iron but just pricked him in the "small," effecting nothing but a sweeping of the flukes which half filled the boat with salt water. Immediately after this, the bow boat fastened to another at a short distance from us. We pulled up for the purpose of fastening, but before we reached him the first iron had drawn and the whale left without bidding us "good day," or even a wag of the tail to prove his regard at being compelled to leave us so abruptly. The rest of the afternoon was spent in pulling after the remainder of the school. We got on board at 7 o'clock.

Wednesday, January 21

Cut in and tried out the whale taken yesterday. Finished trying out at two o'clock Thursday morning. The **Wm. Hamilton** just in sight of weather beam. Weather calm with an occasional squall of rain.

Thursday, January 22

Weather squally. Wind blowing fresh from the northward and eastward at night.

Course N.W. by N. Employed in tarring down rigging. The **Wm. Hamilton** still off weather beam, but nearer than yesterday.

Friday, January 23

Two sails in sight to windward. The weather during the day was squally, but at night it commenced to "pour down," and continued through the night, accompanied by lurid flashes of lightning, and heavy puffs of wind from every point of the compass, and alternate dead calms. It was not merely *dark* but *black* as a funeral pall; and during the period of the calms a solemn stillness pervaded all around, unbroken save by the flapping of the sails against the masts. The whole vault of the Heavens was one black mass of floating vapor, which seemed to be in an almost continual blaze. Then came a blast of wind from some unexpected quarter, quickly followed by rain falling in torrents, and *then* for noise and confusion. The ship is taken aback, and the cracking sounds from aloft shows the imminent danger from the falling of spars. The ship must be put about before the blast or she will founder. This being done we have only to stand by and witness the sublime scene. One hardly knows whether to wonder or fear: first one is uppermost, then the other. It seemed as though the elements had combined over this spot to see how great a row they could kick up united. At all events they performed full as much as they advertised, and it would not be agreeable to my wishes to be present at another of their holidays.

Saturday, January 24

Bad weather rules the day, and worst of all we have strong head winds. No sail seen today. Bent a new fore topsail.

Sunday, January 25

Last night was enacted the programme of Friday night, only *if possible, more so*. The rain continued to fall throughout the day, to a greater or less degree. The **Wm. Hamilton** hove in sight again this forenoon, and we gammed with her in the evening. At night we were obliged to stand on the wind to the southward as the weather prevents getting an observation, and the Caroline group of islands is near at hand to leeward.

Monday, January 26

The bad weather continues; rainy most of the time. Squared away to westward at 6 o'clock this morning in company with the **Wm. H.** Six or seven small islands hove in sight this afternoon, and upon approaching them, a reef connecting the cluster could be seen. It is said that a person can walk from one to the other of the whole number, although the two extremes must be more than twenty-five miles distant from each other. At night we were obliged to stand on the wind, for fear of getting into some of these reefs.

Tuesday, January 27

The starboard boat was pulled ashore at Raven's [Ngatik] Island this morning in company with that of the **Wm. Hamilton**, and remained until late in the afternoon when it brought off half a dozen hogs, and a few cocoa nuts. This island has no native inhabitants. There is but about a dozen families upon it, and they are from a neighboring island (Ascension). There is one white among them, a man of forty years of age. The houses are elevated and built of stone cemented with lime mortar. The future king of the island came on board us. He is a lad of about eight years, half white, with a keen black eye, dressed neatly after the European style, and seemed to be a quiet, unassuming little fellow, although not timid. He came off with the white resident to collect the payment for his hogs. His father died upon this island, and being sole monarch (this monarchy partakes of the nature of that of Alexander Selkirk) he is of course heir to the Crown. This is a kingdom, that will undoubtedly stand unshaken through all the revolutions of the world, unless perchance it is visited by an earthquake. Why is not his lot to be envied?

Wednesday, January 28

Bent a new main topsail.

...

Friday, January 30

At night set a topmast studding sail. Employed in stowing down oil between decks.

Saturday, January 31

Trades very strong. Throughout the last twenty four hours averaged ten knots. Split our mizzen top gallant sail this morning.

Sunday, February 1

The wind has hauled directly aft; but has moderated to a light mild breeze. Large schools of black fish seen, but the boats were not lowered.

[Short visit to Guam]

Monday, February 2

Winds light but fair. The island of Guam in sight at 11 o'clock a.m., and another island to the northward belonging to the same group seen at 3 p.m. At night we were obliged to lay to with land off lee beam, fifteen miles distant; with very light wind.

Tuesday, February 3

Standing off and on Guam. Capt. H. went ashore a little before noon, but as there were no recruits to be had, he soon came on board and we squared away on our course for Hong Kong. The **Cornelius Howland** of New Bedford was the only ship giving liberty here. Another, a bark was at anchor in the harbor, but ran out during the afternoon, bound for Hong Kong, also. This was the bark **Friends**, of New Bedford.

The island of Guam is the largest of the Ladrone or Mariana Group, and also the most important. It is situated at a convenient point for all American whalers cruising in the Japan, Okotsk, Kamchatka, Anadir, or Arctic seas, and is consequently a considerable place of resort by them, for giving liberty to the crews, and taking in supplies, for the long and tedious cruises in these frozen regions. It is finely diversified with hill and dale, and the climate is mild, and I presume healthy. Tropical fruits of different kinds flourish here to a great extent; among them may be mentioned the yam, orange, banana, &c. &c. It is apparently very lightly timbered, and what little timber there is seems to be of a dwarfish character. The inhabitants are a mixture of Spanish and some other race of a darker color, but what this race is I am not aware, suffice it to say, their color and countenance is quite similar to that of the Chinese. What their manners and customs are, I do not know, as I had not the pleasure of getting on shore. Their religion is, I think, principally the Roman Catholic.

Wednesday, February 4

We are now running along before a fine wind, with a topmast studding sail aloft. The weather is cloudy, and a little rain fell this morning. The bark **Friends** was at daylight discovered about four points off our weather bow. At night she was astern.

...

B2. The logbook kept by John G. Ellis

Source: Logbook in the Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 821; Log In. v. 4939.

Wanted (Sharon, Mass., Australia, Honolulu)

Document 1852C

**The Montpelier, commanded by lonesome
Captain Tucker**

Source: Ms. logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 351; Log INv. 3367.

Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Moses G. Tucker.

...

Sunday 2nd [November 1851]

... Washing bone... Lonesome for my love is far, far away. Read my girl's letters, darling one. Looked at her miniature, the first time for some time past. Lat. 23°47' [N.]. Long. 155°08' [E.]

...

Sunday 28th [December 1851]

... I dreamed of seeing my dear girl. She 62 ft 7 y b 2 d [sic]. Lat. 13°45' [N.]. Long. 155°30' [E.]

...

[Visit to Guam]

Saturday 3rd [January 1852]

... All sail set. Setting up shooks. At 4, made the Island of Rota. At 6, saw Guam. At [blank], luffed to under short sail to the N. Lying on different tacks. At 6, kept off SW for Guam. At 11, got a pilot. At 12, came to in Apra Harbor, furled sails.

Sunday 4th

Lying at anchor. Strong trades.

Monday 5th

Lying at anchor. Made a visit to the town, etc.

Tuesday 6th

Stowing water. Sent a raft on shore. Got off some wood, etc. Got off water, etc.

...

Friday 9th

Wooding & watering. Arrived Ship **Condor**.

Saturday 10th

Wooding & watering. Arrived Bark **Mary Frazier**.

Sunday 11th

Wooding & watering. Arrived Ship **Alexander**.

Monday 12th

Watering etc. Sailed Ship **Condor**.

...

[No information recorded between 13th and 23rd]

...

Thursday Jan. 24th, 1852

At daylight, commenced taking anchor. At 7, made sail and put to sea. Found 2 men on board.

...

[They cruised off the Bonin Islands in February.]

...

Monday 1st Feb. 1852

... Lonesome, no company, no-one to exchange a word with. Sweet, sweet girl, I wish that you were here.

...

Wednesday 16th [March 1852]

... Dreamed of seeing my darling girl, with Daniel & Ruth.

...

Tuesday 14th [September 1852]

... Calm, no whales. Thought of home & Sarah. Have been reading my girl's letters until I am homesick. Sweet one, sweet one... Lat. 68°23' [N.]¹

...

1 Ed. note: The ship was then in the Arctic Ocean.

Document 1852D

The Condor, Captain Kempton

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 319; Log Inv. 1176.

Note: The logbook was kept by Captain Stephen K. Kempton. The voyage lasted from 1850 to 1853.

Extract from the logbook.

...

Thursday January 8th 1852

... At 1 p.m., saw the Island of Rota, one of the Ladrões Group, bearing by compass WNW1/2N dist. 12 leagues. At 6 p.m., steered for Guam... At daylight, Guam bore S by W dist. 5 leagues. At 11 a.m., got a pilot & steered in for the harbor. So ends, came to anchor in 22 fathoms, coral bottom.

Friday 9

At 2 p.m., sent the boat on shore for wood. Returned with a load of wood. Latter part, fair. Got off 6 more loads. So ends this day. The **Marcia** lying off and on.¹

Saturday January 10th

... Got off the remainder of the wood. So ends this day. One ship came to anchor here, the **Alexander**.²

Sunday January 11th 1852

... Received on board 22 pigs & 24 bunches of bananas & one ton of yams, 500 coconuts & 2,000 oranges.

Monday Jan. 12, 1852

... At 11 a.m., got under way & ran down to Umata for water. At 4 p.m., came to at Umata. Sent a raft of casks on shore for water...

1 Ed. note: The **Marcia** of New Bedford, Captain L. Wing, voyage of 1850-53.

2 Ed. note: The ship **Alexander** of New Bedford, Captain J. Ryan, voyage of 1851-55.

Tuesday Jan. 13, 1852

... At 8 a.m., got a raft of water & stowed it below. At 3, got off another & stowed some of it between decks. At sunset, hooked up the tackles for the night.

Wednesday Jan. 14, 1852

... Employed in stowing down water in the after hold.

Thursday Jan. 15, 1852

... At 3 p.m., got under way from Umatic Bay & steered NW...

...

Document 1852E

The ship Niagara, Captain Benjamin Clough

Sources: Ms. log in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 268; Log Inv. 3517.

Note: This ship belonged to Fairhaven, Mass. The voyage lasted from October 1851 to February 1854.

Extract from the log

...

Tuesday Feb 17th 1852

Fore part light breezes and variable with pleasant weather. Land in sight, the New Philippines, or Caroline Islands. At 3 p.m. three canoes came alongside. Middle and latter part moderate breezes from E and pleasant. Course N by compass. Three men sick. Employed in repairing the main topsail.

Lat. by obs. 09°10' N, Long. by Chro. 157°09' E.¹

Wednesday Feb 18th 1852

Fore part moderate breezes from E with pleasant weather. Course N by W compass. Middle part moderate breezes with rain squalls. Latter part fresh breezes from SE and pleasant. Course N by W. Employed in repairing the mizzen topsail. Three men sick.

Lat. by obs. 12°18' N, Long. by Chro. 145°22' E.

Thursday Feb 19th 1852

Fore part fresh breezes from SE with pleasant weather. Course N by W by compass. Middle and latter part moderate breezes from S and SE. At 12 midnight luffed to with the main yard aback. At 6 a.m. seen the Island of Guam bearing NNW by compass 25 miles distant and kept off for it.

Friday Feb 20th 1852

Fore part fresh breezes from S with pleasant weather. Off the land of Guam. At 4 p.m. the boat went on shore. At 7 p.m. the boat came off bringing yams and potatoes

1 Ed. note: This position is close to Gaferut.

and left the Island. Course N. Middle part moderate breezes and squally. Latter part fresh breezes and pleasant. Employed in repairing the gibb. Three men sick.

Lat. by obs. 15°16' N, Long. by Chro. 144°30' E.

Saturday Feb 21st 1852

Fore part fresh breezes from S wit pleasant weather. Ship made all sail course N by compass. Middle part moderate breezes. Later part light breezes and variable. At 9 a.m. seen the land the Island of Aguijam. All hands employed in breaking out the fore hold and hunting coal. One man sick.

Lat. by obs. 17°45' N, Long. by Chro. 145°20' E.

...

Document 1852AK

The bark J. E. Donnell, Captain William Earle

Sources: Ms. log in the Dukes County Historical Society, Edgartown, Mass.; PMB 676; Log Inv. 2457, or 2458..

Extract from the log

...

March Monday 15th [1852]

This [sic] 24 hours commences with a strong breeze from N.East under all sail steering W 1/2 South. Night time the same[.] latter part at 10 AM raised the land[.] stowing down the head oil of the last whale[.] so ends this 24 hours.

Lat 14°15 N Lon 155°44

March Tuesday 16th

This 24 hours commences with a moderate breeze from N.East under all sail steering for the Island of Rota[.] at 4 PM went ashore to trade[.] brought a few pigs and coconuts[.] there is know [rather no] oranges on account of a California ship[.] Middle part steering for the Island of Guam, course SW1/2 W[.] a heavy rainstorm and very thick[.] at 7 AM raised the land[.] stood in for it[.] came in very thick[.] layed aback[.] at 12 AM Pilot came on board but could not carry us into Umata Bay[.] so we went down and went into the Bay ourselves. at 4 PM cast anchor in the Bay[.] the Ship **Enterprise** of Nantucket was in there watering[.] Night time quarter watches[.] so ends this 24 hours.

Wednesday 17th

This day commences getting off water in the forenoon[.] got off 250 Bbls[.] in the afternoon 200 more[.] Night time boats crews on quarter watches[.] so ends this 24 hours.

Thursday 18th

This 24 hours commences with a moderate trade from the N. West[.] got a small raft of water[.] at 11 AM both ships got underway[.] the **Enterprise** steering to the Northward and the **J. E. Donnell** bound down to Guam with a Pilot on board. in the after-

noon at 6 took in the Flying Jibb Topgallantsails[,] laying round untill morningn so as to run into the Harbour[.] Night time divided the time from 6 untill 6 in the morning[.] so ends this day &c &c

Friday 19th

This day we arrived at Guam[,] furled the sails and carried the Capt on shore[.] at 3 PM the Starboard watch went on liberty[,] the Larboard watch sent down the fore topmast and fixed the trusseltree and sent it up again.

Saturday 20th

Employed in the same business.

Sunday 21st

The Ship **Eliza [L] B Jenney** sailed for Umata Bay to get water.

Monday 22nd

The Larboard Watch employed to work on the fore topmasts. Capt came on board and stayed untill night then went on shore again.

Tuesday 23rd

This day the Watch made a finish of the fore topmast &c &c

...

[part of page unreadable entries for 24th and 25th March]

...

Friday 26th

This day the Capt came on board and sold a great quantity of trade such as blue denim, bleached botton cloth, pipes, cigars, remnants of calico, tobacco, soap, and various other things too numerous to mention[.] at night went on shore[.] so ends this day's work.

Saturday 27th

This day employed in various jobs[,] broke out for another cask of bread[,] done a considerable trading on board the ship and sent a number of things on shore[,] finished painting the ship's sterns[,] the Ship **Franklin** sailed for Umata Bay to get water[,] so ends this day.

Friday 28th

This day a strong breeze from N.East[,] nothing doing on account of being Sunday.

Saturday 29th

This day strong trades[,] employed in various jobs[,] the Larboard watch came on

board from liberty[.] I went on shore[.] landed at the Point[.] walked 7 miles to Guam¹ and struck again in 2-1/2 hours[.] so ends this day's work.

March Tuesday 30th 1852 **At Guam**²

This day employed in various jobs[.] bought a number of hogs[.] out the boilers fore & aft [.] saluted the Son A Reter [sic = Governor?] when she came on board and took Dinner[.] chased a Humpback but did not get near enough to strike[.] So ends this day[.] the Bark **Alfred Tyler** layed off and on[.] sent a boat on board them[.] Capt went on shore.

March Wednesday 31st 1852

This day weighed anchor and went to sea[.] passed a French merchantman in distress[.] had his topgallant mast carried away, lost Reder [rather rudder], torn all his sails and numerous other things[.] saw him take a Pilot, then spoke Ship **Henry Nealand** [i.e. Kneeland.] Capt went on board and exchanged boats crews[.] had a gam untill night[.] so ends this day of our Lord 1852.

Thursday

Civil time or Day after Day, April 1st 1852

...

1 Ed. note: It is obvious by now that, by Guam, he meant Agaña.

2 Ed. note: Taking note of the different calendar used at Guam, no account of date line, same time as Mexico and Spain...

Documents 1852G

Shipping news for 1852

G1. Ship Hector

Source: Short notice in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 12 April 1852.

At Ascension [Pohnpei], Nov. 20 [1851], by letter from Capt. Smith, **Hector**, New Bedford, 2,100 sperm; expected to be home in September.

G2. Ship Ontario wrecked at Butaritari Atoll

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 21 July 1852.

The American whale ship **Ontario** (supposed the ONtario, Brown, Sag Harbor, which had 700 whale oil Jan. 6) was totally wrecked on a reef. in lat. 3°15' N., long. 172°40' E. and seventeen of her crew arrived at Sydney, NSW, Feb. 20 in schooner **Supply** [of Sydney], from Satawan, Jan. 24.

Loss of the Whale Ship Ontario, of This Port.

Sources: Article in the Daily Mercury of New Bedford, on 10 August 1852; repeated in the Daily Evening Traveler of Boston on same date.

The ship **Hector**, Capt. Smith, arrived at this port yesterday, reports the loss of the whale ship **Ontario**, Capt. Slocum, on the 24th of January last, at Pitt's Island, one of the King's Mill group, in the Pacific Ocean. The ship struck on a reef about 4 o'clock A.M. and in a few hours was a total wreck.

The **Ontario**, when last heard from, had 1700 bbls. whale oil on board. Capt. Smith spoke the schooner **Supply** (before reported arrived at Sydney with part of the Ontario's crew) who had on board 300 bbls. of oil saved from the wreck, taken in part payment for carrying in the crew.

The **Phocion** of this port went to the wreck and purchased between two and three hundred barrels of her oil. Capt. Slocum and the remainder of the officers and crew would take passage in the **Phocion** for home. The **Phocion** may be expected daily.

The **Hector**, after speaking the schooner, cruised in the vicinity of the wreck in hopes of falling in with some of the cargo, but saw none. The **Hector** brings a cargo of 2200

bbls. of Sperm Oil, and during her voyage of fifty months has dropped her anchor only four times.¹

Account of Captain Slocum himself.

Source: Letter published in the Daily Mercury of New Bedford, on 6 September 1852.

Capt. Frederick Slocum, late of the whaleship **Ontario**, arrived here on the 1st inst. in the **Phocion**, and has furnished us with the following account of the loss of his ship:—

On the 12th January, at 3 p.m., we saw Touching Island bearing S.W. distant 20 miles. We were steering S.W. At 5, p.m., lowered a boat and went on shore to trade with the natives. At sundown the boat returned and the yards were squared and the ship headed W. by S. At 9 p.m., double reefed the topsails, hauled up the courses, and luffed to the wind heading S.E. by S. the weather being squally with rain. At 11 p.m., breakers were discovered from points on the lee bow. It being dark and rainy, the ship was very near the breakers before they were seen. The ship was then making but little headway. Every effort was made to wear round, but all in vain; the current was setting the ship rapidly towards the reef. She struck, and a heavy sea broke over us, taking away the larboard and waist boats. The lanyards of the larboard rigging were then cut, the ship rolled, and the masts went overboard on the starboard side. The ship slowly forged ahead and brought up in the breakers.

We all remained upon the wreck until daylight, when we found that we were on a reef extending E.S.E. and W.N.W., as far as the eye could reach. We saw land to the south, distant about 12 miles. The ship's company then began to leave the ship, she having commenced to break up. Twenty-three of them swam from the ship to a place of safety inside the reef and nine others who could not swim, were taken off with much difficulty and not until the boats had been capsized several times in the surf. We then started in two boats for the land, which we reached about 4 p.m., and were informed by two white men who were living there, that it was Pitt's Island, and that the natives were friendly.

Upon my chart Pitt's Island lies S.E. of Touching Island. I therefore supposed that we were steering several miles to the westward of it; but its true position is S.W. of Touching's Island.

The schooner **Supply**, of Sydney, was lying at anchor at Pitt's Island, and we went on board of her. The next day Jan. 14th we went to the wreck in our boats to try to get some provisions from her, but the surf on the reef was so great that we could not get on board. On the 15th we went again to the ship, and found her broken up. The oil, provisions, and other things had floated out to sea, except about sixty casks of oil, which lay on the reef. The **Supply** came to anchor in the lagoon, abreast of the wreck, and her

1 Ed. note: The Daily Evening Traveler adds the following note: "There was insurance on the Ontario and cargo at several offices into this city, to the amount of \$25,000."

captain proposed to take to Sydney as many of the ship's crew as he could accommodate on board his schooner, for as much oil as would fill his vessel. This was agreed to and fourteen of the crew took passage in her for Sydney. On the same day the ship **Phocion** of New Bedford, arrived and Capt. Nichols supplied us with provisions, and also offered eight of the company a passage to Navigator [Samoa] Islands, which was gladly accepted. Five of the crew went on board the bark **Belle** of Fairhaven, and four natives of the Pacific, remained on the island at their own request.

Article published in Honolulu.

Source: Article in The Friend of Honolulu, on 19 October 1852; copied from the New Bedford Shipping List.

By the arrival of the **Hector**, Capt. Smith, at this port 10th inst. from the Pacific, the report of the loss of the whaler **Ontario** is confirmed, and as was anticipated, it proves to be the vessel of that name belonging to this port. The **Ontario** sailed from Honolulu on the 1st of December last, for a cruise on the Line for sperm oil. She had previously been quite successful having sent home 275 bbls. of whale oil and 35,000 lbs. of whalebone, and had on board at the time of leaving Honolulu about 1700 bbls of whale oil, and 35,000 lbs. of whalebone. The **Ontario** was wrecked on the 24th of January last on a reef at Pitt's Island, one of the King's Mill Group. The ship struck upon the reef about 4 o'clock a.m. and in a few hours, became a total wreck. She had taken 1,000 bbls. of sperm oil since leaving Honolulu. The British schooner **Supply** took off part of the crew and landed them at Sydney, receiving in payment for that service about 500 bbls of oil from the wreck.

Capt. Slocum and the remaining officers and crew were taken off by the **Phocion** of New Bedford, which was cruising in that vicinity, and would take passage in her for home. She may be expected daily. The **Phocion** had on board, 300 bbls. of oil, from the wreck, 200 bbls of which were purchased and the remainder found drifting about and picked up. The **Hector** cruised in the vicinity of the wreck in hope of falling in with some of the cargo, but saw no one.

The **Ontario** was a good ship of 370 tons, and was insured at offices in this city on thirteen sixteenths of ship and catchings as she sailed from Honolulu for \$36,700, as follows: At the Union Mutual \$19,300; Pacific \$4,400; Mutual Marine, \$8,000; and Bedford Commercial \$5,000. Three sixteenths are uninsured.

G3. Ship Franklin

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, of 25 September 1852.

At Guam, March 27, by letter from Capt. Lamb, **Franklin**, Nee Bedford, 70 sperm, 950 whale on board (took 20 sperm between seasons), bound to Ochotsk Sea.

G4. Ship Massachusetts

Source: Article in the Boston Post, of 14 October 1852.

A letter from Mr. Heath, 1st Mate of ship **Massachusetts**, Bennett, of N. Bedford, reports her at Guam May 20th with 100 bbls. sperm oil, all well.

G5. Ship Cornelius Howland

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, of 31 October 1852.

Touched at Guam (Ladrones) Jan. 30, **Cornelius Howland**, Crosby, New Bedford, 40 sperm (and sailed Feb. 19 for Japan Sea—also reported sailed March 6)...

G6. Arrivals at Ascension [Pohnpei] Island, 1852

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, June 1853.

—Oct. 5.—**Eleanor**, E. Woodin, from Hobart Town, trader, sailed Oct. 18, bound to Hong Kong.

—Oct. 12.—**Milton**, Jones, from New Bedford, 600 bbls. whale, sailed Oct. 25, bound for the Line.

—Oct. 20.—**Mohawk**, Swain, nantucket, 1500 bbls. sperm.

—Oct. 27.—Juga [rather **Inca**], Barnes, New Bedford, 40 sperm.

—Nov. 7.—**Sheffield**, Boyce [rather Roys], New York, 1600 whale.

—Nov. 20.—**Hannibal**.

—Nov. 23.—Frigate **Eugenie**, Virgin, Sweden.

—Dec. 23.—Brig **Freak**, Burns, Sydney, Sandalwood.

—Dec. 29.—Bark **Italy**, Rowley, Greenport, 1600 whale.

Advertisement in same newspaper, date, and page.

The Undersigned, for many years Pilots of the Rono Kittie, or Lee Harbor, desire to invite the attention of all ship-masters to the fact that they are still, as ever, ready to serve them with the utmost fidelity as Pilots, Interpreters and Traders.

They need hardly say that they refer with great satisfaction to the testimonials given by all Captains visiting this Port. Such as these they hope ever to merit.

JAMES HEDLEY,

LOUIS CORGAT.

Rono Kittie, Ascension Is., Dec. 30, 1853.

Lat. 6 deg. 41 min. N—Lon. 158 deg. 24 min. E.

G7. Bark Eureka

Source: Article in the Boston Post of 30 November 1852.

The whaling bark **Eureka** of San Francisco [Capt. Page], sailed from Strong's [Kos-rae] Island July 6 for Hong Kong, with a cargo of sandal wood, beach la mar, and tortoise shell. The brig **Wm. Penn**, Hussey, fitted out for whaling at Strong's Island, and sailed on a cruise July 6.

G8. Ship Herald, etc.

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 31 January 1853

At Strong's Island, July 1 [1852], **Herald**, Terry, Fairhaven, 250 sperm; 17th **Wm. Penn**, of San Francisco, fitted out for a cruise on the Equator, to be commanded by Capt. I. B. Hussey, late of the **Planter**, Nantucket; August 15, **Atlantic**, Coleman, nantucket, 1200 sperm; Sept. 30, **Napoleon**, Holly, do. 400 sperm; Oct. 15, **Narragansett**, Coleman, do. 650 sperm.

G9. Ship Narraganset, etc.

Source: Article in the Boston Post of 5 February 1853

A letter from the first officer of ship **Narragansett**, of Nantucket, dated at Strong's Island, Oct. 13, reports her with 700 bbls. sperm oil. Reports spoken, previous to Oct., ship **Susan**, Smith, of this port 100 sperm...

G10. Whalemens Shipping List, dated Honolulu, December 6, 1852

Source: The Friend, December 1852, pp. 93-96.

Editor's note: Arrivals for the ports of Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo. There are 200 entries for Honolulu alone, and only for the Fall Season 1852. Only the entries for French and other non-U.S. whalers are reproduced below, because of the rarity of information about them.

—Oct. 5.—French ship **Nil**, Le Havre, Captain Neve, 12 months out, from Arctic, Sailed Oct. 21, for Tahiti, and home.

—Oct. 13.—Bremen ship **Hansa**, of Bremen, Captain Husing, 23 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 17, to cruise.

—Oct. 19.—French ship **Salamandre**, Le Havre, Captain Hardoy, 13 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Dec. 14, to cruise.

—Oct. 19.—Bremen ship **Av. Heineken**, Bremen, Captain Geerken, 15 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 15 to cruise.

—Oct. 23.—Chilean ship **Pescadore**, Valparaiso, Captain Heath, 11 months out, from Arctic. sailed Nov. 10 for Valparaiso [in company with U.S. ship **Niagara** of Fairhaven, Captain Clough].

—Oct. 25.—Bremen ship **Republik**, Bremen, Captain Austin, 10 months out, from Arctic. Ready to sail Dec. 18.

—Oct. 25—Bremen ship **Otaheite**, Bremen, Captain Weiting, 26 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Dec. 1, to cruise.

—Oct. 25.—French bark **Asia**, Le Havre, Captain Lelièvre, 15 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 20, to cruise.

—Oct. 25.—French ship **Orion**, Le Havre, Captain Hache, 12 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 20, to cruise, and home.

—Nov. 8.—French ship **Pie IX**, France. Captain Lecrosnier, 28 months out, from Ochotsk. Sails in Dec. to cruise.

—Nov. 9.—French ship **Pallas**, Le Havre, Captain Chandeleur, 13 months out, from Arctic. Sails soon to cruise.

—Nov. 12.—French ship **Elisabeth**, Le Havre, Captain Darmandaritz, 27 months out, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 25, for Tahiti.

—Nov. 22.—French ship **Ferdinand**, Le Havre, Captain Martin, 24 months out, from Ochotsk. Bound home.

...

[Arrived Lahaina]

—Oct. 25.—French ship **Latour du Pin**, Le Havre, Captain Smith, from Arctic. Sailed Nov. 17, to cruise and home.

—Nov. 11.—French ship **Angéline**, Captain Vauquelin, from Ochotsk. Sails soon to cruise.

...

MEMORANDA.—... The ship **Sheffield**, Roys, was spoken by the **William Hamilton** in September in the Ochotsk with 1600 bbls this season, bound to cruise among the Caroline group, and from there home...

Cleared the Port of Honolulu, Dec. 16: Hawaiian schooner **Caroline**, Holdworth, for San Francisco.¹

¹ Ed. note: After she had completed a voyage as a missionary vessel to Micronesia (see Doc. 1852I).

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