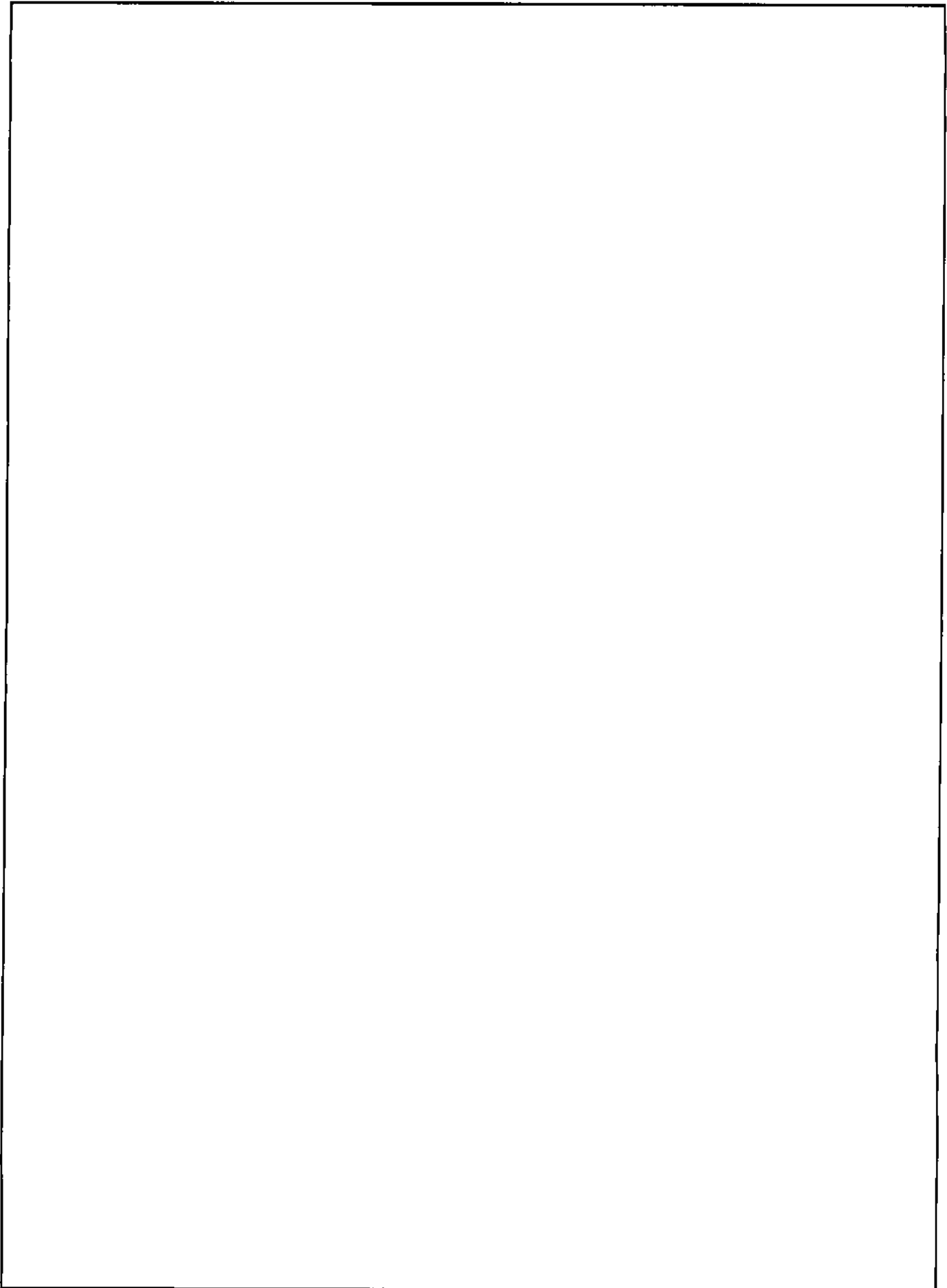


HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 32
TOURISTS COME
AND WRITE ABOUT
MICRONESIA



HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 32

**TOURISTS COME
AND WRITE ABOUT
MICRONESIA.**

1887-1890

**Compiled and edited
by**

Rodrigue Lévesque

List of illustrations

	Page
Chart of Butaritari, Gilbert Islands	20
SMS gunboat Eber (I) , Lieutenant Eusmann	68
Chart of Wotje Roads and Lagediak Pass, Marshall Islands	70
Map of Pohnpei in 1889 showing track of new road from Colonia to Kiti	102-103
The schooner Nyanza	110
The track of the Nyanza , R.N.Y.C.	114
The wreck of the Nyanza at Pohnpei	126
Santiago de la Ascension (Pohnpei)	129
Portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson, 1850-1894	140
Protestant missionaries Maka, Marymaka, Kanoa and Mrs. Kanoa	152
Hula [sic] dancers	160
Speak house, Island of Marakei	182
"Equator Town," showing corner of the sleeping-house and cook-house	188
Map to illustrate the cruise of the Janet Nichol , April to July 1890	192
Tom Day, a trader of Nukunau	196
Interior of the <i>maneapa</i> at Tembinoka's harem	200
A Marshall Island canoe	203
White trader and his wife "Topsy," Majuro Island	205
Kaibuke, one of the kings of Majuro	209
Schooner Equator in Butaritari lagoon, 1889	224
Spanish ms. map of Tomil Bay, Yap	270
Sketches of the Spanish signal station, Yap, by Dr. Rabe, 1890	299
Sketch map of Yap, by Dr. Rabe	300
Two styles of Yapese canoes— <i>Thouwahp</i> and <i>Popo</i>	319
View of Tomil Harbor showing the Spanish Colony in 1890	413
A "knuckle duster" from Palau	439
View of Koror, capital of Palau	468
Original petition of the chiefs of Pohnpei, In Pohnpeian and English	496
Composite of 8 photos from Pohnpei in 1890	521
General view of the Colony at Santiago de la Ascension	523
The kinglest of a tribe in Ponape with his wife	524
The Spanish cruiser Ulloa	525
Infirmery of the Colony of Ponape in Santiago de la Ascension	525
Dr. D. A. Cabeza Pereiro, Spanish Army physician during Ponape operations	526
Title page of Dr. Cabeza's book entitled <i>La isla de Ponapé</i>	528

Chart of the Island of Pohnpei	530-531
Chart of Santiago Harbor in 1890	534
Waterfall in Ponape—Photo of Navy Lieut. Lanzos	536
Sketch map of Aru Harbor, Pohnpei	538
Head of Chaulib	538
Chart of Metalanim Harbor	540
Chart of Lod Harbor	540
Chart of Pakin and the Ant Islands	542
Yapese warrior	544
Ponapean warrior	546
Micronesian skulls, front views	548
Micronesian skulls, side views	549
Man's arm tattoos	550
Woman's leg tattoos	551
Native musical instruments	552
A model canoe	552
The brig-schooner Morning Star at Ponape	554
The pilot boat Fowler at Ponape	554
Expedition to Ponape, to illustrate the 1890 operations	556
Photo of the Colony of Santiago de la Ascension, by Lieut. Lanzos	558
Map of Santiago de la Ascension in 1890	560
The infirmary at Santiago de la Ascension	562
Government House at Santiago de la Ascension	562
Fort Alfonso XIII at Santiago de la Ascension	564
Díaz Varela's headquarters	564
Fort Kiti in 1890	566
Sketch map to illustrate the landing at Oa and its capture	566
View of the capture of Oa	568
Hut where Colonel Gutierrez committed suicide	568
Statistics of Spanish casualties suffered during the military operations at	577
Map of the Island of Ascension	660
Sketch of the theater of operations at Metalanim, 1890	663
Sketch of the theater of operations at Ketam, 1890	665

Document 1887AH

A visit to the atoll of Ailuk, Marshall Islands

Source: Article by D. Grundemann entitled "Unser Kleinstes Schutzgebiet, die Marschallinseln," in: Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, IV, 1887. Translation n° 1255, UH, Pac. Collection.

Our small protectorate, the Marshall Islands.

The atoll of Ailuk is well suited to serve as a model of the islands of the Marshall Archipelago. The lagoon of Ailuk stretches for four miles from north to south and has a width of one mile. The island bearing taht same name lies in the southeast of the lagoon. Then, on the east side, there follows a whole chain of small islands which, in the north, connect with the larger island, called Kapeniur. Only the two larger islands are inhabited, but the entire population consists of no more than 200 souls. The small specks of land can hardly be expected to support more. A walk around the island reveals only very poor conditions. Along the beach we sink ankle deep in a white, gleaming sand, which is so abrasive that we may well be afraid of wearing down our boots. It is quite as unfertile as quicksand. Only at isolated points are there signs of a very stunted plant growth, with shoots creeping along the ground. The ground rises somewhat away from the lagoon; the earth becomes darker and the plant life somewhat stronger. Twenty-foot high pandanus trees lord it over low shrubs. Their roots have grown several feet above the ground, and only then does the trunk begin. Soon, however, the trunk again divides itself, and on several crowns carries the large red fruit with strong, long leaves. Apart from this tree there are also coconut trees, three or four times as high, with large plumes of leaves, and nuts the size of one's head. No other species of trees are found on the whole island. If we cross straight over to the sea, we walk continually through a grove of palms. The trees are not densely packed. Practically nowhere do we come across any undergrowth, and even grass grows only sparsely in several scattered tufts. We traversed the breadth of the island in twenty minutes—it is hardly a quarter of a mile wide.¹ Again our eyes meet the inconceivably blue sea, whose waves roll majestically towards our island and scatter themselves in foam on the white sand of the beach.

In the forest there is mostly a deep silence, broken only by the cooing of the wild doves and by the call of a coo-coo. The latter, however, has a call somewhat different

1 The length of the island is slightly over one mile.

from that of its German cousin. Occasionally a sea bird alights on a palm top after a long flight. Of mammals, only the rat is found on the whole island. Perhaps we might also come across a couple of lizards. Of insects there are likewise few species present.

As the sun drops we return to the people. Close to the village we come across a hole dug in the ground. From that we see how thin is the layer of fertile soil. Underneath this brief layer lies the white sand, then the hard coral rock above which clear water has collected itself. A vessel for drawing water lying nearby admits of no doubt but that we have come across a spring. The first native we encounter, who had already greeted us aboard the ship, informs us in his broken English that we have walked around the island without first presenting him with a gift.

...
Now we visited the chief. His palace differed in no respect from the houses, or better said, the huts of his subjects. The front of his house consisted of a row of posts, thirty feet or more in length, and the posts were only four feet above the ground surface; they bore cross-beams from which extended the high roof thatched with coconut leaves. Only at the rear were the spaces between the posts closed with hanging mats. The remaining sides were open. We can enter only in a stooped position. The entire room is separated from the roof by a lattice covering. In this attic are to be found stored the food and utensils, as well as the sleeping corners for the master of the house and his wife. Naturally we remained down below, where the floor was covered with small mussels, and was kept extremely clean; at several places it was covered with attractive mats. On one of these mats we found Koralik sitting in a squatting position surrounded by other brown men, his advisers. There was nothing about him lacking in dignity. The gifts spread out before him soon dispelled his ill-humor, and after he had examined everything closely he informed us, in English through Labua, that we were "very good white men".

Now we had an excellent opportunity to observe the brown folks. They are not at all as hateful as some people suppose "savages" to be. They have slender figures with long, black hair, which some wear tied together in a bunch at the back of the head; in others the long hair hangs down to the shoulders. Clothing consists mostly of a belt bound around the body on which are fastened slit pandanus leaves which fall like a petticoat to the knees. In this case, however, the chief, in our honor, also clothes himself with a fine square mat. One does not exactly miss clothing on the naked upper bodies of the men, for the dark-brown skin is tattooed with numerous images in different colors. It is impossible not to wonder at the skill with which fish, birds and other objects are portrayed between really tasteful decorations. There are special artists in the Marshall Islands who apply this art work. Especially remarkable is the endurance with which the pain accompanying the application of the deeply-buried decoration is borne.

1 Translator's note: From their trunks they take presents of an axe, an iron cooking pot, a package of fish-hooks, a pair of pocket knives, mirrors and several other objects that they were advised to buy in Hamburg as gifts for the natives. They were told not to take any brandy. Labua notes the gifts and remarks on the lack of brandy, saying, in English, "No brandy."

We also noticed the long, black feather (from tropical birds) which Karolik's advisers wore in their hair. The other men wore chicken feathers. The chief, as well as several of the assembled company, had also added a necklace of mussels; others wore a wreath of flowers on their head. The misshapen widened ear-lobe in which they wore rolls of tortoise-shell also attracted attention. Here and there one of them even had a hole in the upper edge of the ear, in which he had inserted a flower. None is lacking a neckalace of threaded beads made of coconut shell, mussel, fish-bones, etc. Most of them had a similar ornament on the arms and legs.

Our audience with the chief did not last very long. The conversation, carried on through the interpreter, was very poor. He once more assured us that he will provide us well. We thank him, shake hands with him, and withdrew. Outside our tracks were dogged by the curious throng. The women were dressed somewhat more completely than the men. They wore mats which reached from the hips to the ankles. But the scanty clothing of the upper part of the bodies, due to the simpler tattooing, was more striking than in the case of the men. But all the more rich were they in other ornamentation, such as fragrant, brilliant flowers in their oiled hair and all kinds of objects around their necks, in the ears and on the arms and legs.

The sun had set. A bright fire burned in front of our house. Several men were around it preparing the evening meal. One of them was scooping the meat of a coconut with a mussel knife; another was pressing the juice from single drupes of the pandanus fruit with the powerful pressure of his fingers. This juice he carefully collected in a cup made from a coconut shell. Both ingredients were then mixed together, the mass placed in a coconut shell and this then set in a pile of glowing embers. Their attention was then given to preparing another dish. A great number of fish of various families stood ready in a basket; one of the cooks now took one after the other and without any further ado, wrapped them in leaves and placed them into the ashes.

Meanwhile the table was set inside the house. The mats spread on the floor by way of a table-cloth left nothing to be desired as far as cleanliness was concerned, and similarly the leaves which serve as plates. The meal was not bad and did honor to the culinary art of the natives. The pudding-like paste of the coconut takes the place of the soup. The fish are palatable, although the sea-water which took the place of salt in the cooking process gives them a somewhat peculiar taste. The concluding dish is *mokan*, a firm mass prepared from the juice of the pandanus fruit, cooked down, and prepared by drying it in the sun. It is then cut in strips and rolled together for eating.

The taste of the meal was not spoiled too much by the great number of mosquitos, one of the few insects present on this island. To drive off the mosquitos we lit damp leaves close to the houses, but the smoke plagued us more than did the mosquitos and so we quenched the fire. After supper, in the brilliant moonlight, we once more walked towards the lagoon. For a long time everything was silent. Then hollow drum sounds and monotonous singing were heard coming from the village. The young people were dancing.

Our sleeping mats had been spread in the attic of our house, and according to the custom of this country a wooden pillow for our heads had also been set out. Everything was humming with mosquitos because of our having stopped the smoke. Luckily for us, we had mosquito nets.

The Ailuk people really live a poverty-stricken existence. Daily the coconut palms are climbed, a task which the brown men manage extremely skilfully. Swiftly they reach the top and choose either the young or the fully ripe nuts. These they then throw down to be collected by the women and carried home. The coconut palm is the most important of the few sources of their nourishment. Often catastrophies occur which destroy them. Every year from September onwards, the islands are threatened by storm winds which often cause terrible damage and result in bitter famine. In order to protect the palms they are bound up on various sides with cords which are tied to posts which are hammered into the ground. The cords themselves are made of coconut coir.

Should coconuts be lacking for food, then the pandanus fruits have to serve. Their juice is also used along with coconuts. But it is a wretched life when somebody is forced to survive with the juice of the sticky fruit drupes. Chewing the fruit spoils the teeth of most of the natives.

Agriculture is out of the question considering the unsuitable conditions of this island. With extraordinary care a little taro is grown. Holes are dug in the sand and the scanty amount of fertile soil thrown up on the ground. Foliage which has fallen from the trees is then heaped into this pit, its decay producing some humus. Often the ocean carries large masses of pumice stone to the island, the products of some volcanic action. The valuable material is fished out of the water, pulverized with beaters; in this way an artificial compost is prepared for the plant holes. In spite of this care, the plants grow wretchedly. The roots reach hardly a quarter of the usual size. Here taro is regarded as a delicacy, while on other islands it is regarded very much like daily bread.

Nevertheless this is not the sole agriculture. We also saw a few decorative plants being cultivated, the flowers of which are used as decorations by the natives. To eat eggs is something entirely foreign to them, and the flesh of the fowl is eaten only in time of great want. At such times they also hunt rats.

Fish, on the other hand, are a daily article of diet, and men and women are highly skilled in various ways of catching them.

The chiefs, as well as the larger landowners, have several wives, while the small landowners must be satisfied with one wife. Those who own no land must, in part, be satisfied with a state of celibacy. One can therefore imagine how difficult must be the condition of the lower class.

In our journey across the island we occasionally came across a post with carvings. The natives were reluctant to give an explanation of what these posts signified. Finally, we learned that here murdered children were buried. The unnatural parents permit only their three oldest children to live; if these remain alive then the succeeding children are killed. Only those of high rank are permitted to raise a large family.

Little trace of religion exists among these brown people. One looks in vain for a temple or priests to direct any ceremonies. ONLY once in a while do we come across a palm around whose trunk a four-cornered enclosure is erected. Here are placed flowers and foodstuff. The spirits of the deceased are believed to have their residence in the crown of the tree. These gifts are made to them out of superstitious fear and in order to protect the living from their wrath.

Document 1887H

Chronicle of the Mariana Islands, cont'd

Part IV: The diary kept by Father Ibañez, 1887-92

Source: Same as for Doc. 1847AB.

—On 22 April 1887, the mail steamer **Don Juan** arrived at Apra, bringing back Fr. Ibañez,¹ Fr. Hilario Medrano, the French naturalist Mr. Alfred Marche, and a German citizen. On the 26th, the steamer departed for Manila, with Fr. Francisco Castillo on board.

—On 2 May 1887, a Captain Gilmour arrived here with 18 survivors from the shipwreck of the English merchant barque **Afton**, which had been carrying coal from Newcastle, Australia, to San Diego, California. The shipwreck occurred on 31 March on Lisianski Shoal, situated at 26°03' lat. N. and 173°42' W. of Greenwich.

—On 4 May 1887, the schooner **Beatrice** left Agaña for the northern islands, carrying the Government Secretary, the French naturalist Mr. Marche, and Mariano Faus to and family going to Tinian. She returned on the 24th.

—On 30 May 1887, the schooner **Beatrice** departed for Japan with the survivors of the shipwreck of the **Afton**. She returned on 29 July.

—In July 1887, the mail steamer brought a new Governor, Enrique Solano. Ex-Governor Medrano returned to Manila aboard her.

—During August 1887, the entire population suffered from influenza, but there were no fatal consequences.

—On 22 October 1887, the mail steamer arrived at Apra. She returned on the 25th.

—21 November 1887 marked the beginning of the construction of a new bell tower; the old one was too small to accommodate the new bell which came from Manila.

—At about this time, Governor Solano noticed that the small watch-tower behind the government house, which had been used as a sentry post to descry ships, could no longer be used as such, because of the trees that had been planted in the public square, and was in bad repair; consequently, it was demolished.

1 Ed. note: He had just served as military chaplain aboard a Spanish navy ship during the Yap Conflict between Germany and Spain. Fr. Ibañez brought along a modern barometer to Guam, an aneroid barometer made by Faura and measuring air pressure in millibars, not inches of mercury.

—On 24 December 1887, I blessed the new bell. Many people went up to ring it. By accident, a 24-year-old man, named Vicente Nego, was hit on the head by the swinging bell and died.

—On 25 February 1888, I blessed the first stone of the government house, which is about to be rebuilt from the bottom up. The old palace was in very poor condition and did not have a proper foundation.¹

[The Canadian ghost ship **Rock Terrace**]

—In early March 1888, a 1,800-ton ship carrying 60,000 cans of petroleum [naphta] lost her keel on a shoal far from here. When they had neared Guam, finding that they could no longer pump the water out, the crew abandoned ship and reached safety in life-boats. They are now in Agaña.²

—On 29 March 1888, lighting by petroleum lamps was inaugurated in Agaúa.

—On 18 May 1888, Captain Williams arrived with his new schooner, named **Esmeralda**, which has double the capacity of the old **Beatrice**.

—On 23 May 1888, the schooner **Esmeralda**, Captain Williams, departed for the northern islands and Japan.

—On 11 August 1888, the schooner **Esmeralda** arrived back at Apra. Between the Bonins and the Marianas, she was hit by a typhoon.

—On 8 November 1888, the **Esmeralda** departed for the northern islands, taking Fr. Ildfonso Cabanillas to Saipan. She returned on the 16th, but departed again for Hong-Kong on the 27th.

—On 23 October 1888, the mail steamer arrived from Manila via Yap. She brought the measles, in the person of Mr. Henry Millenchamp. By December, Agaña looked like one large hospital. Pregnant women have miscarried and many children have died as a result.

—In July 1889, an English yacht and the mail steamer arrived. The steamer brought back Fr. Resano and Fr. Lamban.

—On 10 September 1889, the transport ship **Cebu** arrived at Apra from Pohnpei. She took on food supplies for the Yap mission, and departed on the 13th.

—On 1 July 1889, the Carolinians of Tinian began to be moved to Saipaon. By September 3rd, all had been resettled in Tanapag.

—On 24 January 1890, the mail steamer **Don Juan** arrived. She departed on the 27th.

—On 28 January 1890, the 2,500-ton [sic] Japanese warship **Hi-yai** [rather **Hiei**], with more than 300 men on board, arrived at Apra. Three days later, another warship, named **Kongo** arrived. Both ships are under the command of a man named Magsomura [sic]. They departed for Japan on 6 February.

1 Ed. note: The construction of the new government house was finished in September 1889.

2 Ed. note: I have found out that this Canadian ship was still sea-worthy at the time, and as a ghost ship, her sails still set, she crossed the whole of Micronesia and ground ashore on Tarawa, one of the Gilbert Islands, where a newly-arrived French missionary father reported her wreckage.

—During January and February 1890 six whalers visited Guam.

—On 19 April 1890, the mail steamer arrived, with Lieut.-Col. Joaquín Vara del Rey on board. He is to be our new Governor. Also on board were Judge Mariano Villarín, and Dr. Ramón Suria.

—In June 1890, the island inhabitants suffered from the influenza which has already swept the entire known world, but it had no serious consequences. However, two persons died of dengue fever.

—A medical survey was made and the doctor has identified 100 lepers. They are to be taken to the place where the old town of Pago used to be.

—On 26 November 1890, the **Esmeralda** returned from Agrigan, Pagan, Saipan, and Rota. She had departed Yokohama three days after a cholera epidemic had ended in that city. Consequently, she had been placed in quarantine at Saipan. When she anchored at Apra, she was placed in another quarantine for 4 days, and the people on board were fumigated.

—On 16 January 1891, the doctor issued a report in which it is said that 539 persons have been vaccinated against smallpox and 829 have been re-vaccinated.

—On 20 January 1891, the first whaler arrived at Apra. During this monsoon season, only three whalers were to visit Guam.

—On 1 April 1891, the new leper colony at Pago was inaugurated. I blessed the infirmary. The governor and local authorities were present.

—On 1 July 1891, the **Esmeralda** departed for Saipan, taking Fr. Clemente Danso along, who is the new curate there, while Fr. Palomo stays here.¹

—On 8 October 1891, the 2,000-ton [sic] Japanese warship Hi-yai [**Hiei**] arrived, with over 200 men on board. Her captain is named Mori. On the 17th, she departed for Australia.

—On 23 October 1891, the mail steamer **Venus** arrived. She departed for Pohnpei on the 25th.

—On 27 October 1891, a very strong typhoon hit Guam and caused much damage. The small schooner named **Yap** broke up in two sections, and only one section has been found. The huts of the Carolinians lying at Tamuing and those at the pago leper colony have all been demolished. In Agaña, 60 houses fell, and I think that the canals bringing drinking water from Fonte may have been seriously damaged.

—On 26 May 1892, a strong earthquake shook the island.

—On 22 August 1892, the mail steamer arrived with the new governor, Lieut.-Col. Vicente Gomez Hernandez, to replace Luis Santos.² Also on board was José Sixto, the new financial administrator, to replace Manuel Arias y Scala.³

1 Ed. note: The Governor had ordered his removal from Tinian.

2 Ed. note: Gov. Santos served only for one year.

3 Ed. note: For continuation, see Doc. 1893H.

Document 1887AJ

The German barque Paula visited Butaritari

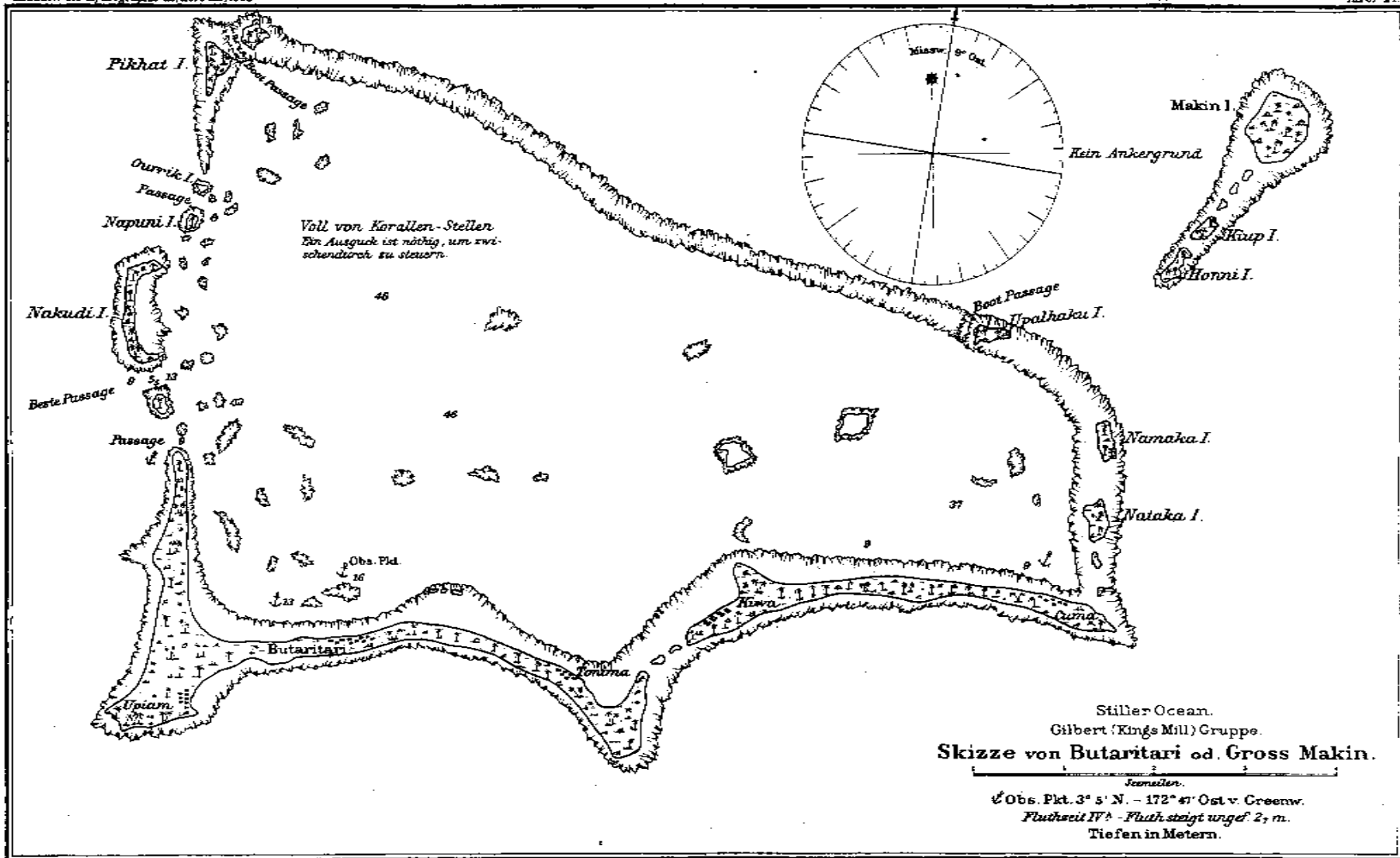
Source: Article in Annalen der Hydrographie, 1888, entitled: Bemerkungen über die Insel Butaritari in der Gilbert- (Kings Mill-) Gruppe. Von Kapt. O. Diekmann, Führer der deutschen Bark "Paula."

Notes on the Island of Butaritari, Gilbert Islands

...
[After giving a hydrographic description of Butaritari, or Big Makin, and other practical information for navigators, Captain Diekmann goes on to describe the life on the island.]

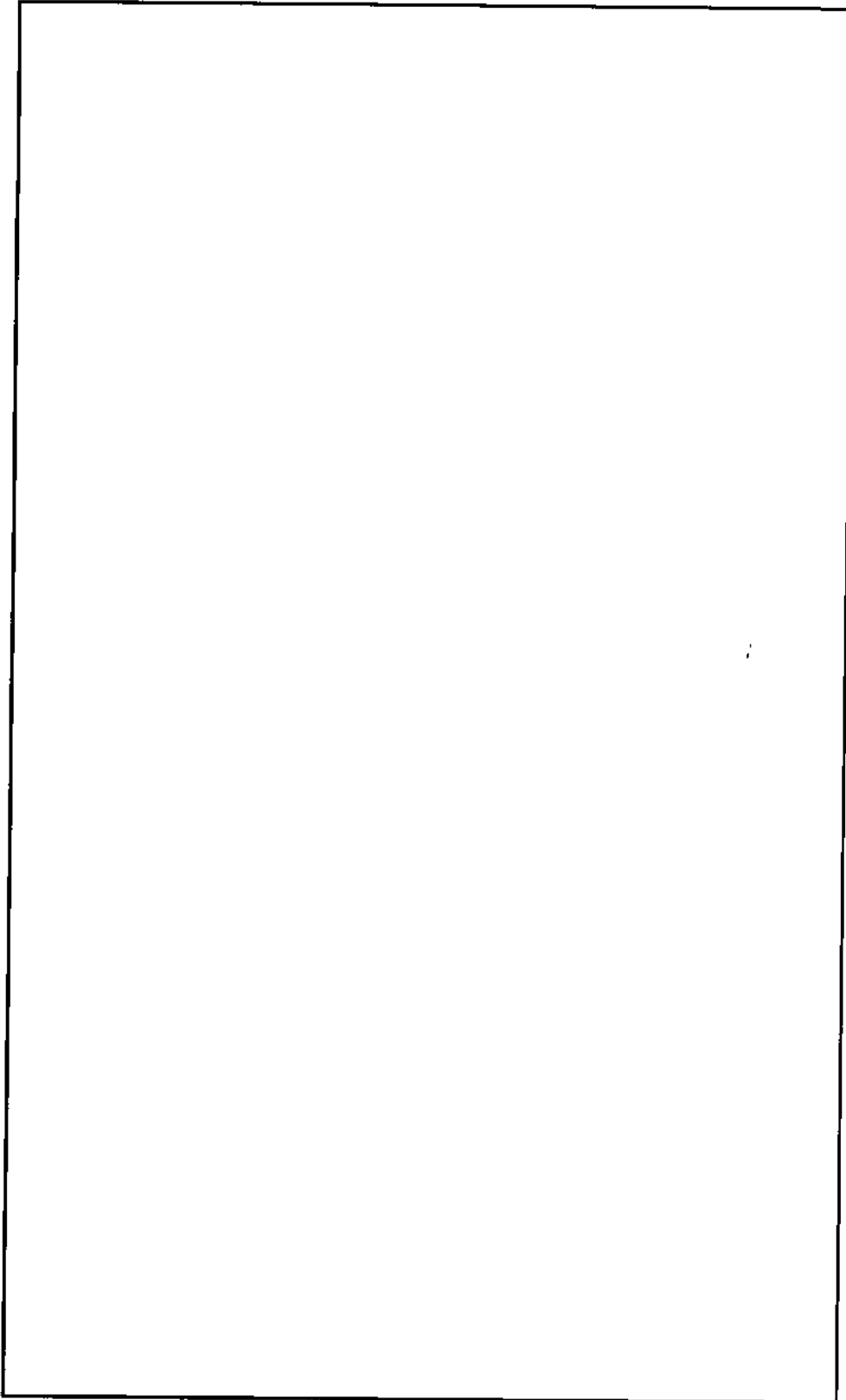
...
The natives, who number about 800 souls, are friendly people. They have one chief, who acts as a king. One American Missionary is stationed here. The staple food consists of coconut and *papai*, the latter is a root vegetable, similar to yam. Fresh food can be had here, as in the rest of the Gilbert Archipelago; a pig sells for 5 cents per 1/2 Kilo. Drinking water can be had from the Agent for the firm of Weighmann of San Francisco for 1 cent per gallon; he has built a big cistern for that purpose. The natives have only brackish water available.

The outline of Butaritari is shown in the attached chart (Table 21) which was drawn with the help of a native.



Geogr. A. Wagner

Geogr. Anst. v. Schmidt v. C. L. Keller, Berlin S



Documents 1888A

Official reports from Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

A1. Return of the expeditionary force—Letter dated Pohnpei 1 January 1888

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

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.—No. 44:
Reporting the departure of the European force and Engineers.

Your Excellency:

The moment for the troop to embark has arrived, and I comply with my duty to report to the respectable authority of Y.E. about what has been done since the departure of the **Cebu**, with respect to material things as well as to personnel.

All; that Y.E. ordered me upon my departure from Manila has been carried out with these suffering and valiant soldiers. The whole Colony has been temporarily rebuilt, and solid bases for security and lodging have been laid for the future.

Once peace was honorably and definitely made on November 8th, everyone worked with true effort to leave the Colony in the advantageous situation in which it is today. The simple inspection of the **plan of Fort Alfonso XIII**, attached,¹ and that of the barracks that bear the name of the Officer in charge of the force [i.e. Varela] on account of the very grateful remembrance that he leaves here, Y.E. will be able to calculate the good progress of the definitive re-construction of this military establishment. The powerful stockade is complete; it has two strategic blockhouses to defend the sides and thanks to the wise directives of Y.E., it is now able to sustain whatever attack, no matter how violent.

At 7 o'clock today, the blessing of Fort Alfonso XIII took place. The national flag was raised immediately after, in accordance with the formalities prescribed by regulations, the soldiers in formation heard mass in the said fort before embarking. The sovereignty of Spain that was morally re-established on the 8th of November remains today strengthened by the material force which nowadays among diplomats is seen as the indispensable appendage for its recognition.

1 Ed. note: Unfortunately, it was not found with this letter in the archives.

As a consequence of the lucky campaign, there was no need to fire one shot. I agree with the illustrious Officer in charge of the force that it is sufficient to keep here 100,000 rifle cartridges, and all those for the guns. I then return the rest to the Capital to avoid noticeable deteriorations and losses without remedy after some time has passed.

I also remit the Artillery effects restituted by the natives, among which figure two cannon, about 6-cm, picked up in a landing from the **Molina**, as well as the effects found or delivered that were found to belong to those who died between the 2nd and 4th of July. All of this goes in the care of Major Diaz de Rivera.

For the purpose of maintaining the fort and to have its personnel trained, I appointed as its interim commander the Second-Lieutenant of [Regiment] No. 7, who served as a Sergeant in the Artillery, Mr. José Porras.

I also directed, as an interim measure until the superior approval of Y.E., that the Pool of Engineers leave their tools here, as long as the ditch remains to be opened and if large stones are found, many tools will become useless.

The disadvantages of having only two Companies, these coming from different Corps, nobody better than Y.E. who has been a distinguished Chief of Staff, will be able to note them. If at all possible, Your Excellency, please change the Company from No. 3 for another from No. 7, in case it is not judged proper to send the 50 Marines who could be used for the military service and to look after the cannon, given that aboardf warships they are used as loaders of powerful pieces.

The Capuchin Fathers, even though they told me today that they will be unable to do any type of missionary work, have been given the lodging that had been left vacant by the Artillery officers, to live in until Y.E. resolves otherwise.

Let me, Excellency, comply with an inescapable duty of gratitde, in giving the most expressive thanks to Y.E. for the numberless resources and the affectionate and decided protection with which you have honored me from the moment that you deigned appoint to this posi, very superior to my few qualities.

However, I must also mention to Y.E. that, in spite of the ease and clarity that your authority has made the political and military way for me to follow, I would perhaps have been powerless to cover it, had I not found such a decisive and loyal support in the brilliant Officer in charge of the force, whom I am pleased to recommend again to the authority of Y.E. He has not rested one moment at all hours of the day or night, and if in the military service he has tried to bring his foresight and zeal to the farther linit, he has also done so in the pursuit of mechanical tasks in which I saw him always at the toughest spot, enduring the torrential rain that is sometimes frequent here, and avoiding any conflict that might be foreseen with the natives. All the officers, specially the Artillery officers, have worked with true enthusiam, and have suffered the penalties proper to the season. The War Commissioner and his officers have made true efforts until the last moment so that the troop was perfectly fed, and there was not the slightest fault or omission. The Physicians, Mr. Mir and Mr. Mamell, have competed in complying with their worthy mission, and they have won the appreciation of all. The Secretary of this Government, Mr. Jacobo Sanvalle, has carried out many difficult mis-

sions to the tribes with much energy and good desire even enthusiasm, and in his work as English interpreter, he has been every useful for the good relations that are maintained with the Methodist Missionaries, and even with the Kings and Chiefs, who almost all speak English.

That is what I have the honor to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 1 January 1888.

Luis Cadarso.

A2. Letter of Governor Cadarso, dated Pohnpei 24 January 1888

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

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.—No. 47, regarding the departure of the gunboat **Lezo**, and other matters.

Your Excellency:

The gunboat [General] **Lezo**, which had relieved the gunboat **Elcano**, is leaving. I comply with what Y.E. has ordered me to do, in reporting to your respectable authority all that occurred since the expeditionary force left for that Capital on the 2nd instant.

Firstly, I have the satisfaction to report to Y.E. that I have received the communication that Y.E. has deigned to send me, approving entirely the policy that I have followed here, since I took over the Government on 31 October until 2 January when the politico-military commission was declared over. I therefore consider myself obliged to Y.E. by a limitless gratitude, as Y.E. is the one who showed me perfectly well the way which I have followed. The result of the policy of wide attraction that Y.E. recommends to me is so fruitful that its healthy consequences can already be seen; the kinglets, who flocked to the Methodist Missionaries before for everything, today come directly and personally to consult about whatever doubts they have, and they thank me for the justice brought to many matters which they bring for my decision.

They have renewed their petition for the expulsion from their tribes of Cristián the Portuguese, who, according to them, by his immoral conduct, stealing married women, has caused consternation in the many places where he has lived. I made them see that they had to forget about the past and to forgive him if he had the intention to amend himself. If in the future, he returns to exercise some act of violence, I will comply with Y.E.'s instructions and will punish him or expel him from the Island, if he deserves it. They agreed, and I will keep an eye on Cristián so that such complaints will not come up again.

Another matter was presented to me yesterday by a French citizen who, according to him, has been shipped by force in San Francisco of California aboard one of the three whalers that are anchored on the South coast, between Metalanim and Kitti. According to what the said person told me, the Captain of the whaler mistreats him and

forces him to work by force, and he begged me to check the facts and bring a remedy to such outrages.

As Y.E. will see, it is indispensable to check the truth of this, as well as other complaints that are presented, in order to gain prestige for the position of Governor, and to truly exercise the judicial and administrative responsibilities that Y.E. has given him. But at present I find myself unable to go on board the whalers which I am told sell arms and powder, because I lack a steam launch to take me there, as there is a distance of 20 miles which can only be covered by sea.

When I have the said launch, which Y.E. has always requested for the good of these islands, after creating the supplementary credit, they would sail promptly whenever difficulties appear, and the coast would be guarded; such a circumstance would make the natives obey all my orders and dictates so much faster.

My relations with the Missionaries are as cordial as H.M.'s Government and Y.E. recommend. Peace is complete.

Which I have the honor to report to the respectable authority of Y.E., in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 24 January 1888.

Luis Cadarso.

A3. Need for a steam launch, etc.—Letter dated 20 February 1888

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

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.—Letter No. 70.

Your Excellency:

The arrival of the **Manila**, with the food supplies, lanterns, cement and rest of the materials for the Government House, has been a great and much appreciated occasion to see Y.E.'s well-known protection over this faraway archipelago, that, thanks to Y.E. and the worthy authorities who second you, has sufficient elements in the Military Colony to preserve the Spanish flag safe, surrounded now by the best of the two Crowns: that of the sympathy and affectionate respect to our Sovereign. With these frequent ship visits, and with the exemplary conduct nowadays of all those who visit the tribes that were formerly rebellious, one can see notorious changes in the humble attitude that they had before toward our forces, and the antagonism which appeared to have deep roots.

However, Y.E. knows very well, after three years of arduous but profitable government in these regions, what is the character of these races, and the approprieness of acquiring prestige and making it known to the natives themselves and foreigners alike that our dominion is effective and leaves no doubt to any foreign ship visiting these Islands [...]

Thus, Y.E., [...] I believe it to be my duty to insist [...] upon the imperative necessity of providing this Government with one good steam launch at all costs and even if other attentions are suppressed. In order to demonstrate in an obvious manner the consequences that could result if such a necessary element is not available, I am going to indicate a few points to Y.E. [...]

The great influence, and almost dangerous influence in given cases for our interests, that the Methodist Missionaries possess; I am becoming convinced that today this influence is protected by careful zeal by those in charge of spreading the religious interests, very intimately linked to the political interests of the North-American Republic, in the tribes of Metalanim and Kitti. The venerable Mr. Doane has great influence on their Chiefs, and he takes care to maintain, with diplomacy, the isolation from my authority. On the other hand, I see with some displeasure that the tribes of Not and Yokoyo are not as liked by him as before; they are decidedly Spanish. That does not mean that I have no complaints against the kinglets of the said tribes.

When I tried to carry out the population census, that I have so much difficulty in completing in an efficient manner, I find insurmountable disadvantages for lack of a means of transport. It is known that the taking of a census requires the visit of the whole island and going from house to house, as Mr. Doane tells me. If such an operation is not done by the designated Commission, with the Secretary who knows English, then all their efforts will be fruitless. If it is not done in that manner, and if claims presented by the natives of some tribes and foreigners who have reasons to present them are not attended to, then the impotence of this Governor will become notorious, as he cannot move out of Ponape under any circumstances, and he will be confined to commanding the Military Colony. As this is not what the Government of H.M. (God save him) or Y.E. have ordered or want; it is necessary to attend to a matter which, in time, could bring our country face to face with some international conflict, and, what is as important as the conflict itself, the loss of prestige that today is beginning to recuperate under this humble representative of Y.E.'s authority.

I regret, Y.E., to have to place my modest opinion on the side of the illustrious ex-Commander of the **Manila**. Y.E. may ask the one who was Chief of the force in this camp, Mr. Diaz Varela, if he had any difficulty in his voyage to Metalanim, which he did, taking advantage of the tides, with the present Commander of the **Elcano**, Mr. Angel Lopez, whom I reminded about this event yesterday, and with the Commander of the **San Quintín**, who along with Mr. Doane, went inside the reefs with this launch. Metalanim is the main tribe, where the Colleges are to be found, and where they exercise their greatest influence intentionally. It appears evident that the more we can gain prestige for Spain, the lesser will be the special affection that they profess there for another Nation. For this reason, it appears to me appropriate to suggest to Y.E. not to allow that the 4th of July be celebrated by the natives with the usual feasts, on account of their political character. Mr. Doane himself, with a smile on his face, told me that it was the independence of America which was celebrated last year and on the previous years, in accordance with a custom the Missionaries had.

My relations with the Head of the Mission, Y.E., continue to be very cordial; however, I cannot but observe what are the impulses of his heart, that go against mine which only feels love for Spain. These trends could in some cases, result improper.

I am not unaware, Y.E., of the convenience of giving aid of this nature to the small island of Yap; however, in paragon, the political situation of that Archipelago with this one, does not appear similar; it cannot even be assimilated in any event. Here, it is possible that the religious spirit that still boils within the minds of the natives could become an unconscious cause for an unpleasantness; this island, because of its longitude, is visited by all the whaling ships, that, without distinction, have always introduced weapons, and they should be watched.

In Yap, on the other hand, the need for a Hulk is notorious, however, the question of religion which has always been for our dear Spain, the origin and cause of social troubles, is found there completely protected, as our Missionaries have no competition.

The considerations that I have exposed with the best wishes can reach such a point that the withdrawal in Ponape of our Missionaries suffice to prove the future fears; they say that they absolutely cannot enter into a fight, not even attempt one, in the religious question, for fear of the influence exercised by the Methodists. But this influence, Y.E., I intend to counteract it, perhaps soon, if only I could communicate with the heart of the tribes which, I have evident proofs, wish it to be so.

The fact that a warship should never fail to be here is, no doubt, necessary. The General Naval Command has thus recommended it to Y.E., and they will surely not give it up, the more reason because the whole European staff that the Hulk had before has been removed; it consisted in one gunner's mate, 2 Corporals who were gunners and 28 sailors, besides the removal of the only two machine guns that it had. This is another imperative reason to recommend to Y.E., if possible, not to reduce the force of this Colony nor to deplete it of the elements which Y.E. has had the foresight to staff it with.

This is all I have the honor to tell Y.E. in compliance with my duty, but I must add that the house of the Capuchin Fathers has not arrived yet; their Superior tells me that it is ready in that Capital [Manila]. given that there is no coal remaining in the Hulk and it is planned for the **Manila** to bring some in April or at the beginning of May, it could carry the said materials.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 20 February 1888.

Luis Cadarso.

Document 1888B

How John Cameron became a trader in eastern Micronesia, 1888-93

Source: Andrew Farrell. John Cameron's Odyssey (New York, 1928).

Note: For a bio-sketch of Cameron, see the Introductory note in Doc. 1882C.

Boat trip from Midway to Mili Atoll

...
Friday, October 13, 1888, dawned over Midway. A doubly unlucky day on which to depart, but we had been delayed, especially by damage to our boat, which had been driven on the beach in a storm, and we were unwilling to lose any more time. So we bade farewell to the colony of Sand Island, and out we sailed. Our crew consisted of John Cameron, skipper; Adolph Jorgensen, able seaman; Moses, [Chinese] cook and scullion. We were all delighted to be at sea again after so long a time on Midway. Moses and I for eight months and Jorgensen for almost two years.

...
[Their intended destination was Honolulu, by way of Ocean [Kure] Island, but they missed the latter island and the bad weather made Cameron change his plan and head southward for the Marshall Islands instead. He had a hand compass and a sextant that allowed him to determine his latitude, but no chronometer or nautical tables to determine longitude. He planned to go SE until he reached the latitude of Mili, then sail directly west. After much suffering and many misadventures (bad weather, sickness), at last they reached the neighborhood of Mili.]

...
After a restless night I awoke bright and early on November 25, 1888. Jorgensen was sitting moodily on a thwart, so sullen that he would not respond to my "good morning." Before I hoisted sail I went aft to ship the rudder, requesting Moses, as I did so, to stand on a thwart and have a look around. "Sail O! Land O!" screamed the excited Chinese. I finished with the rudder; then I stood upright, and gazed westward. The tops of coconut palms were distinctly discernible. Our perilous voyage was nearly done. In an open boat, with a pocket compass and a broken sextant to serve as navigating instruments, with my own rough table of the sun's declination, we had met and conquered storm and calm.

Let me confess, now that the voyage was ended, that the greatest danger of all would no longer be a nightmare to me: I mean the possibility of cannibalism. Before we sailed from Midway that horrible contingency had occurred to me; I had weighed it calmly and had come to the cool conclusion that Moses should be the first to go and Jorgensen, of course, the second. Now, thank God, murder for self-preservation would not be necessary.

...

Chapter Twelve

My Desperate Adventure Happily Over, I Occupy Myself With Trade and Statecraft.

As we neared the island a large canoe, manned by many natives, came sailing through a passage in a reef, on each side of which foamed breakers. To one of the men, who could speak a little English, I explained who we were, whence we had come, and how sorely we needed food. The canoe took us in tow, but a squall caught us, dismasting the craft, and we had the singular experience, after sailing about two thousand seven hundred miles (only one thousand five hundred and forty by direct course), of ourselves towing the Micronesians into their own port.

On the beach at Mille waited a throng of natives to give us welcome; and we were not loath to be greeted. Ashore I waded. Solid land was strange, was good, to feet that had grown weary of the toss of a restless boat; and many faces of men and women, the green of coconut fronds, the gleam of coral sand, gladdened eyes that for forty-three days had beheld little except sky and sea. Such emotions, however, did not detain me then; far weightier business summoned me imperiously. Was it pouring out a grateful soul to Providence? That, I must confess, was not my concern. Thank God for our preservation I did, but instead of falling to my knees in prayer I dashed headlong at a brown buck who was contentedly puffing a homemade cigar. Sleight of hand transferred it from his lips to mine. Roaring with delighted laughter, he tendered me a fresh cigar from his case, an enlarged hole in the lobe of his ear. My first smoke in six months—how sweet it was!

Weak from privation and joy, Jorgensen had to be lifted from the boat and laid upon the beach. Moses, as the first Chinese seen on Mille, was a rare curiosity and inspired endless questions, which I answered as well as I could, with an explanation of the size of China and its enormous population, but the frowns with which my exposition was received indicated that the people of the tiny atoll neither understood nor believed.

The kindly islanders offered us what food they had, chickens, rice, fish, green coconuts, and a preserved fruit that resembled dates. Repetitions of our story to ever-growing audiences of brown folk filled the day. At nightfall, to my great relief, fear of nocturnal ghosts sent the crowds scuttling home. For us mats were spread on the coral-shingle floor of a one-room building which was shared by men and women alike. Privacy was unknown; and all turned in still wearing their drapes, or *ridis*, of coconut leaves, and no more. My aching joints relaxed: what luxury to lie down at full length, to toss as I pleased! Up came a coffee-colored damsel, her hands well lubricated with

coconut oil, and began to knead my muscles. Sleep overwhelmed me. when I awoke, the girl was still massaging me, while my every ache was gone.

Our boat was in the water, the people said, to take us a few miles to the home of the head chief. A crowd of natives, just out of church, met us on arrival; and Leit, the head chief, advanced with hand extended, and in intelligible English bade us welcome. Then he and his wife, a woman of pleasing countenance, led the way to their dwelling, a commodious building, and set before us a noble feast. Work must have continued throughout the night in preparing that great quantity and variety of food: pigs, chickens, ducks, and fish, wrapped in large green leaves and baked in underground pits; rice boiled in coconut milk; cakes made of pandanus fruit; hard biscuit bearing the stamped impression, "American Biscuit Co., San Francisco." To tell how we enjoyed that meal would be impossible. So enormously did I eat that I cannot understand how I escaped illness; it was with an effort, such a cargo did I have aboard, that I struggled to my feet. Next, clay pipes and niger-head tobacco were produced. Did Havana ever supply anything better?

On the next day Leit took us to the trading station of the Haupt Agentur Jaluit Gesellschaft, where he bought abundant provisions to last us until we could get passage to Jaluit. We were willing enough to sail thither in our boat; "but," said Leit, "are you not glad that you have come here safely? Would you risk your lives again?"

A Chilean, Paul Mitchell, was in charge of the trading station. On the following morning he returned our call and invited me to take up my quarters with him until I could make my way to Jaluit. I gladly accepted. During my stay I took an inventory of his stock, put his books in order, helped him with carpenter work, and generally improved the place. After a week or so a schooner entered the lagoon, and I was preparing to go to her when Mitchell brought up the question of payment for my board and lodging, although he had urged me to be his guest, and I had no money. Staggered though I was, though resolved to square accounts with him in more ways than one, I studiously concealed my amazement and indignation and asked him to give me a bill, which I promised to pay after my arrival at Jaluit. Pay it I did from my first earnings.

The schooner was the *Ehukai*, of Honolulu, under charter to A. Crawford & Co., of San Francisco, a trading firm, and was commanded by Captain Owen Thomas, a Welshman, whom I had met in Honolulu. After telling him of my destitute state and its cause, I asked him for free passage. "You are more than welcome," said he, "especially as we are brother Masons. Make yourself at home; help yourself to anything I have. Would you like a peg of whisky?" "Whisky!" I exclaimed in contemplative bliss. Hospitable soul that he was and a fiery little Welshman to boot, Thomas was infuriated when I told him of Mitchell's demands, and it was with some difficulty that I saved the Chilean from being pitched overboard. Thomas got some requital by refusing to sell Mitchell any trade goods. Two years afterward Thomas and I drove Mitchell from business by establishing a competitor, and we had the added gratification of seeing the Chilean working out his debt to the German firm as a day laborer on Jaluit.

Leaving Moses and Jorgensen on Mille, I sailed for Jaluit on the **Ehukai**. As I landed I met Mr. Morgan, United States consular agent and manager for Crawford & Co. To him, as American representative, I made a full report and deposition of the loss of the **Wandering Minstrel**. When I had finished he informed me that, since I was a destitute American seaman, I was entitled to assistance and might lodge in a small house on the station grounds. "We'll furnish clothing, too," said he; "but I think you should first report to Mr. Sonnenschein, the German commissioner."—The Marshalls had been annexed by Germany in 1885.

Mr. Sonnenschein received me kindly and listened with intense interest to my story of the wreck of the **Minstrel**, our life on Midway, the boating expedition to the Marshalls, and the straits of the Walkers and the crew. He regretted greatly that no vessel was then available for dispatch to Midway on a mission of rescue, but a ship of the Jaluit Gesellschaft was expected soon and he would arrange to have her sent. Before aid could be given from the Marshalls, however, we heard that the schooner **Norma**, commanded by Captain "Swedish" Johnson, had picked up the castaways, after they had spent fourteen months on the island, and had taken them to Honolulu.

I was leaving Sonnenschein when he halted me: "How about your taxes, Mr. Cameron?" "Taxes!" I ejaculated. "The German government," he explained, "imposes a tax on every one residing in the Marshalls." Drawing back my coat and exposing my bare skin, for I had no shirt, I replied, "Why not provide me with clothing? Who would be so mean as to extort taxes from a destitute seaman? Besides, Mr. Sonnenschein, you can't draw blood from a stone." "Well," said he, "no doubt Mr. Morgan will be responsible." "Taxes," I snorted. "I doubt your success. However, I wish you luck—and a very good day!" Morgan grew furious when I told him of the incident. "Was Sonnenschein perfectly sober?" the manager wished to know. "If not drunk, he must be crazy. I'll see him and his sauerkraut government in hell before I'll pay one cent—and then I won't."

For a few days I lived at the Crawford station in luxury: I was decently clad, had plenty of food and drink and far too much tobacco. Soon idleness pulled, and I built a chicken house for Mrs. Morgan. While I was engrossed in whitewashing it, Morgan appeared. "Will you take command of one of the company's schooners?" he asked. Was there ever a happier question? Would a penniless seaman, chafing under inaction, living on official charity,—would such a man leap at the opportunity to be master of a ship, of himself and his own fortunes? Would he! Spalsh! went my whitewash brush into a pail. "Come on!" I called to Morgan over my shoulder. "I've already begun." "No, no!" he cried. "Heavens, man, my wife! She'll never forgive us. Continue your work." By completing the job I saved both of us from the good lady's wrath.

Thus placed under a mountainous obligation to me, Mrs. Morgan acted as my ship's chandler, so liberally, indeed, that her husband bantered her. "These supplies are not perishable," she reminded him. "What! Not that bottled stuff?" he demanded. Turning to me, the lady disclosed one of the mysteries of island life: "You'll need all in treating the traders. You must do that, otherwise you won't succeed." I had asked for one

bottle of Scotch whisky and a dozen of beer; this is what she gave me: one case of Scotch whisky, one of Bourbon; one of brandy, two of gin, two of beer; a basket of champagne; a few bottles of bitters!

My command of the **Ebon**, a staunch and handsome two-masted schooner of fifty tons, able to show her heels to any sailing vessel in the archipelago. My first voyage was a brief one. Thereafter I was Jack-of-all-trades for the house of Crawford: now supervising work about the station; now acting as master of vessels that plied from Jaluit to our trading stations in the Marshalls, Gilberts, Ellice Islands and Eastern Carolines; again serving as pilot or supercargo of other craft.

[Life in Micronesia in the 1880s.]

All this opened to me a new world. I saw another phase of the South Seas, one intermediate, as it were, between the barbarous New Hebrides and Westernized, industrialized Hawaii. Here in Micronesia the natives were lazy and hospitable, docile and firm Christians; yet they had not received sufficient impact of Occidental civilization to alter their primitive life to any great degree. The Marshalls, Gilberts, and Ellice Islands, too, are atolls, cramped dikes of coral sand set near and on the equator, differing much from the high, mountainous archipelagoes to which I had been accustomed. In the Eastern Carolines, however, especially at Kusaie [Kosrae] and Ponape [Pohnpei], well-wooded high islands offered a pleasant change from the atolls.

One characteristic ran like a scarlet thread throughout Oceania. In morality the Micronesians were neither better nor worse than their Polynesian and Melanesian neighbors. Try as the missionaries would, try as they will, nothing can implant in those brown folk the Caucasian ideal of virtue. Many a Marshall Island husband deemed it an honor for his wife to receive attentions from a foreigner. All the chiefs of the archipelago, one excepted, were polygamous. A brisk traffic in women was carried on with ships. From this business the chiefs profited; one, an infamous rascal, even marketed his own numerous wives, his "iron pots," as he called them. Ah, Caucasian virtue! In the South Seas of those days it was an ideal only: the white man, so the saying went, hung his conscience on Cape Horn: if the brown native pondered, the pale-faced stranger was not without guilt.

We traders bought such island products as copra, shark's fins, turtle and pearl shell, ivory nuts, and beach la mar. In return the natives first demanded tobacco, and it had to be the best. Scores of other articles were in demand: light cloths, axes and knives, hand sewing machines, scissors, needles and thread, mirrors and combs, hooks and lines, pots and pans, mouth organs, rice, hard biscuit, beads, perfumes, and in the Gilberts and Marshalls, though not in the Carolines, rifles, old flintlock muskets, revolvers, powder and shot. Alcohol generally was tabu to the natives; but since white traders could buy all they pleased for their own use, I suspected that they sold cheap gin to the islanders. That was not good: the effect of liquor on the peoples of the Pacific was devastating; it drove them to commit crimes, murder include, of which they would not have dreamed in their sober moments. This was demonstrated to my complete satisfac-

tion when one of my seamen, a docile fellow and the best sailor of my crew, became crazed with drink and tried to kill me with a broad-axe. My escape was made none the less narrow by his subsequent abysmal shame and repentance.

Time was when the natives had got on well enough without trade articles; now all were wanted for the satisfaction of acquired needs and tastes. Such is the march of what is called civilization: first, arousing in the barbarian a desire for something useless; second, putting him to work to earn money with which to satisfy his craving; third, seizing his lands in order to make sure of his continued industry and its fruits. So the Spaniards, by virtue of an award by Pope Leo XIII, had occupied the Carolines in 1885; the German Empire ostensibly possessed the Marshalls, but in reality had surrendered them to the Jaluit Gesellschaft, a Hamburg firm, for exploitation, even the officials being paid by the company, which in turn collected taxes from the natives in copra at its own valuation; and to the south the Gilbert and Ellice Islands maintained a precarious freedom.

Foreigners were few; most of them were traders and seamen, and many of the traders were old sailors, with your sailorman's own weakness: a craving for alcohol. They would refuse to deal with vessels that brought no liquor; invariably the first order was for gin or whisky, their stocks having been unhappily exhausted; and then each trader would drink himself into a stupor. Business thereupon devolved upon his "wife" or "wives." Those dusky beauties were paid off in beads, scents, calico, and tobacco, according to their tastes, everything being charged to the "husband."

A brave crew, though drunken, were those traders,—American, English, Irish, Scotch, German, Scandinavian, at times a Latin. Ah, those lads throng the corridors of my memory. Rough jewels, but among them diamonds of the first water. Four of them once saved my life when I had insisted on putting to sea from Jaluit, although I was desperately ill of pneumonia. On one island I was rubbed with St. Jacob's Oil, that universal remedy, until I was blistered; on another I was stuffed with chicken broth and massaged by ancient crones, and thus was pulled back from a yawning grave. There was Hazard of Namorik, a jolly sea dog, a former whaling captain hailing from Nantucket, father of three half-caste sons who had inherited his shrewdness. And could I forget "Whistling Jack" of Mokil?—an old British man-o'-war's man, well-nigh worshiped by the natives because of his astonishing skill at sleight of hand. Consider, too, Charley Elway of Pingelap, a university graduate; nationality not divulged; apparently a former army officer; temperate; reticent; a commendable business man; able to read the "Iliad" in the Greek. Who was he, what was his true name?—I felt sure that "Elway" was assumed. I never learned.

Another trader had been a member of a gang of desperadoes at Pleasant Island, where he and some escaped Botany Bay convicts and natives had cut off vessels, murdered the crews, and looted and burned the craft. In the Gilberts there was a certain Lars Larsen,¹ who was accused, and perhaps justly, of having poisoned a companion in

1 Ed. note: Not his real name, says Farrell in his preface.

a drinking bout. Near by, on Apaiang, was Charley Tierney, who has already appeared in this narrative as master of the brigantine on which Jim McLean went hunting black-birds years before.¹ Charley was a Virginian, an admirable trader, and a fine fellow. And always I looked forward to a call at Maiana, where resided that jovial, drunken, generous Irishman, Mike Shane, husband of a most hideous Gilbertese woman fittingly known as Cleopatra.

Have I forgotten something? Natives, traders,—ah, yes, what of the third estate, missionaries? The Marshalls were—blessed with few of the black-coated brethren: they were passing the lean atolls for fatter livings elsewhere. On Ujelang, it is true, was a Hawaiian minister of the American Board, a sad and homesick person, who longed with his whole hungry heart for his own people. How he must have yearned to escape from his straitened atoll, where an equatorial sun blazed on dazzling sand, and feast his eyes on the blessed high islands of Hawaii, with their gray and green cliffs, purple gorges, forests, waterfalls plunging seaward, and clouds curling about mountain peaks!

We laymen, traders and seamen, shed few tears at the dearth of missionaries in the Marshalls: with the clergy we had little in common. If there had been no sky pilots in any of the archipelagoes, what a field for the gentleman adventurers! Without traders, what an opportunity the reverend gentry would have enjoyed to rake in dollars for the sake of the church! Yet was there a more magic figure in all our little world than Robinson, a missionary of Ponape?² Who would not have pitied him? Years before he had been stationed with his wife on Ebon, in the Marshall group. One day, when Robinson was absent, a native chief violated Mrs. Robinson, which so preyed upon her mind that she died. Soon after her death a British man-of-war, engaged in administering a salutary justice before the German annexation of the archipelago, received a report of the crime; arrested the chief; tried him, and sentenced him to hang from the yardarm. Then Robinson, to the surprise of all and the disgust of many, pleaded for the man's life. The commander of the warship granted the prayer, but not without excoriating the missionary. "I'm sorry I can't hang you!" the officer exclaimed. "Leave my ship, you dirty cad!" Knowing all this, curious to see Robinson, I paid him a visit at Ponape. A hardened man might have wept at seeing him: old, feeble, broken, lonely among natives. I wondered what were his thoughts, his regrets; whether he would not have been happier had he played the man and sent his wife's ravisher to hell at the end of a rope.

Thanks to still another missionary, I won laurels in statecraft. And the story, I may say in all modesty, is no poor one. In it I shall introduce a king and a Spanish governor; but I beg the reader to mark that they are puppets: John Cameron pulls the strings.

1 Ed. note: The Stormbird.

2 Ed. note: As Farrell says, this was not his real name. The description fits Rev. Doane, whose wife died soon after her arrival at Honolulu in 1862.

[King Charley of Kosrae.]

On my first call at Kusaie, Eastern Carolines, I was greeted in Port Lele, one of the three harbors of the island, by a former sailor of mine, who had been a donkey-man on a Hawaiian steamer under my command. "Good Lord, Charley!" I ejaculated. "What are you doing on Kusaie?" "*E hele mai i ka hale, Kapena* [Come to the house, Captain]," said he, speaking in Hawaiian for the edification of the natives who clustered about, amazed that he should know the white captain. "I am King of Kusaie." That was, to say the least, interesting.

At the house—nay, palace, a pleasing structure made of island materials, I was welcomed by Queen Kenie, a handsome though tawny damsel of eighteen summers, who could pour a drink with a grace that the British *Victoria* might have envied. Then the king spoke: "Mai hea mai oe, Kapena? [Where are you from, Captain?]" "From Jaluit, Charley; trading for Crawford & Co. Just dropped in; never expected to see an old shipmate. But *mai hea mai oe* yourself? Come on board, though; bring your wife; we'll have dinner, possibly something to drink; and you may tell me how you became king. I'll have to address you as 'Your Majesty' hereafter." Charley frowned. "Stop that, Captain: I'll always be 'Charley' to you." "Then you," said I, "must drop the 'Captain' with me."

After a dinner on the **Ebon** Charley related the details of his transformation from donkeyman to monarch.¹ Although he came of the ruling family of Kusaie, he had ventured forth into the wide world seeking cash and experience as a sailor. During his absence the former king had died, and Charley, as nearest heir, succeeded; but he had departed from Hawaii and could not be found, despite careful search, until a Hawaiian sailor, formerly of the missionary brig **Morning Star**, recognized him on board a ship—where, of all places? In Philadelphia. Informed by this Hawaiian of the somewhat extraordinary change in his status, Charley returned home to take up his billet as king. So long did we yarn that the queen yawned and went ashore in royal boredom; still we continued till the sma' hours, with Charley expatiating on the joys of rule, while I, through a fog of tobacco smoke, contemplated the chances and changes of human destiny.

Charley, once a donkeyman, was king; I was yet a mere captain, and was, besides, as our English friends put it, "in trade." Very well: what about trading with His Majesty's people? Charley not only granted me permission but also promised to hold for me all the island's copra. Thus we destroyed a monopoly that the German firm had enjoyed for many years.

Now Kusaie possessed three harbors for ships and one for souls, a mission station, that is to say, of the American Board, in charge of the Reverend Dr. Pease. On Dr. Pease I must make a call—purely for business. Charley had given me several pigs; I wished to slaughter them and cure the meat; but where could I get salt? "Pease has some," said King Charley. Not so; the Pope of Kusaie himself told me that he had none

1 Ed. note: Since a 'donkey' was a small steam engine, a 'donkeyman' was a mechanic.

to spare. "Pease lies," my native guide asserted. "Come, and you will see three and a half barrels in a storeroom." "The doctor did lie," I observed, "and the worn appearance of his sofa indicates that he lies with ease."

My accounts with Pease certainly had to be squared. By way of a beginning I refused to take the mission's mail to Jaluit. "Without salt," ran the word I sent to Pease, "I can't preserve your letters." That, however, was merely a prelude. Charley preached a lengthy sermon on the missionaries: they continually made trouble between king and subjects; tried to undermine native rule and impose their own; moreover, said Charley, Pease sold articles that had been sent to Kusaie by the American Board for free distribution; at times he had failed to give urgently needed medical aid. These bitter charges, which the headmen of Kusaie substantiated, fortified my determination to balance things with the reverend doctor and gave me an idea how that might be done: on my next voyage Charley should go with me to Ponape, seat of the Spanish administration of the Eastern Carolines, pay his respects to the governor-general, and protest against the missionaries usurpation of power.

Consummate success was ours. After a kindly reception at Ponape, Charley took the oath of allegiance to the Queen of Spain; was presented with an imposing document appointing him her deputy representative on Kusaie; and was given copies of rules and regulations which he was to post on the doors of churches! Three Spanish flags for Charley's use, among them the royal standard, helped reconcile him to his fall from king to deputy representative; and if he still felt any vain regrets they were surely dissipated by a glorious ovation from the population of Kusaie and by the adulation of loyal subjects who flocked to hear from Majesty's own lips the tale of Majesty's triumph over their common enemy. When I next visited Kusaie, Charley informed me that the missionaries, in terror lest the Spaniards revoke all their privileges, had entirely ceased to make trouble. As for me, I felt that my accounts with Dr. Pease had been satisfactorily closed, although I did, solely for the doctor's own good, continue to refuse his mail.

Having had this one taste of island politics, I needs must seek another. It glutted my appetite, as the reader shall see for himself.

[The second rebellion of Pohnpei, 1890.]

On a subsequent voyage I found Ponape in a state of war: angered at the construction of fortifications by the Spaniards, the natives had rebelled. Notwithstanding their modern weapons and disciplined soldiers, the Spaniards were meeting severe reverses; while the rebels were well supplied with rifles, ammunition, and food, and were securely intrenched in the mountains. Arms the natives had, but they grasped an opportunity to obtain more. Nothing loath to make a profitable deal, I sold them both rifles and cartridges, in payment for which I received a box of gold. This money, I learned afterward, had been captured from a Spanish outpost; consequently it constituted extraordinarily damning evidence of my transactions. That fact might have made me go circumspectly thereafter. Instead I thrust my neck into the noose, and that despite the

warnings of a friend, Captain Narruhn, which were dinned into my ears when a West Indian darky named Christian boarded my vessel and lingered an entire day. He came ostensibly to trade, in reality to spy on me; yet I permitted him to remain.

On the following day, after I had anchored in Jamestown Harbor near the guard ship **San Juan de Ulloa**,¹ I went ashore to visit Narruhn. His wife, an intelligent half-caste, interrupted our yarning. "Narruhn!" she screamed. "Get your gun! That nigger Christian was hiding under the roof of the porch." Narruhn bounded outside with his rifle, but lost the fleeing darky in the thick bush and gathering dusk. "That moke is no good, Cameron," Narruhn said gravely. "He was eavesdropping. I hope he makes no trouble."

His hope was vain. Next morning I was astounded to receive a visit from none other than Christian: he brought a verbal order from the governor-general² for me to go ashore immediately in a boat he had sent to the **Ebon**. "Tell him I'll come in my own boat," I directed Christian. "Tell him also that I don't think much of his messenger." Crying abuse and threats, the nigger departed; and I was preparing to follow him without unnecessary delay, but as I was about to step into my boat a launch flying the Spanish flag and manned by carabineros drew alongside. I was ordered into the launch and was taken to the guard ship, where I was paid the disconcerting attention of being escorted to the cabin by two files of soldiers. In passing along the deck I saw a foreigner chained onto the main-mast, quite a young man, clean and neatly dressed, fair-haired, seemingly an Englishman or an American. Who he was and why he was in irons I never could ascertain. Needless to say, this high-handed manner of dealing with another white man made me feel none too comfortable.

In the cabin were several naval officers. Some of them, who could speak English fluently, informed me that I had been arrested for selling arms and ammunition to the rebellious natives. Then several questions were asked: what my name, age, nationality, occupation, religion? Most to the point: "Are you guilty?" I denied the charge emphatically and demanded to be told who was my accuser. My three encounters with Christian had left me in no doubt; I could, besides, see him lurking in the room. He was immediately presented as the prosecuting witness.

Again the armed escort honored me by attending me to the **Ebon**, and there left me with a stern admonition not to attempt to escape. How could I? Throughout the night a patrol boat kept close watch; on the beach were Spanish sentries; the guard ship commanded the channel to seaward.

On the next day another boat, also manned by an armed crew, visited the schooner. They searched the vessel from stem to stern, from keel to truck. Doubtless they thought they had done their work thoroughly, and I must confess that they almost had; but they had overlooked the water tank on deck,—and that was the hiding place of the box of

1 Ed. note: Rather, the Don Antonio de Ulloa.

2 Ed. note: Navy Commander Luis Cadarso y Rey.

gold. In my personal effects, however, the soldiers did find a Mauser rifle, a British bulldog revolver, and some cartridges, which they seized. Then I was taken ashore.

My inseperable companions, the guards, marched me to the governor-general's residence and ushered me before His Excellency and one of his daughters, who acted as interpreter. "Why did you refuse to come ashore when I sent a message through Señor Christian?" demanded the governor—.Señor Christian, eh? By Jove, the nigger was being elevated in rank!—"Your Excellency," I replied, "had your message been sent by a white man, I should have obeyed. But I will not be ordered about by a black. How was I to know, besides, that he was really your messenger? I would not have ignored a written request."

Soon a naval officer summoned me to another room. There I was confronted by a formidable array of army and naval officers, all in gaudy uniforms. Their garb alone was sufficient to unnerve a poor devil of a civilian; that viper of a nigger also was present, puffed and poisonous with importance. My trial, for such it was, opened immediately.

Christian gave his testimony in fluent Spanish, of which I understood only a few words. His statement was heard attentively and carefully noted down. Even this marked regard with which my accuser's evidence was received failed to lighten my heavy spirits. I felt so out of place, a death's-head at the feast, unable to join the members of the court in laughing at the witticisms of one of their number, that I thought of suggesting that I depart; but they probably would not have appreciated my motive. Thus I sat all morning, without a single question being asked me, until I began to believe that I was the least consequential person present. In the afternoon, however, when I was returned to my vessel, still a prisoner, I saw that I was of some importance, and I reflected that the trial hardly could proceed without me.

That evening I pondered long and sadly. What evidence had been given? Would I be convicted without a hearing? Would the nigger's word alone damn me? What would be my punishment? Prison? More likely death. Well, I thought with a pardonable sigh, if I faced that I had no time to waste; so I sat up most of the night writing letters, which I intrusted to one of the crew, a dependable native of Kusaie, with a strict injunction to deliver them into the hands of my chief at Jaluit.

In the morning, lacking heart and stomach, I breafasted on a cup of coffee. Prompt as tax-collectors, my escort again appeared, armed as usual but much more friendly. Nor did they hurry me as they had done. All this made me wonder what their affability portended. Prison guards had been known to display tender kindness to condemned men; it was customary, too, for a doomed individual to breakfast on the fat of the land before a taut rope ended, among other desires, all craving for food. And my mind was tormented by a bizarre notion that the court astoundingly resembled the Roundheads who sent Charles I to the scaffold. Both of us were Highland Scots; he had been King of England and Scotland, and I at least Regent of Midway.

In the boat the good nature of my guards gave way to a grim alertness, for we were about to pass under the eyes of the officers on the **San Juan de Ulloa**. I was marched

briskly to the court-room, and again faced my judges. Much in evidence remained my black fiend of an accuser. If I could only have had him on blue water for five minutes! Or in some remote and formerly peaceful mountain glade! But in that room his infernal dusky carcass filled the world: he was tall as Everest and broad as Mauna Loa.

At this hearing I was interrogated for an interminable time, since it was a slow process to ask a question, interpret it to me, interpret my reply, and note it down. My examination ran somewhat as follows:

Question. Do you carry arms and ammunition for trading purposes? Answer. Not in the Eastern Carolines.

Q. Elsewhere? A. Yes, in the Marshalls and Gilberts.

Q. Why not in the Eastern Carolines? A. Because the Spanish Government prohibits the sale of weapons to the natives; so does our company when I am trading in Spanish territory.

Q. Have you carried arms on this voyage? A. Yes, but for protection only.

Q. Describe them. A. They were seized aboard my vessel; there they lie on the table.

Q. They are your own property? A. Certainly.

Q. Where did you get them? A. I bought the rifle and cartridges at an auction of the effects of a German captain who died at Jaluit. The revolver I got from a Gilbert Island native in exchange for an old shirt. His cartridges had been exhausted.

Q. But you have cartridges for it now? A. Of course, I have. I bought them in our store at Jaluit. Revolvers are useless, even as defensive weapons, without cartridges.

Q. Then you use the weapon for defense only? A. Unquestionably. The master of a trading vessel must always be prepared to defend himself.

"That is all. Be seated," said the naval officer who had questioned me. As I learned afterward, he was my counsel.

Soon I was placed on the stand again. This time I was being cross-examined by the prosecutor, a very domineering person indeed.

Q. Did you sell arms and ammunition to the native chiefs on a certain date? A. No.

Q. But you are accused by the witness Christian. A. He does not tell the truth.

Q. He is on oath, and he must. A. It is his word against mine. What proof does he give?

Q. Do you know that it is a serious offense to supply arms to people with whom we are at war? A. I do.

Q. Then why did you, as the witness Christian testified? A. I am under oath, and I say I did not.

In hope that I would trip myself, the prosecutor continued to heckle me, while I sweat profusely and endeavored to conceal my discomposure. To my great relief the hearing ended before I had made a fatal slip.

I was about to quit the room when Dick Cole, our trader, who had been absent on a business trip around the island, made a hasty appearance. "I just returned, Cameron," said he; "got wind of your trouble, and lost no time coming here. Don't worry about the nigger. He'll withdraw his charges. Make no doubt of that: I hold the whip

hand. You'll be acquitted tomorrow. The Spaniards need us: they're short of supplies and have bought our entire cargo. I have permission from the governor, who's a good friend of mine, to unload our freight and take on copra. I'll be on the job early and will have bills ready for you. As soon as you're free, scoot out of this place. Things aren't going too well with the Dons. Their commander was brought in to-day, badly wounded; and his troops got a terrific beating. The Spaniards suffered most, for the natives and some Filipino convicts, whom the Dons put in their front line, fired over one another's head."—Ah, Dick Cole, Dick Cole! I recently appointed you our trader on Ponape, succeeding a Portuguese boozier. Now, Richard, Richard, are you going to repay me for that by saving my life?

Greatly cheered, I returned to the **Ebon**. Although a patrol boat, as usual, was on guard, Cole had given me a ray of hope. I arose early next morning, to find him already on the job. "I'll land the supplies first," said he, "then I'll hustle the copra aboard. Everything will be ready when you return. Then you get the hell out of the harbor. In the meantime keep a stiff upper lip."

The third day's session lasted until noon. Most of the time was occupied by a passage between the prosecutor and my counsel. What was being said I could not understand, but nigger Christian's downcast face indicated that my counsel was saying unkind things. Had Christian, then, retracted his testimony? Would I be acquitted?—Ah, see, here come the members of the court returning from their deliberations.

"Not guilty!" Sweetest sounds that ever fell upon mortal ear! Songs of thrushes and nightingales, whispers of spring breezes amid violets, babblings of brooks, murmurs of love,—all are harsh discords compared with the music of "not guilty" to a man who is guiltier than hell. It was no easy task for me to prevent my jubilation, entirely too great for a blameless man, from displaying itself in my face; but I managed it; I trust, and received with the becoming gravity of vindicated innocence the hearty congratulations of several naval members of the court who crowded about to shake my hand. What the army members would have said, what they would have thought, I could not guess, as not one was present, probably because their commander had died that morning. A sad blow it was for his betrothed, the governor's eldest daughter.

Free of y late judges and at last without an armed escort, I returned to the **Ebon** in record time. The last boatload of copra was alongside. Cole met me on deck. Grasping my hand, he demanded triumphantly, "What did I tell you? How about a peg?" "I owe you a good many, Dick," said I. "Come below and get 'em. I feel like taking a second mate's nip myself." On the table in the cabin were my papers, bills, and cash, all arranged by Cole; I had nothing to do but clear out, and that I did with proper promptitude, for I could not feel safe with that box of Spanish gold inviting belated detection. So I prepared to depart, although the weather was threatening, with nasty rain squalls breaking, which made sailing through the intricate channel anything but pleasant. Be-

fore I sailed, however, I took a few seconds to ask Cole what influence he had with Señor Christian. "Some other time," responded he. "Get away now. We're going to have a busher."¹

Things did pipe up as we got under way. We hove anchor smartly, set sail, swung the vessel's head seaward. Scarcely was that done before a blinding rain squall struck us. To see the channel buoys in such thick weather was impossible; yet we carried on, though the schooner heeled over, rails under, to such a degree that the sea caught a boat, which was suspended from the sheets drove upon us; green and white water boiled over the rail;—still we rushed madly for the open sea. At the halyards I stationed men to let go if necessary, but only as a last resort. "Hold on every inch!" I shouted to encourage the lads, in fear that through funk they might let the sails tip, while the other sailors and I peered into that semi-liquid atmosphere for a glimpse of the buoys. We nearly crashed into one, but an inch then was as good as an ell. Soon we had blue water under our keel. Only after getting a good offing did I breathe freely; only then did I feel safe in reducing sail; only then could I look without quaking at the water tank, in which the box of gold was concealed.

Worse weather forced me to run for shelter into one of the small harbors of the island. There I was visited at midnight by several chiefs, who came to congratulate me on my acquittal, to tell me that they had followed the trial closely through spies and that they would and easily could have rescued me, had I been convicted. Their last word was to assure me that on my return there would be no negro to annoy me. Never was promise kept better: Christian and his native wife were shot by persons unknown and were buried by the Spaniards themselves, because not a native would assist at their funeral.²

1 Ed. note: Cameron forgot to record the rest of this story later on in his narrative. His editor, Farrell, speculates that Cole simply wished to keep his secret of his power over Christian.

2 Ed. note: For the following story by Cameron about his meeting with Robert Louis Stevenson at Tarawa, see Doc. 1890N3.

Documents 1888C

First native teacher of Yap

Source: PNA.

C1. School opened at Guror.—Letter of Governor Torres, dated Manila 2 January 1888

[To] Director General of Civil Administration.

[From] P.M. Government of the Western Region of the Carolines.

Your Excellency:

For the purpose of cooperating with the patriotism and august idea of Y.E. regarding primary education, I have the honor to be able to report to Y.E. that on 14 December last [1887] there was opened in the mission house of San Francisco de Guror a school under the direction of the Missionary Father established there, and it was inaugurated with 20 individuals of various ages and on the 20th it had 28 rather regular students which is a rather rare thing considering the character of those inhabitants.

The resources used in the opening of this basis of civilization have been the few that it has been possible to take out from among the Missionary Fathers and the Government Office. However, as they can not be sufficient for the teaching and in Yap there are no local funds for this purpose, I beg Y.E. to please grant me whatever you think appropriate for this school as well as for another that I will try to open in Rul and also some small stipend for one assistant and the lay person to be appointed for the latter position and who could be very well chosen from among the breveted corporals of that garrison who have now proficient in the local dialect.¹

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 12 January 1888.

Mariano Torres.

C2. A Yapese named Leimar was named assistant teacher, and baptized on 1 November 1888

Note: Leimar was appointed assistant teacher for Guror, and baptized the same day.

1 Ed. note: Hence the first assistant teachers were to be Filipino natives.

Baptism certificate, signed by Fr. Arbácegui 1 November 1888.

I, Rev. Father Daniel María de Arbácegui, Head of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers in the Western Carolines and Palau,

Certify: that on Folio 13 of the first register of baptisms of this said mission can be found the following entry, whose content is as follows:

“On the first of November 1888, Rev. Fr. José de Valencia, Missionary in the Western Carolines and Palau solemnly baptized and placed the Holy Oil and Ointment in the interim Chapel of San Francisco de Guror on one adult of 40 years of age (approximate calculation) and named him Francisco Torres y Leimar, the son of pagan parents. His god-parents were Mr. Mariano Torres de Navarra, a native of Jaen (Spain) and Mrs. Teresa García, native of Borjas de Urgel, Province of Lerida (Spain), to whom the spiritual parenthood and other obligations they had contracted were explained.”

In faith whereof,

Fr. Daniel María de Arbácegui.

Document 1888D

**The whaler William Baylies of San Francisco,
voyages 1887-89****Narrative of Second Mate Ellsworth Luce West**

Sources: Eleanor R. Mayhew (ed.). Captain's Papers—A Log of Whaling and Other Sea Experiences (Barre, 1965); logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 898; Log Inv. 4913-6

Note: The name of the Captain was Horace B. Montross There is also a logbook kept by James Holly Bartlett. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; Log Inv. 4913; this is a typescript of his memoirs written in 1939.

...
The **Baylies** left San Francisco the 22nd of November, 1887, and headed directly for the island of Ponape in the Carolines where we laid in supplies of fresh fruit and water. I had been advanced from fourth to second mate taking the place of George Allen. William Robinson went as first officer. From Ponape we proceeded to Guam, and then to the Bonins where we put in to bury a member of the crew who had been ill for most of the voyage... After cruising a while "on Japan" we started north for the Arctic and bow-heading.

Captain Montross became very friendly with me on this voyage, often coming on deck to talk with me during my watch. He knew I was studying for my master's papers whenever I had the chance, and he lent me what books on navigation and marine law he had with him. And, all along, he seemed to take it for granted that I would ship again with him as second mate. However, when we made port at San Francisco—with 13,000 pounds of bone and 750 barrels of whale oil aboard—I told him I wasn't interested in making a third trip on the **Baylies**. Montross was very upset at my refusal and offered me all kinds of inducements, including a skin coat. But I couldn't see it. For all I liked the man and realized his ability, I was fed up with his drinking. Besides, I had been offered a berth as chief officer on the bark **Mars**.¹

1 Ed. note: For continuation of Ellsworth L. West's career, aboard the whaler Mars, see Doc. 1889A.

Document 1888E

Complaint against the interim Governor of Yap

Source: PNA.

Letter of interim Governor Gil, dated 13 March 1888

[To] the Captain, Military Commander of this Place.

[From] Politico-Military Governor of the Western Region of the Caroline and Palau Islands.

Last night at about 7 p.m. more or less, I learned through unofficial means from the official interpreter of this Government, Mrs. Bartola Garrido, that a letter has been sent to His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines, in which my authority is harshly attacked, and therefore my honor also. Knowing for sure that the said letter had been written by Sergeant 2nd Class Victoriano Escudero, I called him up before me and questioned him about the matter, and he told me that it was true, that he had been called by Second-Lieutenant José Muñoz, and the letter was dictated by him (although it appears in writing that he had been called by the Interpreter), that the Second-Lieutenant himself then had a copy made for Sergeant 2nd Class Francisco Candelas, with Sergeant 2nd Class Francisco Zarzuela dictating it, another copy to Corporal Pedro Aguilar; in addition, I understand that another copy was handed to the English Captain, Mr. Sullivan, the man who has been dismissed by the trader Mr. O'Keefe, resident of this island of Yap, because the said man had lost him a three-masted schooner that he was in charge of. Given that everyone, except Captain Sullivan, belongs to the force of the Magellan Infantry Regiment No. 3 of your worthy command, and that the said Second-Lieutenant has made it so public that there is not one soldier in the barracks who ignores the contents of the said letter, in addition to all the officers, I therefore beg you to interrogate all the European persons in the Colony about my conduct, public and private, during the time that I exercised the functions of interim Governor. In order for the declarants who are under your authority to make their declarations more fully and with more freedom, I beg you to please appoint an investigating attorney and a secretary for them to proceed with the utmost speed that the case requires to the creation of a summary investigation to find out the truth of the motives and the deeds that have given rise to the complaint produced by the said Interpreter, and by the persons who took part in the creation of such a determination against

my authority. Remitting the said summary report with the opinion of the attorney to this Government as soon as possible, in order to send it to whom it may concern.

I must tell you that, on this same date, I have the honor to forward a copy of this communication to His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines, for his superior intelligence.

May God save you for many years.

Yap, 13 March 1888.

Indalecio Gil

Documents 1888F

A Canadian ghost ship in Micronesia—The story of the Rock Terrace

F1. Note in the Nautical Magazine.

Source: Nautical Magazine (London, 1888), p. 825.

Notes: Built in St. John, New Brunswick, this 1593-ton three-master was then captained by a Mr. Atkinson.

Rock Terrace, ship; stranded on Brougham Shoal, lat. 9°30' S., long. 165°30' E.,¹ January 8, 1888, became leaky, and was abandoned off Guam, Marianas Group, February 29, 1888. Inquiry held at Hong Kong, May 12, 1888. Master and mate in default for not endeavouring to obtain assistance when arriving off Guam, and for prematurely abandoning vessel. Certificates suspended for six months.

F2. The story in a nutshell, by Andrew Farrell

Source: John Cameron's Odyssey, Note 50, page 457.

On January 28, 1887, the ship **Rock Terrace**, while bound from Point Breeze, Pennsylvania, to Hyogo, Japan, grounded on a coral reef in the Pacific. She got clear, although making much water. Severe pumping exhausted the men, and the vessel was headed for Guam, where the captain intended to beach her. She fetched Guam on March 1, but could not make harbor, and the crew abandoned her without furling all sail. Apparently she grounded a second time, but blew off the reef, and after some five months went ashore on Tarawa, Gilbert group. She struck only a few yards from the channel into the lagoon, where she would have been safe.

F2. What Cameron himself has to say about her at Tarawa

Source: John Cameron's Odyssey (cont'd).

...

¹ Ed. note: If recorded correctly, the position corresponds to a shoal north of VANuatu (then New Hebrides)..

And there was the story of that ghostly ship, the **Rock Terrace**, to give one pause. In the Gilbert Islands she had drifted ashore without either living man or dead body aboard, but with sail set. Shivers well might have run up the backs of the superstitious. Among them, however, were not the Gilbertese natives, who saw no reason why they should not burn the vessel for her iron. To their consternation she blazed fiercely, since she was laden with kerosene oil in tins, until she was sufficiently lightened to float free and again drift away, a furious torch. There was, of course, a plausible enough hypothesis to account for this curious affair: perhaps the ship had struck on a reef and the crew, abandoning hope of getting her off, had taken to their boats; afterward a high tide had released her, or she had crushed the coral under her foot until she worked into deep water. Thus does logic ever exorcise ghosts.¹

1 Ed. note: I have found only her insurance papers in the archives of the New Brunswick Museum in St. John.

Document 1888H

Governor Solano's general report about the condition of the Marianas in 1888

Source: PNA.

Answer to the questionnaire remitted by the Government General of the Philippines,

in accordance with what was decreed on 22 November 1887 by the said Superior Center.

General description of the said province, its surface, limits, ports, rivers, streams, creeks, natural curiosities.

The province of the Marianas is constituted by the Archipelago of the same name formed by a line of 16 main islands that makes a slight curve towards the East, and is oriented NNE—SSW.

These 16 islands, from South to North, are: Guam, Rota, Aguiguan, Tinian, Saipan, Anatajan, Farallon de Medinilla, Sariguan, Farallon de Torres, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrigan, Asunción, Urracas¹ and Farallon de Pájaros. The only inhabited islands are those of Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan; those that could be inhabited are those of Pagan and Agrigan.

The surface of this province is calculated at about 5,095 square kilometers.

This archipelago is situated in the great Equinoctial Ocean; north of it are the Arzobispo Islands or Bonins, to the East are the Jardines Islands,² to the South are the Eastern Carolines, and to the West the Philippine Islands.

Its main ports are: that of San Luís de Apra in the island of Guam is the most important of all for its size and proximity to the Capital, but is totally lacking the facilities to make the stay of a ship comfortable and to ease the loading and unloading operations, that are carried out today under very bad conditions, as the ships anchor at a great distance from the wharf on account of the coral banks which occupy a large part

1 Ed. note: An old reference was used; the Maug Islands have been called Urracas by mistake. Urracas and Farallon de Pájaros are the same island.

2 Ed. note: By Los Jardines, he refers to the northern marshall Islands.

of the port. In the same island of Guam and almost on the southern coast is the bay of Umatac where watering can be easily done because a river with always clear water empties there, with a bar of easy access.

In the island of Saipan is the port of Tanapac [sic] with an anchorage of 36 fathoms, and Garapan Roads, rather protected from the winds and with a bottom varying between 15 and 30 fathoms.

In these and in the other islands, there are places to dock for small craft, but the make-up of its coasts, unapproachable for the most part, does not offer other ports worth mentioning.

There does not exist in the province any water course that could properly be called a river, but there are many streams by way of compensation, the main ones being, in the island of Guam, those of Tarafofo, Ilic and Pago. There is another stream which supplies water to the town of Agaña; it originates in the swamp, a place near the capital, and runs along it in an artificial canal until it reaches the sea.

Among the natural curiosities of this province, there must be listed first those that the sea has created on its coasts, for instance, the abundant coral banks that are not exploited, and the shell species are abundant and varied. Also worthy of attention is a natural bridge that exists on the road from Agat to Inarajan, formed by a stone wall 3 meters thick by 10 long, with an irregular arch that allows the passage of a stream through it.

An idea of each village that make up the province, its distance from the Capital and means of communication with it.

At present the province of the Marianas is composed of the towns of Agaña, with the suburbs of Anigua, Asan, Tepungan, Sinajaña and María Cristina depending on it; Agat with its suburb of Sumay; Merizo with Umatac as a suburb; Inarajan; Rota; Tinián; and Saipan.

The City of Agaña, Capital of the province, is the town with most inhabitants, with the best means of subsistence and with moral and material progress superior to all the other towns. The Government personnel and the other State jobs reside in it; their influence is being felt by the mass of the people, who for this reason, show the larger degree of civilization, so much so that they could merit the name of truly civilized people. Much progress remains to be done, either in developing themselves by their own activity, or by supporting with interest the efforts that the State must make to impress a progressive movement upon this province, towards the aims of modern societies.

What is said about the city of Agaña could be applied in a larger scale to the other towns in the province that are remote from the continuous contact with the Peninsular element [i.e. Spaniards] and show a greater backwardness. It is necessary to redouble the efforts that the Nation has been making over the years for the betterment of these countries and the advancement of the races that populate them; this is the noblest mission that a State can have, whose past history is too brilliant to look upon its future history with lack of care.

The distances that separate the towns of the island of Guam from the capital are: 27 kilometers to Agat, 60 kilometers to Merizo, and 44 kilometers to Inarajan, measured along the present roads whose defective alignment, as most of them are simple tracks, increase the distance considerably.

The towns of Rota, Tinian and Saipan that are in the islands of the same names, are separated by greater distances and completely without communication with the Capital, as there does not exist craft of any kind that could provide a regular means of transport between them and the Capital.

Regarding the towns of Agat, Merizo and Inarajan, as far as official communication with Agaña is concerned, is done by a system locally called "cordillera" [overland couriers], a service that is run by private individuals.

There not exist then in these islands a regular and public mail service that would be appropriate for the commercial development and the propagation of progressive ideas among their inhabitants.

Land under cultivation in each of the said towns, with mention of dry lands and wet lands; list of the former that could be fertilized by irrigation, and ways to do that.

The area of the lands dedicated to each class of culture can only be approximated, as a result of the lack of progress in this branch, the non-existence of exact measurements, and of personnel able to take them.

It is calculated that the people of Agaña cultivate 62 square kilometers of dry land and 31 square kilometers of irrigated land. The town of Agat cultivates 31 sq. km of the former and 11 sq. km. of the latter. The town of Merizo, 21 and 6 sq. km. respectively. That of Inarajan, 11 and 9 sq. km. of each type. IN the island of Rota, 11 sq. km. are dedicated to dry land cultivation and 3 sq. km. are under irrigation. In Saipan, only dry land is cultivated, some 21 sq. km. of it, and the same happens in the island of Tinian where 6 sq. km. of dry land is under cultivation.

It must be noted that the lands dedicated to agriculture are much dispersed on different parts of the islands, that they are not cultivated continuously because of the poverty of the soil in various elements of vegetal earth, so that when one part is cultivated, another is left to rest for a long time in order not to exhaust it completely.

Much work would be required to convert dry lands to irrigated lands in these islands; the existing streams lack sufficient water, and many of them peter out during certain periods of the year. Also, the soil is very hilly and major works would be required to raise water and to build canals. Even if these works were carried out, little benefits would result because when the rivers have sufficient water for irrigation, the lands would not need it, as this would occur during the season of steady and heavy rains.

Types of existing culture indicating reasons for those that should be established or developed.

What is grown in this province is cacao, coffee, rice, corn, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, bananas, *dago*, *nica*, *suní*, coconut, tobacco and mongo beans. They also cultivate some leguminous, solanaceæ, liliaceæ and cuvarbitaceræ, but in such a small scale that they do not deserve to be enumerated; the same thing can be said about abaca [Manila hemp].

The culture of cacao, coffee and abaca would be appropriate for development in this province, not only because they grow well here, but also because they could eventually be exported from this country, and thus commerce would become important; today commerce is only in its infancy in these islands.

The demand and the prices that the said articles command in foreign markets, and even in local markets, would secure the wealth of the country that would produce them under good conditions, and its production should not be left unattended in this province which needs resources so badly.

Yield by unit of seeds: Costs originated by each type of culture, average sale price of each type of fruits collected or harvested.

Type of product	Unit of seeds	Yield by unit of seeds	Land area necessary per unit of seeds	Costs per unit of seeds (pesos)	Average sale price Unit of weight or measure	Pesos & cerns
Rice	Caban	50 cabans	1 hectare	45	Caban	1.50
Corn	Ganta	6 tinajas	3 ares	3.50	Tinaja	0.75
S. potato	1,000 shoots	20 quintals	3 ares	7	Quintal	0.75
Dago	1,000 shoots	200 quintals	6 ares	15	Quintal	0.50
Nica	1,000 shoots	150 quintals	6 ares	10	Quintal	1.00
Suni	1,000 shoots	8 quintals	3 ares	5	Not for sale	
Coconut	1 tree	100 fruits	3 ares	--	100 cocos	0.50
Tobacco	1,000 plants	2 quintals	2 ares	--	1 hand	0.50
Mongo beans	Chupa	6 gantas	1 are	1.25	Ganta	0.25
Cacao	1 plant	1 ganta	1 are	110/1,000	Ganta	0.75
Coffee	1 plant	1 ganta	1 are	70/1,000	Ganta	0.25
Sugarcane	1,000 plants	8 quintals	4 ares	20	Quintal	4.00
Banana	1 tree	1 bunch	4 ares	2/100	Not for sale	

Editor's notes.

The Spanish Castilian weights used in the Philippines were as follows: 1 quintal = 4 arrobas; 1 arroba = 25 pounds; 1 pound = 16 ounces (about the same value as the English pound, i.e. 1 Kg = 2.173 pounds, or 1 Castilian pound = 0.46 grams. As is explained at the end of this report, one caban is 75 liters; this became the standard value in the Philippines in 1860 and it was 80 liters before that. Given that 8 chupas = 1 ganta; 25 gantas = 1 caban; therefore, 1 ganta = 3 liters, and 1 chupa = 375 cc or ml.

Daily wages.

The daily wage of a laborer is from 1-1/2 to 2 reals. It is not possible to determine the daily wages of other workers, like masons, carpenters, etc., because these workers almost always work by contract.

Area of the land covered with bush,¹ indicating what belongs to the State, to towns, to individuals and to corporations.

In the island of Guam, it is calculated that 310 square kilometers are covered with wood, and they belong entirely to the State as the communal leagues have not yet been demarcated, and neither corporations nor individuals own any of it.

On the other islands, with the exception of the lands cultivated by the towns of Rota, Tinian and Saipan, all the rest is wood and belongs exclusively to the State.

Species that inhabit the bush and various forest products.

There are very few [animal] species that populate the bush, as there are only deer, wild boar and goats. There are also on the islands of Rota and Tinian and even on Saipan some cattle [cows] but in a relatively smaller number than the previous ones.

The forest products of the province are constituted by various types of wood trees and other trees; in the first group are the *ifil*, the *ajgao* or *agoho*, the *daogor Palo Maria*, the *joga*, the *gayonlago* the *talisay*, the *huja*, the *fago*, the *ganagor banalo*, the *chopag*, the *aaban*, the *chosgu*, the *lalanyug*, the *panao* and other species of lesser importance.

Prices fetched by these species.

It is not possible to fix a price for any of these products as they are not sold.

Uncultivated lands.

In these islands, one can consider uncultivated lands to be the same as the 'bush,' then removing that part which, on account of geological conditions of the soil, does not allow cultivation, and whose area is difficult to calculate as there is no background information at all and it is not possible to measure it today.

Pasture lands.

Out of the area of the island of Guam, there are 248 square kilometers of pasture lands, according to an approximate calculation, and such lands are owned by individuals with titles granted by the Government.

The land area used for pasture appears excessive in relation to the little importance that the cattle industry represents today in the said island, but one must keep in mind that the pasture that the soil produces is very sparse, even for the few heads of catter that now use it for food.

In the other islands, all lands that can produce pasture are used for that purpose.

Cattle industry. Types of cattle, numbers and sale prices.

This industry, despite some development and the promise of a brighter future, is today rather backward. The cattles that constitute it are cows, water buffalos, and goats,

1 Ed. note: The term "monte" in Spanish is best translated by "bush" here, although it could also mean woods, forest, inland, interior, and mountain.

the first type being the most important. Pigs are also raised but in such a small proportion that it does not merit to be called an industry.

The cattles existing today can be calculated at about 1,500 cows, 600 buffalos and 200 goats.

Their prices are on the average: 20 pesos per live bull, and 15 pesos per water buffalo; a price is not assigned to goats as they are not usually sold live.

In the other islands (the above data are for Guam only), the cattles are in a wild state. On Tinian, they are hunted down and the meat sold; the revenue is applied to the support of the lepers, the work of a benevolent society.

Properties of all types owned by religious communities, their area and conditions, cultures grown in them; which ones are worked directly by them, and which are leased or under share-cropping, and the prices and general conditions of these contracts. Calculated products of each of these farms.

There are no such properties in the province.

Population census.

On 31 December 1887, this province consisted in 9,896 inhabitants, distributed in the four islands of Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan.

Roads, bridges, their state: material of which bridges are made.

In the island of Guam there exists only one communal road covering one half of the island and by which the Capital is in communication with the other towns; there exist as well various stretches of roads that lead to farms. From Agaña to the landing place at Piti Point in the Port of San Luis de Apra, the road is in a perfect state of preservation, but not so for the rest of the trajectory that covers many leagues, the cause being the roughness of the terrain and the small number of workers that the villages of Agat, Merizo and Inarajan can muster for the communal service. Where this road crosses most of the rivers and streams in the island, there are bridges made of masonry or part masonry part wood, generally in bad condition, and there is an urgent need to rebuild and repair some of them.

On the other islands, there are only paths.

Public buildings, churches, convents, courthouses, prisons, etc.

In the Capital, the College of San Juan de Letran, where the Schools for Boys are established; the School for Girls built in 1879; the Court House built with masonry and thatch whose ground floor is used as a public prison and whose repairs are pending superior approval of the project and budget of expenditures; the parish church of masonry and tin roof; the Infantry Barracks; the Artillery Compound and Government House under repair.

In the other villages of the province, there exist courthouses, churches and schools for both sexes; the majority of these buildings are of light materials, and those used as

schools are for the most part in ruins, and projects and budgets for their re-construction of such important spaces are being formulated.

There do not exist convents of any kind in the province.¹

Public instruction—Scientific movement: libraries, classical schools, teaching establishment, scientific societies, presses, newspapers, giving their year of foundation, circulation or subscriptions; books published during the year and how is it related with this important heading.

In this province, only elementary instruction is given as it has always been, supported by the charitable foundation established by the August Queen María Ana de Austria. The teaching staff gives only this type of instruction; they are substitute teachers, except for two who graduated from the Normal School in Manila.

There is no scientific movement at all in this province, and therefore, there are no corporations nor establishments as mentioned in the question.

Races, character and conditions of the inhabitants, their customs, habits and civic or religious feasts celebrated.²

It is difficult, if not impossible, to affirm with concrete data the question of races. The original inhabitants of these islands are unknown, and the knowledge was lost in times past, as to who arrived to their beaches first or where they came from; nevertheless, studies made by competent persons say that they came a long time ago.

In spite of its affinity with the Tagalog, Visayan and Ilocano races, it is absolutely denied that it might be Filipino [in origin], given that the language is completely different and its construction is more analogous with those used in the old days and even now by the savage peoples of both Americas.

The character, ways and customs of these inhabitants vary according to the Authority who governs them, and given that the same ideal has not been guiding the many Governors who have succeeded one another over the years, the first item can hardly be clearly defined, and the other point varies according to circumstances.

Some of my predecessors have no doubt allowed the color of their inspiration to issue opinions and present concepts not only exaggerated but even contrary to the truth, and believing myself to comply with my duty to justice, I must confess that the Chamorro character has not yet been known up to now, except by those (unfortunately few) who have tried to identify themselves with the people they were governing, knowing their needs closely in order to remedy them, taking an active part in their afflictions, and establishing between the governors and the governed the undercurrent of love which is the true mother of civilization, and the only way to get part of the knowledge of the human heart is all peoples.

In general, they are simple and docile, respectful of authority, and they respond for the most part to the wishes of the Government when these are not capricious and for

1 Ed. note: Evidently the term 'convent' was interpreted in its literal sense of monastic place, not as parish houses, which the Recollects called convents.

2 Ed. note: It may be necessary to mention here that Governor Solano was a man of the world, had married a Cuban lady, and was well liked by the inhabitants of Guam.

the public good, and not for the particular benefit of whoever gives the orders. Even in this case, they obey without rebuff, but in a manner somewhat more obvious than in the Philippines and with the innate malice in every human being, they make comments and murmur in their fashion against the decisions, offering passive resistance, when such decisions affect even indirectly their property.

It is a shame to look over the files of this Government and to meet everywhere orders dictated by the basest of passions, and it is necessary that certain deeds be public knowledge for one to believe that such orders did emanate from some Authority.

These blunders, that have created general discontent, were doubtless the cause to which was attributed the unfortunate assassination of Colonel Angel de Pazos, then Governor of the Marianas, and this deed which weighs upon this province like a list of infamy and ignominy, cannot affect the good name of its honorable inhabitants, innocent of such a crime, even when they moaned under the inicious yoke of the most arbitrary despotism. The deed did not have the character that it has been given, nor the idea of separation from Spain ever sprouted in the minds of the Chamorros, boasting independence which they never felt. Such a deed was an isolated event, for reasons of personal vengeance, plotted and carried out by the one who had been suffering most closely for some time from the bad treatments, in word and action, not only on the part of previous Governors, but of Colonel Pazos himself. The last bad treatment was the drop of water that causes the cup to overflow, and today this people, on account of the excessive ambition of the one who succeeded him accidentally in command, Commander Borredá appears before the eyes of history with a stain that is not his, and that I have the duty to erase as the defender that I am, on account of the mandate given to me by the laws of truth.

Reverend Father Aniceto Ibañez, who has lived in these islands for more than 25 years and who deeply knows the character and behavioral manners of everyone, affirms what I have briefly exposed, adding that among submissive peoples who love institutions, those of this Capital and other towns that make up this piece of Spanish territory can be counted at the top of the list.

The religious holidays that are celebrated in Agaña are two in number: one in honor of the patron saint, St. Ignatius of Loyola on the 31st of July when mass is sung, with a sermon and a public procession, and the other to honor a solemn and perpetual vow of these inhabitants to the Immaculate Conception, for protection against earthquakes, that begins on April 7th and continues during nine days, every day with a sung mass and on the last day with a solemn mass, sermon and procession.

During the rest of the year, the feast days of our Holy Mother the Church are observed and practiced, with the fervor proper to such acts.

The village of Agat celebrates the feast of its patron, St. Rose [of Lima], that of Merizo that of the feast of St. Dimas, that of Inarajan the feast of St. Joseph, the suburb of Sumay the Immaculate Conception, those of Asan and Sinajaña the Holy Name of Mary and that of Umatac St. Dionisius.

The villages of Saipan, Rota and Tinian celebrate the religious feast days of their patron saints, who are respectively St. Idiore, St. Francis Borja and St. Alfonso Liborio.

Criminality.

If by criminality the question means those acts that man commits under a preconceived will and deliberate purpose, and those transgressions of natural and written laws, attempts and violations of individual rights, letting himself be carried by unruliness that leads him to be deplorable extreme of forgetting his duties before God, the Supreme Lawmaker, before himself and before his fellow-man, scorning the Law that protects everyone and measures evenly, it can be said that in this province the word criminality is not suitable, that in it there is no propensity to crime, that these inhabitants are of peaceful mind, they are respectful of Authorities and fearful of the Law.

Proof of this assertion is that Ordinary Justice has few crimes to pursue and punish, and when, unfortunately, someone had to be prosecuted in recent times, the unfortunate one was born outside of this province.

Sanitation, medical assistance: hospitals, cemeteries, their location, distance from the village, condition, slaughter houses, mineral waters.

Due no doubt to the benign climate that this province enjoys, public health is generally in a satisfactory state. Only in certain periods of the year do some sporadic illnesses attack the natives, for instance, fevers, colds and others of a similar nature, that assume a malarial character and produce a few deaths among adults, but their influence is most deadly among children.

This public health in which public health is affected coincides with the change in season.

It is rare that the natives of these islands ask for medical help for their diseases and they have very good reasons for this. The first is that there exists only one military physician who resides in the Capital; the second is that the majority of the people lack any kind of resources to satisfy the fees of the physician, and also the repugnance that backward people feel towards subjecting their complaints to scientific treatments, preferring to supply their own medications, with plants which they know are medicinal.

There does not exist any hospital in these islands and there is only a military dispensary in Agaña.

The Capital has one cemetery, located at a place offering good conditions, at a distance of 1 kilometer from the boundary of the City. In the other villages, the cemeteries are in disadvantageous conditions, and to remedy this situation some specific projects are being considered with full urgency in order to build them on sites and at distances from the villages that public hygiene prescribes.

There is a public slaughter house only in Agaña, in a suitable place and built with light materials. Its state of preservation leaves much to be desired, and therefore its reconstruction is being studied at present.

No study has been made about mineral waters, nor are there any indications of their being abundant.

Agriculture, its condition.

Agriculture in this province is found in a lamentable state of backwardness, caused by the little interest that its inhabitants take in this branch, given the uncertainty of the results, the lack of capital, the lack of ships visiting its ports and looking for products, and the large distances to its potential markets. Such markets cannot be in the Philippines because the same products are found there and in a much larger scale than here.

According to an opinion that has been sustained for some time, the prosperity of the Mariana Islands cannot be through agriculture, that even if they come out of the deplorable state in which they are now found; it can only be a secondary resource on account of the soil conditions.

Industry: industries derived from agriculture, their exploitation; sugar factories and type of machinery used; useful effect and whatever information is related to this important branch of wealth, sugar refineries; oil extraction; manufacture of alcohols, indigo and other derived industries.

It can be said that no industry worth that name exists. Certain operations to process the products of the land are carried out particularly by each harvester, and by very primitive means.

Sugar factories do not exist either; the few places where sugar cane is processed are not worthy of that name. A few sugar cane presses, made of wood, moved by animal traction, exist, but those who dedicate themselves to the culture of sugar cane and the making of sugar do it generally for their own use, selling only the excess.

The extraction of coconut oil is general in this province and is done by all the families, but in such a small scale as to satisfy household needs.

Regarding alcohols, rum is made, but also in a small scale. Indigo is not made nor any other dye matter.

Manufacturing industries: factories of all kinds that are in operation; list of those that existed before and reasons why they disappeared; small industries.

There does not exist any manufacturing industry; there were some before but without any importance, i.e. the manufacture of a few textiles by means of a primitive loom.

The import of Philippine goods originating from European manufactures and it disappear completely.

Mining industry: known metal lodes; coal basins; registered mines; in exploitation; by product; abandoned; systems and procedures used in the extraction of the ores; revenue obtained in the last 5 years.

There is no mining industry, nor are there any known metal lodes, although it is supposed that some iron exists because traces of it have been found combined with other matters.

There are no known coal basins either.

Fishing industry: salt fish factories, etc.

Fishing in this province does not have the character of an industry, as it serves only to satisfy the family needs of whoever does it.

There are no salt fish factories.

Commerce: commercial customs or ways; imports, their origins; exports, their destinations; fairs and markets; credit; banks; insurance companies; interest on loaned capital; conditions under which farmers usually get loans.

Commerce in this province is in a state of infancy for a lack of capital and the small population. It has a nucleus in the Capital and consists especially in the import of European manufactured goods.

The commercial customs are very few; the modest traders residing in Agaña appoint representatives in Manila to whom they entrust the purchase and shipping of textiles that are sold here at retail and with difficulty given the poverty of these inhabitants who many times buy these goods in exchange for local products.

The import of the said textiles, and a few food articles from the Philippines and Europe, comes directly from Manila and represents little importance. By way of an exchange, a few items are remitted to that Capital: cacao, coffee and *beche-de-mer* [sea cucumbers]; the export of this province is limited to that.

There are no other thing as mentioned in the question.

Average price obtained in the market for each of the land and industrial products.

There is no market as such, given the separation from the rest of the world, and there are no products for which there would be an average price.

Navigation: commercial routes, by land and sea.

There is no navigation, if the term means a network of ships carrying merchandise by sea, nor is there a sea route other than the quarterly run that leaves Manila for these islands, by steamers, to bring the mail.

Cartage cost to the embarkation points or export centers.

The cost of cartage, that is, the rent of one cart from Agaña to Piti Point, which is the only embarkation point for the few articles that are remitted to Manila, is one peso.

Ecnomic condition of the province: revenue from taxation and fees imposed by the State and accruing to local funds; sums recovered during the year under various headings and comparison with those recovered in 1885; reasons for the increase or decrease.

The revenue from taxation and fees which this province recovers and for local funds are: sale of official paper; revenue from cockfights; head tax for the Chinese; estate tax; tax upon urban property; licese fees of the new industrial tax and tobacco tax; licence fees for the manufacture and sale of alcohols; consumption of alcohol; provincial tax; community tax; industrial tax on ???; on slaughter of cattle, property titles and transfer of large cattle; some revenue from raffles and profits on money orders.

	1885	1887
	Pesos & Cents	Pesos & Cents
Direct taxes	48 66-7/8	45 32-2/8
Property taxes	204 81-6/8	214 22-2/8
Industrial taxes	1,008 49-7/8	809 18-1/8
Beverage tax	---	63 86-5/8
Stamped articles	766 37-4/8	764 97-4/8
Cockfights	80 16-6/8	67 87-4/8
Raffled articles	1 98	---
Incidental income	987 74-2/8	904 30-5/8
Public lands and fees	296 14	297 34-7/8
Special funds	150 63-3/8	97 88-1/8
Net income from previous fiscal years	69 60	22 52-1/8
Reimbursements of undue payments	4 ---	---
Municipal tax revenue	486 99-1/8	---
Id. (2nd semester 1885-86)	---	270 93-7/8
Id. (1st semester 1886-87)	---	223 72-5/8
Provincial tax revenue	2,586	75 ---
Id. (2nd semester 85-86)	---	1,397 61
Id. (1st semester 86-87)	---	1,273 50

In 1885, this Administration received from the General Treasury under various headings, the sum of \$28,68599.

The difference, i.e. decrease, that results between what was received in 1887 in relation to the income obtained in 1885 is so small that it would be difficult to point out the true causes of this decrease, unless we consider a greater number of years.

Sums that have been used during the year for various public works in the province.

In 1887, the State funds have not been used for any public works in this province.

Measures that must be adopted to assist in the development of the province, in moral as well as in material and administrative matters.

The measures that are requested by public opinion in order to assist the development of these islands are: the use of the Marians as a port of call and commercial warehousing, providing them with a port in good conditions, which could be that of San Luis de Apra, if the necessary works are undertaken in it to clean its bottom, to establish wharves, dragging, etc. that it lacks today; to push the progress of agriculture as far as it remains profitable, in view of the not-so-advantageous soil conditions, and always keeping in mind that this branch must remain secondary in the development of this province; to establish agricultural colonies to favor that progress, and whose example would excite the emulation of individuals and would be a standard of behavior in their

practices; to establish prizes to be given to those who by their continued efforts get better products in quantity and quality; to establish other prizes or exemptions to be given to those who distinguish themselves in breeding better species and increasing them; to develop public instruction and to select suitable staff in sufficient number, specially for the islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan, harmonizing the salaries of the said personnel with the very important service that is entrusted to them, and improving the school buildings and supplies.

Administrative organization of the province in government, ecclesiastical, judicial matters, etc.

The administrative organization of this province, with respect to government proper, consists of a Politico-Military Governor who oversees the administration of all the towns covered by his mandate, of one Secretary with whom he carries out the purely governmental matters, with subordinate staff. In matters ecclesiastical, there is one Vicar [Provincial] assisted by one coadjutor, and some missionaries or parish priests, all dependent of the Diocese of Cebu. In matters judicial, there is a Judge of First Instance, a government attorney, and a Justice of the Peace in each town. In economic matters, there is one Administrator and one Auditor of Public Finance. And in purely administrative matters of the towns, there are Mayors and other subordinates.

Public works in progress, planned, and under study.

There are no public works in progress other than the repair of Government House. The reconstruction of the schools in the suburbs of Anigua, Asan and Tepungan are under study.

Method used in the first category and ways and systems that could be used to activate the others.

The repair of Government House is being done by the Government itself, as work by contractors is unknown here and public tenders when used give no results.

The quick execution of those under study always runs into the lack of communications with Manila where all the plans and budgets must go for their approval, this being the major delay which they suffer, and not much can be done now to avoid this.

Building materials that exist in the locality and can be used in these works.

There exist the wood, stone, lime, and sand, but there is a lack of iron, bricks and tiles that are imported from Manila and from Japan.

Measures of volume, weight, and area commonly used in the country and their relationships with the Castilian and metric measures.

The measures of volume used in this province are: the barrel, and *caban* for dry goods; the *tinaja* [jar] for dry and liquid goods; and the bottle for liquids only. The weights are: the *quintal* and its inferior divisions.¹ The volume measurement for wood is the *medida* [measure]. Those for area are the hectare.

The barrel contains 120 liters, the *caban* 75 liters, the bottle 0.75 liter, and the *medida* is 4.2 cubic meters.

1 Ed. note: That is, arrobas, pounds and ounces (see above notes).

The barrel is also equivalent to 4 fanegas; the caban to 3 fanegas approximately; and the medida to 192 cubic feet.

Flora and fauna.

Over 200 species [of plants] are known in this province, but the classification of them is not good as no studies have been made of the subject by competent persons, or at least there is no record of it having been done.¹

The fauna is constituted by species that were mentioned under cattle and by palmipedes, of the gose and duck variety; by mosquitos, herons and others; domesticated birds of the chicken family, doves and others; reptiles, iguana and lizards; in aracnidæ and articulated animals, the spiders, centipedes, and various worms, and crustaceans, sea and land crabs.

Postal and telegraphic service.

There are no such services within this province.

Agaña, 31 March 1888.

The Governor,

Enrique Solano

1 Ed. note: A thorough study was made by the Freycinet expedition (see HM19) but these French reference books were never available in Agaña.

Document 1888I

Letter from Mr. Marche, the French scientist

Source: Revue d'ethnographie, N° 7 (1888).

Note: See his full report, Doc. 1887I.

Letter of Alfred Marche to Dr. F. Delisle, dated Agaña 3 September 1888

Agaña, Island of Guam, 3 September 1888.

I left for the island of Rota on 10 April, and I had planned to spend one month there, but the difficulty of communications with the rest of the Mariana Archipelago forced me to stay three months.

I was able to take anthropometric measurements of Marianos and Carolinians, as well as some photographs.

The only village in Rota is located on a narrow tongue of land that links the island with a rocky outcrop made up of superposed calcareous deposits which, from a distance, look like some fortifications.

In the northern part of the island, there is a place named Machan,¹ where there are some ruins of an old village, at the foot of a mountainous massif, conical in shape, that occupies the interior. The huts were aligned and formed a street. The pillars of these huts, still standing for the most part, were generally formed of a single stone, topped with a capital or not; they were from one meter to one meter 20 cm. in height and supported the beams upon which the joists of the roof rested. These huts were not all of the same size, and one may suppose that the largest ones were occupied by the village chief and the heads of families.

The overall appearance of these ruins is very different from all the others that I visited in the various islands of the archipelago...

The main hut measured 17 meters in length and 4 meters in width on the inside. The wall, the capitals, as well as a few of the pillars, were made of calcareous stones cemented together with lime, resulting in a very solid masonry.²

1 Ed. note: Probably corresponds to Machanag, near where Father Pobre lived in 1602 (MI 14-44 in Bryan's Place Names).

2 Ed. note: Nature had made them so; we now know that they were solid pieces of coral limestone from a nearby quarry.

Many authors have presumed that the natives of the Marianas did not know about fire before the arrival of the Europeans, but that was never admissible. During my investigations I have found pot sherds that show signs that they had been used in cooking.

After this first site, I went on to another located on the east coast of the island, and I found some ruins of the same type.

In the vicinity of this second site, I found a cave, in which I collected one skull.

In my various expeditions throughout the island of Rota, I have been able to recognize the existence of [former] dwellings that had been isolated and spread out, far from the main population centers. Generally, there are only walls and pillars left of them.

Nowadays the old method of house building is completely ignored and all the huts are made of tree trunks and the leaves of coconut trees. If one finds some huts with stone walls, they are covered with coconut leaves. As far as the openings are concerned, they are few, and of a small size.

Finally, on 10 August, the schooner that was to bring me back to Agaña appeared, and I was able to go on board her without difficulty and without accident. The weather was so bad and the sea ran so high that the ship could not come only within one mile of the coast, which is strewn with reefs.

I intend to go and visit the island of Agrigan soon.

A. Marche.

Document 1888J

Progress report from Pohnpei, September 1888

Source: PNA.

Letter of Governor Cadarso, dated 25 September 1888

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

[From] P. M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands. No. 75.

Your Excellency:

As the cruiser **Velasco** will soon leave for that Capital, I consider it my duty to report to the respectable authority of Y.E. on the present condition of the Colony, whose erection is now the main objective, regarding the lodging and other necessary elements to maintain in permanence, with due guarantee and security, all the personnel who must constitute it, and regarding the policy that is followed in this Archipelago in accordance with the instructions given by that Government General, today in the hands of Y.E., and those the Supreme Government gave by telegram, and which can be summarized in these words: "policy of attraction toward the natives and Methodist Missionaries."

With respect to the first part, Your Excellency, the Colony is becoming more solid and comfortable. With the materials brought from Manila, there already have been raised : one barracks, where 130 soldiers are lodged, and it is capable of holding up to 200; one store for provisions, capable of holding food for one year; Government House, in accordance with the plan¹ given by the Inspector General of Public Works, and which I have tried to approximate as much as possible, given the shortage of of certain resources in this locality; the house for the Secretary that came in pieces for quick assembly; the Fort named Alfonso XIII with 4 cannon from 7-1/2 to 8 cm., of bronze, completely plated so that they will not suffer from the copious rain they receive; and one house inside the fort itself to lodge the officer in charge of it and the one who commands the guard of the enclosure.

Now, Your Excellency, I propose to build a good infirmary, the church, the mission house, another barracks, and 2 houses for officers. I only hope that Y.E. will send the materials that are prepared in the Inspection General of Public Works, to raise the

¹ Ed. note: The plan was made in 1886 (see Doc. 1886V).

church and the house of the Missionaries. As the transport **Manila** ought to bring food and is supposed to be here at the beginning of January, I would be grateful to Y.E. for making the arrangements for the loading of the said wood supplies, as well as the medicines that we absolutely lack in the Colony, oil for the lighting, and the 10 lamps that Military Intendance has purchased.

My relations with the Methodist Missionaries are cordial, but I shelter the conviction, born out of experience that I was able to acquire, that on the part of the said Pastors there is not the required sincerity for the natives to follow the path that they wish in matters of religion. Some natives have complained to me that Mr. Doane, Head of these Protestant Missions, decides as he pleases that the kinglets should imprison me and women who live emancipated without being wedded by the Protestant religion; that he sells them books, effects, etc., almost forcing them by the moral pressure that he has exercised upon the kinglets for many years; that he advises them to live away from the Colony, and be like those of the Metalanim tribe, etc. etc. But these facts, Your Excellency, would be difficult to prove because the natives have a real fear of the person of Mr. Doane, and such an influence could only be nullified with calm and with the conviction that many natives begin to have that the Government and Sovereignty of Spain is more paternal and disinterested than that of their old masters, in fact but not in law. One obvious proof has just been given me by the kinglet of Kitti, which is the most populous tribe in Ascension; he spontaneously came to visit me with his Chiefs, relatives and numerous retinue. I asked him if they were happy with me, and they answered that they were very happy, and they only wished me to order them one thing for them to do it. I took advantage of such a good turn of events and in the presence of the Capuchin Fathers, two of whom speak kanaka, and with the Secretary also present, to ask them if they were happy with the religion that Mr. Doane was teaching them, and they said that it was expensive, as everything was costing them money or copra. I told them that the Catholic religion was cheaper, that it would cost them nothing, and in my opinion it was much better, but that I let them free to follow what they wanted. As the King said with enthusiasm and energy that they would always do what the Governor wished, that they judged this to be better, I told them that if they wished to raise a Catholic temple, there would be no objection to celebrate in it, as long as they so wished. It was agreed that a commission would go to Kitti to select an appropriate site. So it was done with the following: Father Agustín [de Ariñez] who speaks the local dialect, the Secretary of the Political Government and one guide. They were well received and they fixed the size of the building which is to contain church, house and school.

The voyage made by the Missionary and the Secretary was very bothersome and long, because this Government lacks any kind of craft, with oars or steam, and it was necessary to charter a whale-boat from a Portuguese man in which they took one day to get there.

As Y.E. will understand, this church, once established there, will be an asset to attract the natives softly; it is necessary to establish periodic communications for the provision of food and other supplies necessary to the mission station. There is nothing more

necessary than the steam launch which, as I had the honor to propose to Y.E., could be looked after with the local funds that the Directorate General of Civil Administration is in charge of.

Your Excellency, various foreigners residing in the most important islands of this Archipelago have made various claims in private letters, in order for a warship to visit the islands for the purpose of preventing excesses committed by natives whom they say do not recognize the authority of anyone, and prejudice their commerce. One of them is German, another English and various from other countries. I answered them all saying that a warship would go soon to visit the said islands, and it would be convenient for the Commander General of the Navy to issue a directive to the effect that every 6 months the warship that is stationed here should visit the main islands and take information and news that could be useful so that the Government General under the worthy command of Y.E. could judge their agricultural and industrial importance.

That is what I have the honor to report to Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 25 September 1888.

Luis Cadarso

 Document 1888K

Commercial report regarding Ponape, dated 2 October 1888

Source: Article in the Revista de geografia comercial, n° 59 (15 December 1888).

Caroline Islands.—Progress of commerce in Ponape.

According to a letter dated Ponape 2 October last, and addressed to the newspaper *El Imparcial*, the following ships from the most important nations in the world entered that port during the second half of September. There were anchored the Hamburg frigate [i.e. three-masted ship] *Cimbla* [i.e. **Embla**,¹ the German schooners *Fortuna* [rather **Futuna**] and **Milly**, and the American [rather Australian] ship **Champion**. IN the port of Metalanim there were anchored at the same time the U.S. three-masted brigantine *Fiernep* [rather **H. L. Tiernan**], and the **Montiara**.

The whaling ships that visit those seas made frequent stopovers in the port of Kili [rather Kiti], and all those ships go there, attracted by the mercantile commerce in ivory nuts, copra and wood for building purposes, and for the purpose of supplying the Spanish colony with European and American products, and without the risks associated formerly with the capricious rule of the kinglets who had no equals in lording it over everything, morally and physically.

Among the improvements that are planned for sure, there is the establishment of a regular line of German ships that would leave Jalup [rather Jaluit], the capital of the Marshalls, and would be making use of four schooners and three frigates that would visit all the Carolines and Palau, and therefore visit Ponape also.

The three frigates in question would leave Hamburg every three months with European merchandise, specially German ones, and coal from Cardiff, then go to Australia; in Sydney they would load with coal from the local mines, and take it to Jalup [sic], from where the small ships would offer it to the Governor of Ponape at 12 pesos per ton.

The captain of the *Tiernep* [sic] reported that his test voyage had been so successful that he, as part ship-owner, and other partners from San Francisco, planned to establish a direct line of sailing ships that would touch at the island every month. The cargo

1 Ed. note: Actually a Danish ship under charter.

that he carried consisted of 2,000 bags of flour of second grade, that the natives purchased at 3-1/2 pesos each (how come the Spaniards do not know this, to get rid of their inferior grade of flour?); the other goods and effects sold by the captain of the *Fiernep* within the first eight days after his arrival were traded for whole coconuts that filled his hold, figured at the rate of one peso for 300 coconuts. He had sold his shoeware at high prices, tins of petroleum sold at 6 pesos each, ready-made clothes and other articles that the Spanish colony were in need of, since there is not one tailor or shoe-maker in the whole detachment, and there is not even a miserable food store; he sold everything at very good prices.

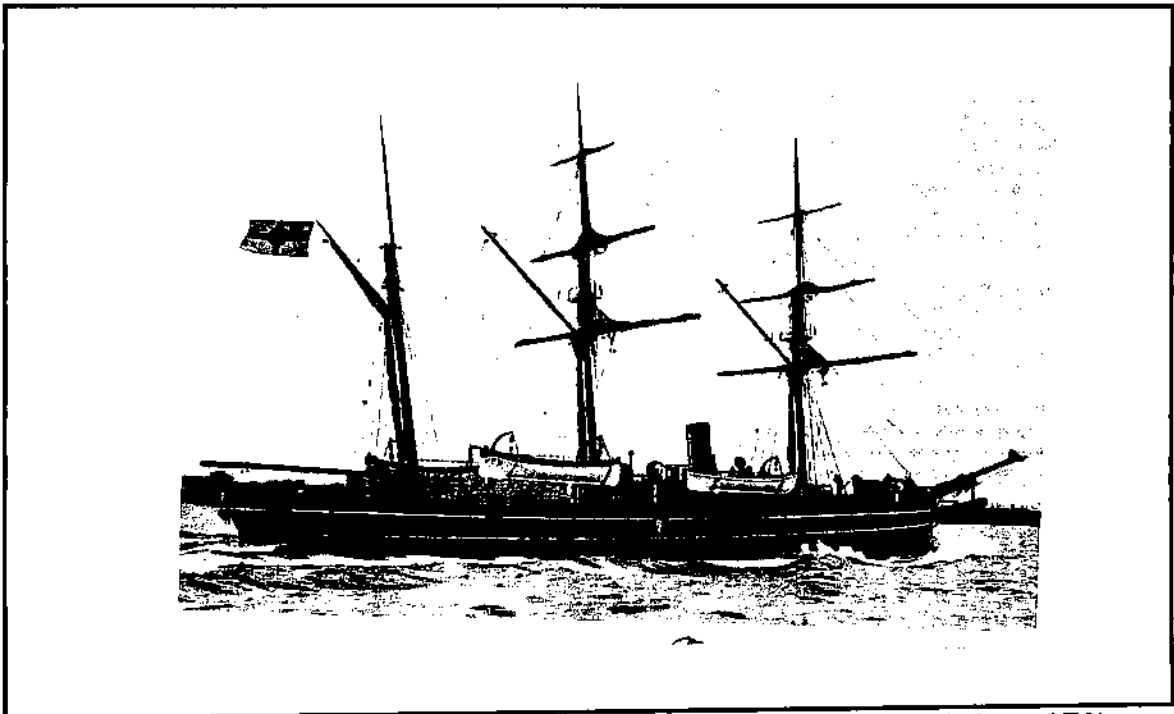
If our own character, more suitable to be an adventurer than a merchant, were to take Spanish products and sold them at regular prices, although always high (indeed, in those latitudes everything is expensive), were to go there and set up a store, he would certainly make some good business.

Neither the Carolines nor Palau are big enough for the development of a large business, but the trader who goes there with a modest capital is sure to have a regular business within a few years.

that he carried consisted of 2,000 bags of flour of second grade, that the natives purchased at 3-1/2 pesos each (how come the Spaniards do not know this, to get rid of their inferior grade of flour?); the other goods and effects sold by the captain of the *Fiernep* within the first eight days after his arrival were traded for whole coconuts that filled his hold, figured at the rate of one peso for 300 coconuts. He had sold his shoeware at high prices, tins of petroleum sold at 6 pesos each, ready-made clothes and other articles that the Spanish colony were in need of, since there is not one tailor or shoe-maker in the whole detachment, and there is not even a miserable food store; he sold everything at very good prices.

If our own character, more suitable to be an adventurer than a merchant, were to take Spanish products and sold them at regular prices, although always high (indeed, in those latitudes everything is expensive), were to go there and set up a store, he would certainly make some good business.

Neither the Carolines nor Palau are big enough for the development of a large business, but the trader who goes there with a modest capital is sure to have a regular business within a few years.



SMS Eber, Lieutenant Eusmann. (From Hildebrand et al, vol. 2, p. 276)

Document 1888L

SMS Eber's visit to the Marshalls—Annexation of Nauru

How Nauru became a German Protectorate

Source: PAMBU 4, Nov. 1968.

Twenty-four hours after the Germans officially raised the flag on Nauru in October 1888, the Nauruans (who then numbered fewer than 1,000 people, and who had long been fighting each other) had handed in 765 items of firearms, comprising one revolver, 109 pistols and 655 rifles, including 171 of the breach-loading variety.

These extraordinary statistics are contained in an official report on the German flag-raising ceremony, written by the man in charge of the operation, Herr Sonnenschein, German Imperial Commissioner in the Marshall Islands.

Sonnenschein's report is one of several dozen [then] unpublished documents on Nauru in the German Central Archives in Potsdam.

...
In his report on the flag-raising, Sonnenschein said that he sailed from Jaluit for the annexation ceremony in the German gunboat **Eber** and arrived at Nauru on October 1st, 1888.

After landing with Lieut. Emsmann, of the German Navy, and 36 men, Sonnenschein marched to the trading station of a German trader called Rasch, whose station was owned by the Jaluit Company.

Having deposited their luggage and provisions, Sonnenschein and company set off to march round the island to invite all the white settlers and the resident native missionary to be present at Rasch's station next morning for the flag-raising ceremony.

Similarly, all the Nauruan chiefs, who numbered 12, were "persuaded in a friendly way" to go to Rasch's station forthwith.

After returning from their march, which took five hours, the Germans feasted the Nauruan chiefs and treated them with great friendliness. But apparently for fear that the chiefs might skip the flag-raising ceremony, the Germans "took them prisoner for the night and kept them under guard in a copra shed."

Next morning, in the presence of all 10 Europeans, the captive chiefs, the missionary and a big crowd of Nauruans, Sonnenschein read a proclamation declaring

Nauru to be a protectorate of the German Reich, and the flag was raised “with the usual military honours.” Sonnenschein then explained to the chiefs the meaning of the proclamation and the changed conditions due to the annexation, and stressed particularly that any disturbance of the peace was prohibited.

Next he asked them why, in the past, they had always started fighting again after they had promised the commanders of British and German warships that they would keep the peace. When the Nauruans replied that it was because they got drunk on toddy, and the great number of firearms on the island, Sonnenschein said that he wanted to help them in the latter respect and that they must therefore hand in all their arms and ammunition within 24 hours. The chiefs of those clans which did not comply with this order, he said, would be taken as prisoners to Jaluit.

The Nauruans thereupon dispersed to collect their weapons, and by the following night 765 items had been handed in, together with 1,000 bullets.

However, Sonnenschein was by no means certain that all firearms had been collected. “The future will tell if the disarming was complete,” he wrote.

Sonnenschein’s report, written in Jaluit on October 31, 1888, is the “*pièce de résistance*” among the documents on Nauru in the Potsdam Archives. The documents cover the period 1887-1916.

Dr. Helen Hughes, of the Department of Economics in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, arranged to have the documents microfilmed in 1966. Her mother, Mrs. E. Gintz, subsequently translated them into English; and Dr. Hughes has since passed both the microfilm and the translations of the documents on to the Pacific Manuscript Bureau.

...

Editor’s notes.

There was an official report submitted by Sonnenschein to the German Government, dated 31 October 1888: see a book entitled: *Papers Concerning the General Organisation and Business of the Administration of the Island of Nauru*.

There is also an article published in Germany entitled: “*Aufzeichnungen xber die Insel Nauru*” [Notes regarding Nauru Island: see *Mitteilungen a. d. Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 2 (1889): 19-26.

There is also the report of the commander of SMS Eber—Visit to the Marshall Islands (Jaluit, Wotje, etc.) and Nauru

Note 1888N

Shipwreck of the Australian ship **Champion** at Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

Sone notes from the Spanish file

Shipwreck of the British Brigantine **Champion in Metalanim Harbor in Pohnpei, which occurred in October 1888.**

On 26 December, the following seamen asked the Governor of the Eastern Carolines for passage to Manila:

J. Vanderhyden, Second Mate
John Williams, A.B. [= Able-bodied Seaman]
Charles Olson, Stewart
John Johansen, A.B.
D. Pearson, A.B.

All, except Olson, did arrive at Manila aboard the warship **Manila** and were taken charge of by the British Consul on 17 January 1889, who sent them to Hong Kong aboard the steamer **Zafiro** on the 22nd.

Two more seamen living in Pohnpei at that time also petitioned for a passage. They were:

—C. F. Emerson, who wanted to go to San Francisco; he must have been an American citizen, because he did not report to the British Consul at Manila.

—Joseph Silk, a deaf seaman, who claimed to have been with Captain O'Keefe of Yap and had been wrecked on Ngatik Island while going from Satawal to Greenwich [Kapingamarangi]; he wanted a passage to Yap or Manila. He was taken to Manila where the Consul planned to find him employment in Manila or to send him to England otherwise.

There may be pertinent information about this shipwreck in the London, 1892 edition of a book:

—Kingston, William Henry Giles. *The South Sea Whaler: A Story of the Loss of the **Champion** and Adventures of her Crew.*

Note 1888O

School reports for the Marianas, 1887 & 1888

Source: PNA. Note: See also Doc. 1886Z.

School report for November 1887

Detailed list of the number of children who have attended school in this province during the month of November of this year [1887] made up from the information submitted to the Government and Provincial Director of Elementary Schools by the respective teachers.

	Agaña & wards	Agat	Merizo	Inarajan	Rota	Saipan
1. Number of male children on the last day of the month	486	228	39	31	--	--
2. Id., female children	344	118	45	17	--	--
3. Average number of male children during the month	285	100	39	31	--	--
4. Id., female children	244	102	45	17	--	--

Agaña, 20 November 1887.
The Governor,
Enrique Solano

School report for November 1888

	Agaña	Agat	Merizo	Inarajan	Rota	Saipan
1. Number of male children on the last day of the month	457	125	38	31	44	58
2. Id., female children	307	130	40	17	34	34
3. Average number of male children during the month	222	112	38	31	39	51
4. Id., female children	196	143	40	17	28	25

Documents 1888P

The shipwreck of the German barque F. H. Drevos

P1. Report from Navy HQ in Manila, dated 29 January 1889

Source: PNA.

Office of the Secretary, Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1889. File about aid provided by the P.M. Governor of the Marianas to the shipwrecked survivors of the German barque **F. H. Drevos** [or Drews].

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[From] Navy Headquarters in the Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Captain of the Port of Apra (Marianas Islands), in a letter dated 6th instant, tells me the following:

“Dear Sir:—On the 28th of last month, the Adjutant of the port of Saipan tells me what I copy word for word:

*I regret to inform you that on the 26th instant [i.e. 26 December 1888] a boat arrived at these islands. It was manned by twelve persons and one lady coming, they say, from the German ship **F. H. Drevos** destroyed by a terrible hurricane that brole out on the 15th at 16°1' Lat. N. and 158°50' Long. E. of Greenwich. It continues its voyage today headed for that capital [i.e. Guam].”*

“The said shipwrecked persons, mentioned by the Adjutant of the Port of Saipan, in his letter, arrived today at these islands aboard the said boat and in one belonging to the Port Adjutant himself. They are from the German merchantman barque **F. H. Drevos** lost in the high seas while sailing toward Shanghai. I have this date begun the procedures for the summary investigation into what happened, which I will have the honor to send to Y.E. upon its completion for the measures taht may be appropriate.”

I have the honor to forward the above to Y.E. for your superior knowledge, adding that, according to another note from the Port Captain, the above-mentioned shipwrecked persons embarked on the 19th instant aboard the steamer **Don Juan** headed for this Capital [i.e. Manila].

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 29 January 1889.
Rafael .?.

P2. The German Government sent rewards in 1893

Source: AHN Ultramar 5288.

The Ministry of Overseas in Madrid forwarded the rewards to Manila for despatch to the Marianas.

Ministry of Overseas, 28 February 1893. Four receipts acknowledging the receipt of crosses and watches.

[Note:] Transfer to the State Department of the receipts mentioned in the answer to the Royal Order by that Department dated 27 October last.

Nº 770.

Your Excellency:

Further to my telegram of 2 November last, addressed to the Ministry under your worthy charge, I have the honor to remit to Y.E. the receipts for the gold crosses that were issued to the curates of Saipan and Tinian, that is, Fr. Ildefonso Cabanillas and Mr. José Palomo respectively, and the gold watches issued to the mayors of said places, Mr. Juan de Castro and Mr. Mariano Fausto respectively, and that were granted by the Emperor of Germany as rewards for the services rendered to the persons affected by the shipwrecked of the German barque **F. H. Drevos**.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 19 January 1893. Your Excellency.

...

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

Document 1888Q

Press report from Pohnpei, dated 31 December 1888

Source: Julian del Pozo y Bresó. Contra la colonización por España de las Islas Carolinas (Manila, 1890).

Note: This book contains a series of articles that were published in the Manila newspaper La Opinión by its editor who was against the colonization of the Carolines by Spain. However, he published the following letter to the editor, which was critical of his own points of view.

Letter of Rogelio Moreno Rey, dated 31 December 1888

Ponape, Eastern Carolines, 31 December 1888.

To the Editor of the newspaper *La Opinión*.

My dear Sir:

I take the liberty of sending you the attached article, in case you find it worthy of publication, since it involves a subject matter of transcendental interest.

Thanking you in advance, I remain

Your grateful, considerate, respectful and affectionate servant,

Who kisses your hand,

Rogelio Moreno Rey.

Over the past year or so, hardly one ship proceeding from the Caroline Islands has arrived at Manila; yet, a newspaper in that Capital publishes logn anonymous letters, as long as they are inexact, regarding the material progress of our colonies in the Pacific. Any person reading them, and knowing the islands, cannot help noticing the cynicism shown by their author or authors, in dealing with what is essentially a serious matter, since it involves the honor of our nation, and is a delicate matter also because it concerns the prestige of our authority; they all show a narrow mind, that contents itself with extolling insignificant details; they show a great ignorance of what is or must be the colonizatin of a country and ... (sad to say) a certain tendency to disorient public opinion, by letting it believe that there is wealth where there is misery, order and hygiene whene there is no population. What are Yap and Ponape today, those capitals of both archipalagos, if not two detachments where the life of a soldier must accommodate itself to the bad conditions of a new colony?

As I am against the criticism of personalities and government decisions, in these countries where there is no policy other than selfishness in its various manifestations, and disregarding those authors, daring for the manner in which they disregard the truth; partial and without a basis to understand the evil they do in their pompous publications, I am going to make a short, but true, scientific and clear outline of these islands that have been unknown for a long time and little studied today.

The Island of Ponape which, *according to some, is destined* to become very important for Spain as a result of the opening of the Panama canal, disregarding geographic data, has never been along any route to anywhere, even in the age of sail, and that is why these seas are absolutely unknown until the present day; it can never become a stop-over point, and therefore much less a commercial port. Its topographic conditions are, on the other hand, quite fatal to this idea: a volcanic nature, volcanic, notably coralline are its coasts and its abrupt vegetation that covers everything up to the summits of its mountains and the hollows and small valleys, make it *inaccessible*, and its extensive and *numberless shoals are a danger* to navigation, but protective only of its natives who dedicate themselves to fishing, and piracy.

The average temperature fluctuates between 21 and 30 degrees, the humidity being excessive, which, in addition to the quality of the soil, explain the fact that its flora is poor. The fauna is not rich either; the researches that I have made have only shown that the known animals, such as the chickens, dogs, cats and pigs, have all been introduced, and are by now degenerated; the birds offer little variety, the pigeons and the parrots being the most numerous.

Well then, those of our readers who have heard about the wealth of a few natural products, may be interested in the following information:

The largest exploitation that is made in greatest scale here is that of the coconut, but in small quantities, due no doubt to the poverty of the topsoil which is clayish and covers the humus and thus sterilizes the plant. Another product, also without importance, is the vegetable ivory, hardly known by industry and of little utility. Among the bushes, there is nothing much that can be used except by the native and even he, on account of his way of life and customs, never works at developing the resources around him.

With regards to the exploitation that I have mentioned, let me say that I have trustworthy information to make me say that it is hardly as important as some would have us believe. In fact, it consists of the extraction of copra that a German company¹ established in the Marshall Islands makes, with four sailing vessels, all in the coasting trade (none exceeding 100 tons) that visit the Archipelagos and deliver the products to Jalup [Jaluit], where are to be found the store-houses and one agent to whom the [German] government gives the title of Imperial Commissioner, without a salary, and granting to the company the right to impose a tax of four marks on the natives of the islands, without said German state having to do any other expenditure or other obligation than

1 Ed. note: The Jaluit Company.

the despatch of some warship to visit its colonies. Two large ships take these products from the store-houses in the Marshalls to Europe; they return with merchandise such as cloth, weapons, annuntion, and a few food supplies to carry out the trade with the natives; in fact, this is a commerce such as is being done between the west coast of Africa and England with palm oil.

In summary, this German company is the only one that, in the Carolines, exploits the little there is, whereas our Nation spends in both archipelagos the sum of 320,000 pesos, to sustain 425 residents, one Hulk and three of the biggest and most useful ships in the Philippine archipelago.

The considerations that are implied in the possession of these colonies, do not affect patriotism; on the contrary, it behooves us to look carefully at the large financial sacrifice involved; indeed, by studying most attentively the importance and usefulness of maintaining our possession in such a condition, it is easy to underdtand that it would lead to the adoption of a resolution that would be radical indeed, that of renouncing some lands where, as in others, some Spanish blood has been spilled.

Rogelio Moreno Rey.

Note 1888R

A new commercial code of laws for the Philippines and Oceania

Source: Ministerio de Ultramar. Código de comercio para las Islas Filipinas y demás archipiélagos españoles de Oceania. Edición oficial (Madrid, 1888) 399 pages.

Preliminary note.

Following a royal decree, the Ministry of Overseas set up a committee to write a code to regulate commerce in the islands. This committee of lawyers was composed of eminent lawyers, some of whom had served in the Philippines and knew the special environment there. They were: Laureano Figuerola, president; Salvador de Albacete, vice-president; Members: Diego Suárez, Augusto Comas, Fernando Vida, Vicente Hernández de la Rúa, Enrique Díaz Otero, Francisco Durán y Cuervo, Antonio Vásquez Queipo, Fermín Calbetón; and Juan Alvarez Guerra, as Secretary. The latter had previously visited the Marianas (see Doc. 1871E). The Committee deposited their final report on 26 February 1888.

Contents of this commercial code.

Book 1.—Regarding traders and commerce in general.

Title I.—Traders and commercial acts.

Title II.—Mercantile register.

Title III.—Accounts and accounting records.

Title IV.—General dispositions regarding commercial contracts.

Title V.—Commercial places and markets.

Title VI.—Commercial agents and their respective obligations.

Book 2.—Special commercial contracts.

Title I.—Mercantile companies.

Title II.—Joint accounts.

Title III.—Mercantile commission.

Title IV.—Mercantile deposit.

Title V.—Mercantile loans.

Title VI.—Mercantile transactions (purchase and sale) and non-endorsable credit

transfers.

Title VII.—Mercantile contract for land transport.

Title VIII.—Insurance contracts.

Title IX.—Mercantile bonds.

Title X.—Contract and letters of exchange.

Title XI.—Drafts, notes, cheques and money orders.

Title XII.—Notes to the bearer; falsification, theft, and loss of same.

Title XIII.—Letters of credit.

Book 3.—Maritime commerce.

Title I.—Ships.

Title II.—Persons involved in maritime commerce.

Title III.—Special contracts of the maritime commerce.

Title IV.—Risks, damages and accidents in maritime commerce.¹

Title V.—Proof of damage and settlement.

Book 4.—Suspension of payments, bankruptcies and prescriptions.

Title I.—Suspension of payments and bankruptcy in general.

Title II.—Prescriptions.

Title III.—General disposition.

¹ Ed. note: Including returns in distress, piracy, and shipwrecks.

Document 1889A

The whaler Mars, Captain Lewis

Source: Eleanor R. Mayhew (ed.), Captain's Papers (Barre, 1965).

The narrative of Chief Mate E. L. West

The **Mars** was under the command of Captain Leroy S. Lewis, a Vineyarder from Oak Bluffs, and her second mate was David Butler from Norman's Land.

We sailed from San Francisco, November 24, 1888, on a between-seasons cruise to the North Pacific. The purpose of these between-seasons cruises was really to refit the ship: the work of painting, overhauling gear, making repairs to sails, rigging and whale-boats, etc. being carried on by the crew at sea. It was cheaper than holding her in San Francisco until time to go into the Arctic and having the work done there, especially as you always had a chance of coming across a school of sperm whales in the vicinity of the Pacific islands.

The cost of operating in those waters was reduced to a minimum because food could be obtained for very little from the natives of the islands. Pigs, fowl, truffles, fish, bananas, wild oranges, lemons, sweet potatoes and coffee beans were to be had at a nominal price. For instance, an American dollar would buy three hundred pounds of green coffee, and a dollar Mex (45 cents) was all we had to pay for a barrel of sweet potatoes. And in many places trade goods such as calico, guns, caps and gun-powder were the media of exchange. With the decline in demand for sperm oil and a growing market for whale-bone, California was succeeding New England as the chief center of the American whaling industry. Ships went to the Arctic bowheading. The season was short, and it was impractical to try and beat around the Horn every year. So the captains took their cargos of bone and oil into San Francisco in November to be sent east overland, and then sailed to westward sperm and right whaling until it was time to go north again. A right whale is very much like a bowhead except that it is usually somewhat smaller, the blubber is not so thick, and the bone is shorter and not of such fine quality. It is found mostly in temperate waters.

We took the **Mars** directly to the Carolines without making the usual call at Honolulu, and from there proceeded to the coast of Japan where we fell in with a school of sperm whales. They were cow whales—bull whales never travel in schools—and there must have been 150 of them. It was one of the largest schools I ever remember seeing... We did not enter the Arctic until early August that year...

Document 1889B

Typical monthly report from Guam

Source: PNA.

Report for the month of January 1889

Province of the Marianas—News for the period 1-30 January 1889.

Public Health: No news.

Hygiene and Police: No news.

Street adornment: The town is in perfect state, all the streets and byways having gutters for sewage.

Harvests: None. The people are busy planting rice and other articles more productive for their basic needs.

Public works: The repairs to the highway from this town to the port of Apra are continuing.

Deeds or various accidents: None.

Current prices in the City of Agaña:

Rice: 6 pesos per caban;

Palay: 3 pesos per caban;

Sugar: 5 pesos per quintal;

Corn: 1 peso per jar;

Sweet potatoes: 1 peso per quintal;

Oil: [blank] per jar.

Sea movements:

—Ship arrivals:

Port	Date	Name of ships	Cargo	Origin
Apra	11 Jan 1889	Lydia	Ballast	San Francisco
Apra	22 Jan 1889	Hunter	Ballast	San Francisco
Apra	30 Jan 1889	Cape Horn Pigeon	Ballast	San Francisco

—Ship departures:

Apra	18 Jan 1889	Lydia	Ballast	To fishing.
------	-------------	--------------	---------	-------------

Agaña, 31 January 1889.

The Governor,
Enrique Solano

Note 1889D

Eight seamen taken to Manila from Pohnpei

Source: PNA Bundle 67, N° 5.

List of foreign seamen taken to Manila aboard the San Quintín

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1889. No. 12. Business Desk No. 1.

No. 14 Eastern Carolines.—File regarding the receipt of six American and two English seamen aboard the **San Quintín** coming from the Eastern Carolines.

List of the American and English citizens who at their own request are on their way to Manila aboard the San Quintín, to be turned over to their respective Consuls.

		American citizens
J. Bransconebe(?)	1	
John Russell	1	
John Collins	1	
James Griffis(?)	1	
Thomas Aibbrer(?)	1	
John N...re	1	

Total	6	
		English subjects
James Moore	1	
Henry Rath	1	

Total	2	

Santiago de la Ascension, 15 March 1889
 The P.M. Governor,
 Luís Cadarso

Documents 1889E

Land titles held by foreigners in Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

E1. Lands occupied by the Protestant missionaries

[To] Director General of Civil Administration.

[From] Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Ministry of Overseas has communicated to me the following Royal Order N° 105 dated 25 January last [1889]:

“Your Excellency: The Minister of State tells this Minister of Overseas, in a letter dated 21st instant, the following:

“Your Excellency: The Chargé d’Affaires of the United States, in a note dated 17th instant, tells me the following:

“In the note that, on 17 September 1887, I had the honor to send to your worthy predecessor, Mr. Moret, regarding the imprisonment of the American Missionary Mr. Doane, I had the opportunity to recall the explicit assurances given by Mr. Eldnayan to this Legation on 15 October 1885, to the effect that the American missionaries in the Caroline Islands would be protected and sheltered by the Spanish Authorities.

“It would not be amiss to recall the said Note of Mr. Eldnayan when referring to the following facts.

“When Mr. Doane returned to Ponape, he was called by the Governor so that he could expose the complaints that the different missions on the Island had. These complaints are very simple documents but signed or marked by the Chiefs who granted pieces of land occupied today by churches, schools or missionary residences. In spite of their not being written with all the formalities used in civilized countries, they are as complete and satisfactory as possible, given the circumstances.

“The Governor of Ponape said that he had asked to see the said documents in order to remit them to the Governor General of the Philippines who, after examining them and approving them, would return them; many months

have passed and the said complaints continue to be in the hands of the Governor without their having been returned.¹

“For this reason, I have been asked by my Government to let Y.E. know that I hope, given the good dispositions of the Spanish Government toward the American missionaries, that you will give the appropriate orders so that the said important documentary proofs be returned to their respective owners.”

“Which I forward to Y.E. by Royal Order for your knowledge and appropriate actions, recommending the wishes shown by the Legation of the United States in the present Note.

“Which, in accordance with the Royal Order itself communicated by the Minister of Overseas, I forward to Y.E. for the necessary action, requesting that a report be given to this Ministry about the specific action taken.”

And, having this day decided on its compliance, I forward it to you for your knowledge and actions ordered therein.

Manila, 13 March 1889.

Weyler

E2. Land registration required

[To] His Excellency the Inspector General of the Interior.

6 April 1890

In view of what was agreed to on 26 April of last year [1889], I have the pleasure to remit to you (attached) the file regarding the land grant in the Eastern Carolines requested by the American Commercial [sic] Company established in those islands, recommending to you at the same time the greatest haste in writing the plan of organization of the property titles in the Eastern and Western Carolines as you were asked to do by this Center on 10 October 1888, for the purpose of resolving once and for all the various claims that are pending and were the causes of conflicts between Governor Posadillo and the Head of the American Protestant Mission.

May God, etc.

E3. Kubary's land in Pohnpei

[To] His Excellency the Director General of Civil Administration.

[From] Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines—Central Section of Interpreters.

Your Excellency:

The Consul of the German Empire, in a letter dated 18th instant [June 1890] tells me what follows:

¹ Ed. note: Governor Cadarso had collected such documents in early July 1888 but they were received in Manila only in October 1888, because he had mailed them separately by mistake.

“With reference to the very kind letter of Y.E. dated 15 September 1888, I have the honor to inform Y.E. that Mr. Doane of Ponape has told Mr. Kubary, presently residing in Constantine Harbor that he finds himself in the complete impossibility to obtain from the Governor of the Eastern Carolines the registration of the land titles for certain parcels owned by Mr. Kubary, in the register which, in accordance with the dispositions of the Royal Order of 18 October 1886 and as a result of it the decision of this Government General dated 26 January 1888, the said Governor of the Eastern Carolines has opened, the reason being that the latter lacks any sort of instructions regarding the registration that is requested.

“Considering that Mr. Doane, with power of attorney from Mr. Kubary, has presented many times to the said Governor, for their registration, the land titles with their respective translations duly notarized, that are in his hands and this Consulate having sustained such an extensive correspondence about this matter with the Government General as a consequence of the repeated requests by the said Kubary, who, according to documents in this Consulate, is not in a comfortable situation and therefore is anxious to keep his property, I see myself obliged to attract the attention of Y.E. and beg him to please give the appropriate orders so that the Governor of the Eastern Carolines do not prevent the registration of the lands in question, with respect to the registration that is requested.

“Thanking Y.E. in advance for whatever you may order, on behalf of Mr. Kubary, I use this opportunity to reiterate to Y.E. the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.”

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 25 June 1890.

The General in charge of the Office,
Rafael Fernandez(?)

E4. Land title for the Jaluit Company in Pohnpei

[To] His Excellency the Director General of Civil Administration.

[From] Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines—Section 1, Bureau of General Affairs.

Your Excellency:

The Consul of the German Empire in this capital, in an official letter dated 11th instant [(ct. 1893)], tells me the following:

“Your Excellency: Last July 18th, I had the honor to send to Y.E. a letter regarding some land titles held by the German company known as the Jaluit Company in Ponape, Eastern Carolines, but I have not received an answer. Wishing to inform the interested parties about the present state of the affair and having also to answer a question sent to this Consulate by the Chancellor of the German Empire, I have the honor to beg Y.E. to please favor me with a reply to the above-mentioned letter.”

“I take this opportunity to reiterate to Y.E. the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.”

Which I forward to Y.E., urging you to have the Center under your worthy command give some answer so that this Government General may do the same to the Consul in question.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 27 October 1893.

Blanco

Notes 1889G

Shipwreck of the Norwegian ship *Athlet*, Captain Natvig, at Yap

Source: PNA.

Extracts from the case file.

Editor's notes.

On 17 July 1889, the Governor of the Western Carolines wrote to the Captain General of the Philippines (who later informed the Governor General) that a Norwegian ship had grounded ashore at Yap. This ship must have been one of those usually chartered in Hamburg by the Jaluit Company to collect copra from Micronesia.

“Your Excellency:

“As a consequence of the Norwegian bark **Athtel** [sic] having grounded ashore upon entering this Port on the 1st of June last, and her having burned on the early morning of the 3rd, sinking completely; the shipwrecked men from her have come and asked me for succor, as shown by the attached letter received from her Captain. I have decided to lodge them in the house that had been the dwelling of the Captain in charge of the Infantry Company stationed here, while his pavillion was being built. I have also arranged for the Military Factor to supply them with European-type rations.

“However, as of the 4th of June until this date, it so happened that said shipwreck survivors boarded the cruiser **Velasco** to be taken to Ponape, where they are to go to that capital aboard the transport **Manila** there to be placed at the disposition of the Consul of their nation.

Letter of Captain Natvig, dated 3 June 1889

Note: Original text in English.

Dear Sir,

As my ship *Athlet* is totally lost now, I beg to request you to supply my crew of 13 men, as mentioned, with board & lodging on account of the Norwegian Government.

Awaiting your kind reply, I am

Dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
Jacob Natvig,
Master of the late Athlet of Christiansand.
To the Governor of Yap,
Señor D. R. Pallero [sic]
Yap the 3rd of June/89

List of crew

- 1) Mate: David Loadz—Kristiansand, Norway
- 2) 2nd Mate: Ole Andrees Tomasen, id.
- 3) Carpenter: Yans Edward Osmensen, id.
- 4) 2nd Carpenter: Carl Albert Thomasen, id.
- 5) Cook: Omund Teodor Henriksen, id.
- 6) Boatswain: Martin Olsen Halke, id.
- 7) Sailmaker: Gustav Lundmark, id.
- 8) Seaman: Yohan Henrik Huveikun, id.
- 9) Seaman: Rasmus Benjamin Ramussen, id.
- 10) Seaman: Einar Yohan Lundal, id.
- 11) Ligur Smidt, id.
- 12) Boy: Hus Emil Hansen, id.
- 13) Boy: Erling Natvig, id.¹

1 Ed. note: They did arrive in Manila, because on 27 August, the Consul of Sweden and Norway in Manila was advised that the 14 men in question had reported to him.

Documents 1889H

Pohnpei—Military road opened to Kiti and mission established there

Source: PNA.

H1. Governor General's report to Madrid

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1889. File regarding the opening of a military road to unite the Colony with the port of Mudok, residence of the kinglet of Kitti and about other matters.

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

20 August 1889

Your Excellency:

By the war transport **Manila**, which has just arrived from the Carolines, I have received satisfactory news from that archipelago where, as of the 1st of this month, there was nothing unusual to report.

In Ponape, a military road has been opened to unite the Colony with the port of Mudok, residence of the kinglet of Kitti, who is the most influential chief of the Island, and whose port many whaling ships visit.

The policy of attraction followed by the P.M. Governor is giving excellent results, trust having been reborn in the natives who show themselves to be submissive and obedient, to the extent of their having requested the establishment of a mission station in Kitti, where the natives have built a church, house and school to that effect. The said mission station has been inaugurated, with the first mass celebrated with all the solemnity that resources available in that Colony made possible.

In Yap, where there is complete tranquillity, the defence works of the Colony are being completed.

This is all I have the honor to report to Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God, etc.

H2. Governor Cadarso's report dated 25 July 1889

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Archipelago.

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands, N° 35.

Your Excellency:

On the occasion of the departure of the war transport **Manila** from this port for that Capital, I have the honor to report to Y.E. that nothing of importance occurs in this Island, and that its condition regarding Spanish sovereignty cannot be more satisfactory, as I will have the honor to expound to Y.E.

Already in May 1887, my unfortunate predecessor, Mr. Posadillo, had planned and proposed to the Government General the opening of a road to put this Colony in communication with the port of Kiti which is the best and most populated in the island. Such a project won superior approval on the 30th of July of that same year, after the said Governor had died.

I nevertheless let some time pass in order to study such an idea with calm, and after one year and a half of observation, I became convinced of the urgent necessity of putting a term to all kinds of abuses committed in that port by whalers when they stop at Mudok. Among these is the sale of precision weapons and of types superior to the Remington that could be the cause of some conflict, at least incident, that could occur. The said military road was begun and Second-Lieutenant Marcelo Porrás executed it with such vigor. I entrusted the work to him, with 45 soldiers and 2 corporals at his command, and within one month, he gave such an effort to his enterprise, opening a right-of-way measuring 5 meters in width and 35 kilometers in length approximately, as to arrive at the king's house itself and those of the chiefs of the tribe. Once there, I learned about the unfortunate intentions existing among the tribes, and I learned that in the Metalanim tribe, two parties were at odds over an old matter of land rights: some being in favor of the king and others in favor of one of the chiefs; however, it appears that it was settled peacefully. I considered indispensable the construction in Kiti of barracks, with its fort, but not so that of a mission that the chiefs of that tribe had been requesting for some time, as Y.E. will see in the letter in which I answered that of Fr. Superior, I have seen in them nothing but distrust and fear toward the Methodist missionaries who do not bother him in the least, even when they go on preaching and teaching the Protestant doctrine with true enthusiasm. When the Father Superior saw the loving and enthusiastic reception given to the [?] and the soldiers upon crossing all the villages as far as Kiti, and that for those reasons I thought it was my duty to leave a detachment of 45 men there, he passed me the following communication:

“This Mission having been created by the Royal Decree of 15 March 1886, it is evident that it has all the character and solemnity of an official Mission and even though the missionaries are free, as they must be, to exercise the functions of their ministry, they are not free with respect to time, place and other circumstances to create new missions, as the first article of the above-mentioned Decree makes it expressly clear: *“The Most Reverend Provincial Minister of the Order of Capuchin Religious of Spain is authorized to establish missions of his order in the islands called Carolines and Palau, which should be installed in the places of the Eastern and*

Western Regions which they consider appropriate, in agreement with the Politico-Military Governors therein.

“And in conformity with this Superior regulation, specially mentioned by His Excellency Captain General Terrero in an official document to the then-Governor of these islands of the Eastern Region, in August 1887, specifically prohibiting until further notice the installation of a new mission in Kiti, despite the request of the king himself, I have the honor to inform you that the Missionaries, as they have said on various occasions and particularly on 23 December last, in the presence of the Chief of Staff, Mr. Manuel Moriano, are ready to establish a mission with official character in the place and time that you judge appropriate, without prejudice toward the continuance of teaching a few natives who wish their education to take place in this central house.

“This is what I believed I had to impart to you for appropriate action.

“May God, etc.

“Santiago de la Ascención, 9 June 1889.

[To] “P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines.”

My answer was as follows:

“Your respectable communication which is in my hands can be summarized in two points: (1) That the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers in the Eastern Carolines is ready to establish a mission when the Governor should decide and at a site that he judge proper; and (2) that the Governor has been specifically forbidden by General Terrero to create a new mission in Kiti.

“With the simple reading of the first article of the Royal Order of 15 March 1886, which you had the kindness to quote to me, it can be readily seen that the Governor of this archipelago does not have any initiative, and much less power to order you, whose Superior in these matters can only be the most worthy Provincial residing in Manila, to create new missions as referred to in the said Article 1, and under this condition, you must not hope that the present Governor of this Archipelago will order you or indicate the installation of a mission in Kiti, whatever strong the desire for such a decision that you as Head of the Mission may have, given that the state of the country, in my opinion, cannot be more favorable if one takes into account that 19 months ago I found it full of rancor and distrust, and fortunately, I see it fully embrace our sacred Flag, and not on account of brute force but through force of conviction.

“The second paragraph of your respectable letter with which you honored me yesterday says that the Illustrious General Terrero, in an official communication in August 1887, reminded with special interest Governor Posadillo about Article 1 regarding the creation of new missions, and he specifically forbid him, until further notice, to install a new mission in Kiti, despite a request from the king of that tribe.

“Fortunately, I have the communication to which you refer before my eyes and which is not dated August but July 30th, given that they are the last official communications brought by the **San Quintín** on said date; in said communication, which talks extensively about various matters planned by that unfortunate Governor, it says, among other things:

“This Government General does not doubt that you will advise the missionaries to teach catechism without violence, being very appropriate for them to learn the dialect of the country, so that they may acquire real influence among the natives; right now, it is proper for the missionaries to be gathered together; but eventually, mission centers in the whole island should be created.”

“I beg you to consider that such a communication was written as a result of Mr. Posadillo having made a prisoner out of the old Head of the Protestant Mission, such a deed having been reproved by the Council of Authorities, and which produced great excitement in the country, and which, along with other causes, brought the 4th of July catastrophe. Even then, the respectable General said: ‘Right now, it is proper for the missionaries to be gathered together, etc.’

“Those circumstances have disappeared; the conflict with the natives was settled with the decorous manner ordered by the Government in Spain, and this Superior Center re-established a policy of attraction toward the natives and the Methodists; and thanks to this, the Governor who has the honor to address you sees that distrust and all seeds of hate are disappearing, that the soldiers are fraternizing with the natives and the kinglet and the chiefs of Kiti specially, see with pleasure, and show it openly, that a road is open that could put us in closer contacts, thus giving the first passage for the commerce of products and relations, this means of communication allowing as well the Governor to keep an eye on the ships visiting that port, where there have just been as many as 14 whaling vessels that have always maintained with the natives an immoral traffick with women similar to slavery, which they used to exchange for weapons during the rest period of their navigation.

“In view of this, I have had the honor to point out to you a few times the need for creating a mission in Kiti; and in front of Mr. Manuel Moriano on the date mentioned in your sincere letter, when your Reverences went to visit him, I gave my loyal opinion to the effect that I saw no inconvenience in establishing a mission in Kiti which had been agreed to by the chiefs of that tribe, as long as those loyal natives built a church, house and school, in accordance with the request of your Reverences, and on the spot designated by the Rev. Fr. Agustín de Ariñez. However, I heard your authorized lips say, what Mr. Moriano must have heard as well, that although the missionaries were ready to go whenever the Governor ordered, Mr. Doane would do the most harm possible to offer difficulties, and you even feared creating some conflict that your soul would regret for the Head of this archipelago and H.M.’s Government.

“To such an answer, the undersigned must desist completely from your wish, and he thought of opening the road, soon to be completed, even though the finishing touch re-

mains for later, for the passage of pedestrians and mounts, thus exercising due vigilance within the scarce resources available to the Governor and regretting not to see in the vanguard, by their own initiative, some Spanish missionaries; at the same time, I see the old Mr. Doane, with his 71 years of age, criss-cross the country in fragile canoes and continue preaching, and for this reason, he preserves prestige and veneration on the part of the natives, to my great chagrin as a Catholic, but with the authorization of the Government General which orders the tolerance of religions, as the Government General reminds him in the said letter of 30 July 1887.

"I have taken the liberty of answering at length your respectable communication in order to leave perfectly defined the boundaries between the fields of responsibilities and duties.

"Your Reverence is, in my opinion, the only independent and wise superior in this archipelago in questions related to our Holy Religion, and its mechanism, without the necessity for the Governor to intervene in anything, except to agree as the supreme mandate stipulates by Royal Decree of 15 March 1885. However, besides this, within the resources available to the present Governor for the mission under your worthy charge, as I have repeated in various occasions, I am ready to give you my unconditional help, because, besides being Catholic missionaries, you are worthy Spaniards.

"May God, etc.

"Santiago de la Ascensión, 1 June 1889.

"Luis Cadarso."

In view of this, the Fr. Superior sent the missionary Fr. Agustín with another companion of the cloth to Kiti, for the purpose of exploring anew the feelings of the Chiefs, and the reception could not have been more affectionate or expressive; they were offered all sorts of resources and the people necessary for their installation. To this effect, the interior question affecting the Metalanim tribe having re-appeared, this Government not having a good steam launch at its disposal that would avoid unpleasantness due to a lack of vigilance, I decided to send the steamer **Manila** to Kiti and Metalanim, at the first place, to carry the missionaries and some materials and to give warmth and brilliance to the act of the first mass, as was done, they having received an enthusiastic welcome when they arrived at the port, where they were received by all the chiefs of the towns and a large following who went aboard and came back carrying all the barrels of the soldiers on their shoulders, the boards and tin sheets that the missionaries had brought along, even carrying same to the top of the hill where the detachment is located. The mass took on a great solemnity, and the affair was concluded with fire-crackers, one balloon and a few cannon shots, that I had previously arranged; the mission and the detachment were thus established there, at the request and at the great desire of the King and all the Chiefs.

The **Manila** went on to Metalanim and her Commander, Mr. Dimas Regalado, represented me in the decorous settlement of the conflict in that tribe with aplomb and timeliness which it pleases me to mention to Y.E., because, if it had not been effected

with such precision, there could have been a complicated question, as the matter had reached the point of weapons.

The instructions which I gave the said Commander in my capacity as Head of the [Naval] Division, as well as the report in which he gave the result of his commission, are as follows:

“The policy of attraction that H.M.’s Government so highly recommends, is followed in this archipelago, and the prestige of the Spanish flag must necessarily have over the natives, make it necessary for our relations to be frequent and our sovereignty effective.

“For this purpose, the Governor of this Eastern Region has indicated to the Government General and this Center has in turn pointed out to the **Manila** the necessity for the station ship to visit with some frequency the ports of Kiti and Metalanim, where the most important tribes are located and the said plan was approved.

“There is no more opportunate moment than the present. First of all, a detachment has just been established that ought to avoid in future the commission of abuses of various kinds that the Authority has been unable to avoid for lack of means of communications but with the military road that has been opened, the necessary communication with the Colony will be possible. There will be established on the 1st of July a new mission of the Capuchin Fathers, by order of the Rev. Fr. Superior of this seraphic order, by agreement of the P.M. Government and in this act it is of major importance for the ship under your worthy command to be present in the port of Mudok and for the first mass to be celebrated with the greatest possible éclat. The Governor would appreciate very much the assistance of the largest number of the crew of the **Manila**, as it is the special procedure recommended for similar cases by the Government General of the Philippines.

“Also, the presence of that ship is required in Metalanim in order to find out what happened in that tribe, as I have had news about disturbances among some natives. According to the importance of the events, you shall proceed in accordance with your good judgment, and if the event should be serious, an officer of the ship is to carry out a summary investigation, as long as the territory is not in a state of war.

“The departure from this port should take place on the 1st, at a time you judge appropriate, carrying the Capuchin Fathers who are to remain in Kiti, the furniture necessary for the installation and one month of rations for the detachment. You shall remain anchored in Mudok until the 3rd, if on that day the first mass is said, and then head for the anchorage closest to Oa in Metalanim, for the proceedings that I have already mentioned, returning to this anchorage on Saturday 6th, if circumstances will permit.

“The truly exemplary conduct that the naval crew of that ship has shown during their stay in this port exempts me from having to recommend to you that, under the present circumstances, it is very convenient that the natives understand the kindness of

our sovereignty, that we have a more than sufficient strength to oppress but we always support whomever is oppressed and unfortunate.

“May God, etc.

“Santiago de la Ascensión, 29 June 1889.

“Luis Cadarso.”

The answer is as follows:

“As you have ordered me in your letter of the 28th [sic] last, I left this anchorage of Santiago at 7 on the morning of the 1st instant and sailing at full speed headed for the southern coast of this island, skirting it on the West side at a short distance from the reefs that surround it. At 11:45, I went up the reef barrier on the SE side of Panian Island at the entrance of the port of Mudok and seeing clearly the reefs on either side of it, I crossed it in the center with the bow to the NNW ... [1 page missing in the transcript] ... the house of the kinglet built by himself with wood, but small and not worthy of note... The forces of the detachment are for now lodged in three houses given by the Chief of the tribe for barracks, food storage and kitchens.

“The unloading of the baggage, food supplies, ammunition, cannon, boards, tin sheets, etc. was done without incident during the first two days, in which we had splendid weather, being all carried from the landing place to the town by the soldiers and Carolianians.

“On the 3rd at 7 a.m., the first mass was said in the house that the town people had built as a provisional church. It was decorated with flags and streamers, brought from aboard for the purpose, and on the mission house and on that of the kinglet the national flag was beating in the breeze. The assistance at that religious act was formed not only by delegations from all the towns of the tribe with their chiefs but also by the volunteer sailors from this ship along with their officers and NCOs and the soldiers on detachment there. In order to give more éclat to the affair, the 8-cm cannon which that force has gave a salvo of 21 guns during the mass, and later a balloon was raised, all of which pleased the natives very much. In compliance with a duty which the regulations indicate and that the Commander General of the Naval Station has recommended me not to forget, I spent the 3rd and the 4th in surveying the harbor of Mudok and of whose chart I will have the honor to remit a copy as soon as the officer in charge of this work has finished it.¹ The kinglet of Kiti and the Chief of the neighboring town of Anepen asked me if they could come aboard to discuss with that of Metalanim about some lands which a chief of the latter tribe has violently despoiled one of his relatives of. As this fell within the very purpose of my visit, I acceded to their request, considering that perhaps that could be of use to me.

1 Ed. note: The chart was not found in the file in question, but it must have been sent to Madrid where it was published the following year (see Doc. 1889C2).

"I departed the port of Mudok at 10 a.m. on the 5th, and two hours later anchored in that of Metalanim near the house of the kinglet of this tribe where they raised the national flag upon seeing me.

"The kinglet of Kiti having indicated that he wished his interview with that of Metalanim to take place on board and in my presence, I sent word to him and when they answered that he was in Oa with Mr. Doane the Missionary, busy with church matters, I immediately sent word to him in writing to come aboard, which he did three hours later. I assembled the two kinglets, the secretary of the kinglet of Metalanim and chiefs in my cabin and declared to them that I came with a commission from you in order to hear about the pending issue in a just and equitable manner to which they answered that they also wished it to be so, except that for this arrangement the presence of the chief in question as required, the one who had made use of superior force to despoil some lands from their legitimate owner in order to take revenge for some offence he had received. I thus entrusted them with calling him on my behalf as your representative so that we could meet again under my chairmanship on the next day with him present to try and clear up the question, and as they objected saying that perhaps the said individual did not wish to come, I authorized them to use force if necessary to achieve it.

"There was no need for violence as he came vountarily, accompanied by the others on the 6th. Once more assembled in my cabin, the kinglet of Kiti gave a report of the events that had occurred on behalf of his relative, and after having expressed the reasons for carrying out the dispoilment, and following a long discussion, I managed to obtain the establishment of friendly relations with the dissident Chief, who promised to order immediately the evacuation of the lands by the people occupying them and deliver them to their legitimate owners, giving him the next day as a deadline. When I received word that it had been done, after gathering them all aboard in my cabin, they signed the enclosed statement.¹

"I must not forget to report to you that on Saturday the 6th, the date of the second meeting, the King of Metalanim came ni company with the American Missionary, Mr. Doane, whom I received with the attention that his old age deserves and I left him with his retinue at the poop all sitting in charis which I had ordered placed there for the purpose; meanwhile, in the cabin and under my chairmanship I gathered the kinglets and chiefs.

"The Secretary of the King of Metalanim asked if Mr. Doane could attend the meeting and I told him throuth the officer of that Government, Mr. Jacobo Sanvalle, who acted as my interpreter, that Mr. Doane was a foreigner and for that reason should not and could not meddle in their affairs. When I said good-bye to the said missionary, he mentioned, no doubt out of courtesy, the suitability of the ship's visit to this port, given that with it the natives could feel the impact of the Governor in the settlement of their disputes. At 9 a.m. today, I left the port of Metalanim and at 11:30 anchored in this

1 Ed. note: Not in the same file as this report.

port, tying alongside the Hulk **Dofia María de Molina** in order to take on the necessary coal.

“After the excursion that I have just made around the island by sailing close to the reefs that surround it and having visited some of its ports, I believe it is my duty to present to you the idea that, in my opinion, it would be beneficial for the service, for this Naval Division to be in the possession of a wooden gunboat, of the **Mindanao** class, which on account of her small draught, could visit without any risk the various anchorages to be found in this and the other islands which are all today in communication by foreign packet boats of 30 to 080 tons involved in the copra trade, and from which, as we have just seen a few days ago, even canoes come to Ascensión from 90 miles away. The circumstance in which the islands find themselves, outside of the region of hurricanes, makes me believe that the idea that I express for the good of the service is not far-fetched; a ship with the size, radius of action and with the sailing and military characteristics of the class mentioned, would serve this archipelago well, given that it would prevent the exposition of the bigger ships that are stationed here to a very probable and disagreeable mishap and, because of the way of life and character of these inhabitants who must live near the shorelines of the islands, the Navy is the only one that can impose upon them and govern them. To do this, a warship with the above-mentioned characteristics would make the task easier in the not too distant future, and render our sovereignty in these regions effective.

“That is all I have the pleasure to report to you as a result of the commission which I have just completed.

“May God, etc.

“Santiago de la Ascensión, 8 July 1889.

“Dimas Regalado.”

My answer is as follows:

“I have received your sincere communication in which you give me a detailed report of the communication in which you give me a detailed report of the commission which you have carried out with the ship at your command.

“During the seven days of your absence from this port, it is not possible to do more nor with greater success, in the two essential points and the politico-military character that constituted your special mission.

“The presence of that ship in the port of Mudok and the warm reception which you gave to all the chiefs of the tribe who went on board to offer their respects, numerous attendance by the officers, mates, and sailors of that ship at the first mass celebrated by the Catholic missionaries in Kiti; and the fraternal intercourse among sailors, soldiers, and natives, without unhappy incidents, ought to leave fruitful traces and an incomparable souvenir among those natives who flocked with real interest and with the belief that the Spanish somination and the sovereignty that Spain exercises, no longer with a spirit of conquest as in previous centuries but rather in order to educate them

and to attract them to the field of light and progress, giving them just laws, and beliefs good for their welfare.

"The Governor of this archipelago is pleased to tell you and the three officers and all the personnel who have cooperated in such a patriotic service, for the behavior observed in this first report of the mission which you have carried out so fittingly, and about which I will have the honor to inform the Superior Authorities of the archipelago when giving a specific report.

"With respect to the small conflict that happened as a result of the usurpation of lands in the Metalanim tribe, I am again pleased to recognize all the energy and prudence displayed by you as a representative of the Governor of the archipelago, and that could perhaps have become complicated, specially when you relate to me the interest shown by the Head of the Protestant Mission on behalf of one of the parties; there was no distortion in the decorous settlement of the conflict and it was settled according to law and justice.

"I find very useful the points you make, as a result of your navigation at a short distance from the reefs, about the anchorages to be found in the island, and the necessity, already expressed many times by me to the superior authority and to the Navy, of the purchase of a powerful steam launch that would keep an eye on all the tribes; however, on account of the budget difficulties, it could not be done, and I receive with interest the idea expressed by you about the gunboat **Mindanao**, which in a good state of maintenance, could serve usefully to cover the distances between the nearby islands, including those of Truk, which, in a not too distant future, on account of their progress, could become more advanced and productive.

"Finally, I see with much pleasure that during your short stay in the port of Mudok, the attention given to the installation of the materiel and the accomplishment of what I have already said have not been an obstacle for the three ship officers to draw the chart of the port, which ought to be very satisfactory to our respectable General, whenever I have the pleasure of reporting upon the visit of the **Manila** as station ship.

"May God, etc.

"Santiago de la Ascención, 9 July 1889.

"Luis Cadarso."

The opinion expressed by the said Commander appears very sensible to me and even more so after having made this visit of great utility in my opinion for the effective control of this country. However, the one who has the honor to address Y.E. has not only the welfare of these faraway lands in mind but also the unavoidable duty to try and decrease the expenses to the overburdened budget of the Philippines. To this end, given the present situation of this archipelago, and about which the illustrious Commander of the **Manila** could report, I consider it my duty to indicate to Y.E. that the moment has come in which the permanent station ship can be suppressed, from this archipelago, thus avoiding considerable expenses in fuel and to use it in that archipelago, as long as the gunboat **Mindanao**, which is made of wood, is at the same time assigned, and

that the crew of the Hulk **Molina** be reinforced, just like it was at the time of the lamentable events of the past, that is, with one Second-lieutenant as 2nd Commander, 1 gunner's mate and 28 European seamen, to act as a guarantee here in case of necessity. This will be made evident, on account of the illustrious considerations given by the Commander of the **Manila** in his report, in which sense I equally abound.

"The quality of the casks in which the wine comes, and the insects, notably the *anay*,¹ which are so harmful and which attack the wood, are the cause for much of the wine being wasted. As far as the rice that was here is concerned, the agent who looked after the expedition of Mindanao reports that there are enough rations of it left for October only; however, given that the **Velasco** will be able to leave a few more, there will be time for the **Manila** to come back with food supplies and coal, leaving that capital on the 1st of the following month and arriving here by the middle of November, after having cleaned her bottom and overhauled her engine. I beg Y.E. to send me 6 houses with 3 saddles, in order to set up a daily mail run to Kiti, and Metalanim, to where a road will also be opened.

I cannot forget to bring to Y.E.'s attention the outstanding behavior of Second-Lieutenant Marcelo Porras who, during the bad weather of the rainy season, completed the road to Kiti without the least stumble, thus gaining sympathy in the tribe, which is the best seed to collect there some love and adhesion toward Spain, and for having built good barracks and a pretty fort with the help of the tribe.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascención, 25 July 1889.

Luis Cadarso.

H3. Letter of transmittal of the map of Pohnpei

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

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.

Your Excellency:

For the purpose of giving Y.E. a rather approximate idea of the importance of the road opened from the Colony to Motok [sic], the residence of the kinglet of Kiti, crossing important towns which lacked communication completely, I have the honor to forward to Y.E. the attached map, with the said road clearly marked.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago, 1 August 1889.

Luis Cadarso.

[Minute]

I have taken notice and am satisfied. Pass it on to the Captain General's Office for them to make a copy of it and to return it.

1 Ed. note: Filipino word for termite.

(Next 2 pages:) Map of Pohnpei in 1889, showing the track of the new road from the Colony to Kiti.

Document 1889I

A Guam merchant complains about his competitors

Source: PNA.

Letter of Galo Kamminga, dated Manila 15 June 1889

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

Your Excellency:

I, Galo Kamminga, born in Holland, naturalized Spaniard and residing in the Marianas, before Y.E., with all due respects, have the honor to declare as follows:

That, during the month of September of last year, the declarant appeared before the P.M. Governor of the Marianas, Mr. Enrique Solano, for the purpose of consulting with the said gentleman, about whether the Port Captain has permission from the Authorities to trade and sell merchandise, and having a store in his own house; to which the Governor replied that, with the exception of the Administrator [of Public Finance] and the Rev. Fr. Curate, all the officials could carry on trade and commerce; such a thing is very prejudicial to professional traders on account of the official position which the government employess occupy.

Also, the Commander of the Penitentiary in the Marianas, Mr. Sixto Moreno y Alonso, son-in-law of the Port Captain, using the prisoners under his command for his own benefit, can sell effects at prices much lower than the other traders, thus causing losses that would result in the ruin of the few of us established in that colony.

It could be, Y.E., that the declarant commits a mistake by bringing the deeds of the high officials of the Marianas to Y.E.'s attention, but the illustrious judgment of Y.E. will be able to judge that they are prejudicial to the traders, because they win an advantage by the influence they enjoy upon the people.

Also, the Governor decided that the Administrator of Finance was not to accept money orders, no doubt following superior orders, but as the currency in circulation in the Marianas is not the same as that in circulation in Manila nor anywhere else, the result is that the traders find themselves unable to re-imburse their agents or wholesalers who stop at the Marianas for the effects which they take, except for the official gentlemen who have the advantage of being able to do so.

I beg Y.E. to please take into consideration what is exposed [above] for the future welfare of that growing colony, not doubting that Y.E. will take the decision that on account of the well-known judgment is judged appropriate, if the declarant did not err in addressing Y.E., requesting what the authorities of the Marianas would not consider.

It is a favor which he hopes to get from Y.E.'s well-known justice.

May God save Y.E. for many years for the good of your subjects.

Manila, 15 June 1889.

G. Kamminga.

[Minute]

17 June.

Ask a report from the P.M. Governor of the Marianas about the truth of all the deeds referred to above and what he intends to do about those that turn out to be true.¹

¹ Ed. note: No follow-up is apparent from this file.

 Documents 1889J

Capuchin mission reports from Pohnpei

Source: Analecta V (1889) and VI (1890).

J1. Report dated Pohnpei 31 July 1889

Original text in Latin.

Missio Carolinarum

Ponapé, die 31 Julii 1889.

Divine Majestati, in hac missione maximis undique referta difficultatibus, quæ ejus existentiam ab ipso exordio minantur, sinceritatem cordis mei placuit probare. Attamen inter magnas angustias hodie consolationem habeo initium Missionis referendi in Tribu Kiti prope domum reguli, qui missioni catholicæ semper dedit benevolentia signa. Die igitur 2 Julii, hora octava matutina, de intelligentia D. Gubernatoris, navim vaporiferam "Manila" ascendi in portu Ponapé, cum R. P. Augustino ab Ariñez, Fr. Benedicto ab Aspa, et Fr. Michæle a Gorriti, et hora duodecima cum dimidio appulimus ad amplum portum Kiti. Ibi regulus more europæorum indutus nobis obviam venit cum multis sociis suæ nationis, et cum magna reventia nos receperunt, atque ea quæ attulimus pro Ecclesia, pro schola et pro Missionaris, asportaverunt ad parvam et rudem domum longitudine metrorum septem et latitudine quinque, quam ipsi nobis ædificaverant. Sero facto, cum ad propria redirent, illos monuimus ut sequenti die venirent ad audiendam Missam.

Mane surgentes, altare paravimus in eadem domo, quæ deinceps fuit nobis habitatio, oratorium et schola. Locum adornavimus meliori modo quo potuimus, tam interiorius quam exteriorius; et juxta viam usque ad domum reguli duodecim vexilla disposuimus variorum colorum: et octoginta milites hispani in acie positi erant cum armis suis, et interim tormenta bellica festum annuntiabant. Deinde venit regulus, uxor ejus et principales suæ tribus, alique non pauci.

Tunc P. Augustinus Missam cum cantu celebravit, et post Missam explicuit lingua indigenarum finem et beneficia nostræ missionis: ac deinde eamdem concionem interpretatus est lingua hispanica, hispanos adhortans, ut verbis et exemplis cum Missionariis cooperent ad conversionem et educationem indigenarum; quia hac agendi ratione vere Deo servient et patriæ.

Postea huc reversus sum; sed ex relationibus quas accepi, probe cognovi, P. Augustinum jam acquisivisse æstimationem et amorem apud regulum, et cæteros indigenas, quos frequenter visitat explicans illis fidei mysteria et Dei legem: ac illi vicissim Missionarium adeunt, ut illi aperiant mentem suam, et fructus terræ afferant. Methodistæ maxima libertate freti, et quadraginta annorum consuetudine cum indigenis, omnia molliuntur in favorem suæ sectæ: ast si Gubernium hispanicum opus Dei et catholicæ missionis secundaverit, confidimus, gratiam et misericordiam Dei victoriam fore consequuturam in salutem horum populorum.

Fr. Saturninus ab Artajona, Capuccinus, Superior Missionis Carolinarum Orient.

Translation.

Caroline Island Mission

Ponapé, 31 July 1889.

His Divine Majesty, in this mission full of great difficulties, has been pleased to test the sincerity of my heart. However, among great anxieties I have the consolation of referring to the beginning of a mission [station] in the Kiti tribe, where the kinglet resides who has always shown good-will toward the Catholic mission. Therefore, on July 2nd, at 8 a.m., with the knowledge of the Governor, I went on board the steamer **Manila** in the port of Ponapé, with Rev. Fr. Augustin Ariñez, Brother Benito Aspa, and Br. Miguel Gorriti, and at 12:30 p.m., we headed for the big port of Kiti. Here, the kinglet, dressed in the European fashion, came to us with many chief of his nation, and with a great reverence welcomed us. Also, the things we had brought for the church, the school and the Missionaries were transported to the poor and rough house, measuring seven meters in length by five meters in width, which they were building for us. This done, as they returned home, we reminded them to come back the next day to hear Mass.

At daybreak of the next day, we prepared an altar in the house which was in turn our dwelling, prayer room and the school. We decorated the place as best we could, inside and out, and along the road to the house of the kinglet, we placed twelve flags of various colors, and eighty Spanish soldiers standing at attention with their weapons, and in the meantime, some war rockets were fired to announce the holiday. Then came the kinglet, his wife and the chiefs of his tribe, and many others. Then Fr. Augustin celebrated a high mass, and after the mass he explained in the native language the purpose and advantages of our mission; this was then translated into Spanish for the Spanish people in attendance, who were exhorted to collaborate in the conversion and education of the natives in the interest of serving both God and country.

After this I returned here; but from the news which I have received, I was well informed that Fr. Augustin has already gained the esteem and love of the kinglet and the other natives, who visit him frequently to hear about the mystery of the faith and God's law; in turn, let us hope that they will flock to see the Missionary, to have their minds opened, and so that the land will bear fruit. The Methodists, relying on a great freedom, and forty years of close contact with the natives, manage everything in favor of their sect. On the other hand, if the Spanish Government will support the work of God

and the Catholic mission, we hope, through God's favor and mercy, to achieve victory in the salvation of these peoples.

Fr. Saturnino Artajona, Capuchin, Superior of the Mission of the Eastern Carolines.

J2. Report published in 1890

Original text in Latin.

Oceania.

XXI. Missio insularum Carolinarum.

Carolinæ insulæ in Vicariato Micronesiæ exstiterunt inclusæ usque ad annum 1886, quo, post supremum Arbitratum S. P. Leonis XIII super controversiam dominii Carolinarum Hispaniam inter et Germaniam exortam, per Decr. diei 15 Maji ejusdem anni in ipsis S. C. de Prop. Fide specialem Missionem instituit Capuccinis Hispanis commissam. Hæc Missio in duas partes dispescitur, quærum una Carolinas Orientales amplectitur centrum habentes in insula Ponapé, altera Carolinas Occidentales cum sede centrali in insula Yap. Utrique autem parti distinctus Superior Ecclesiasticus præfectus fuit, licet unus sit utriusque Superior Regularis.

Clima est tropicale.—Indigenæ numero sunt circiter 40,000, et proprio utuntur idiomate. — Stationes primariæ hucusque erectæ sunt quatuor: Yap, Ponapé, Kiti, In civitate Manilæ constituta est domus Procuræ Missionum Carolinarum.

Missionarii.

<i>Nomen et Patria</i>	<i>Gradus</i>	<i>Natus</i>	<i>Indutus</i>	<i>Advenit</i>	<i>Residencia</i>
<i>A. R. P. Saturninus ab Artajona</i>	<i>Sup. Ec. et Reg.</i>	<i>1835</i>	<i>1875</i>	<i>1886</i>	<i>Ponapé</i>
<i>R. P. Augustinus ab Arignez</i>	<i>Miss. Ap.</i>	<i>1858</i>	<i>1876</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Kiti</i>
<i>R. P. Aloysius a Valentia</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Michæl a Gorriti</i>	<i>Socius</i>	<i>1856</i>	<i>1877</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Gabriel ab Abertesga [sic]</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1836</i>	<i>1878</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Benedictus ab Aspa</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1854</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>A. R. P. Daniel ab Arbazegui</i>	<i>Sup. Eccl.</i>	<i>1855</i>	<i>1877</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Yap</i>
<i>R. P. Iosephus a Valentia</i>	<i>Miss. Ap.</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Crispinus a Ruzafa</i>	<i>Socius</i>	<i>1835</i>	<i>1877</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Eulogius a Quintanilla</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1856</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Antoninus ab Oriola</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1861</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>R. P. Berardus a Cieza</i>	<i>Miss. Ap.</i>	<i>1843</i>	<i>1877</i>	<i>1887</i>	<i>Manila</i>
<i>Fr. Iosephus ab Iragmeta</i>	<i>Socius</i>	<i>1855</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>"</i>	
<i>Fr. Iustus ab Eraul</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1863</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>"</i>	

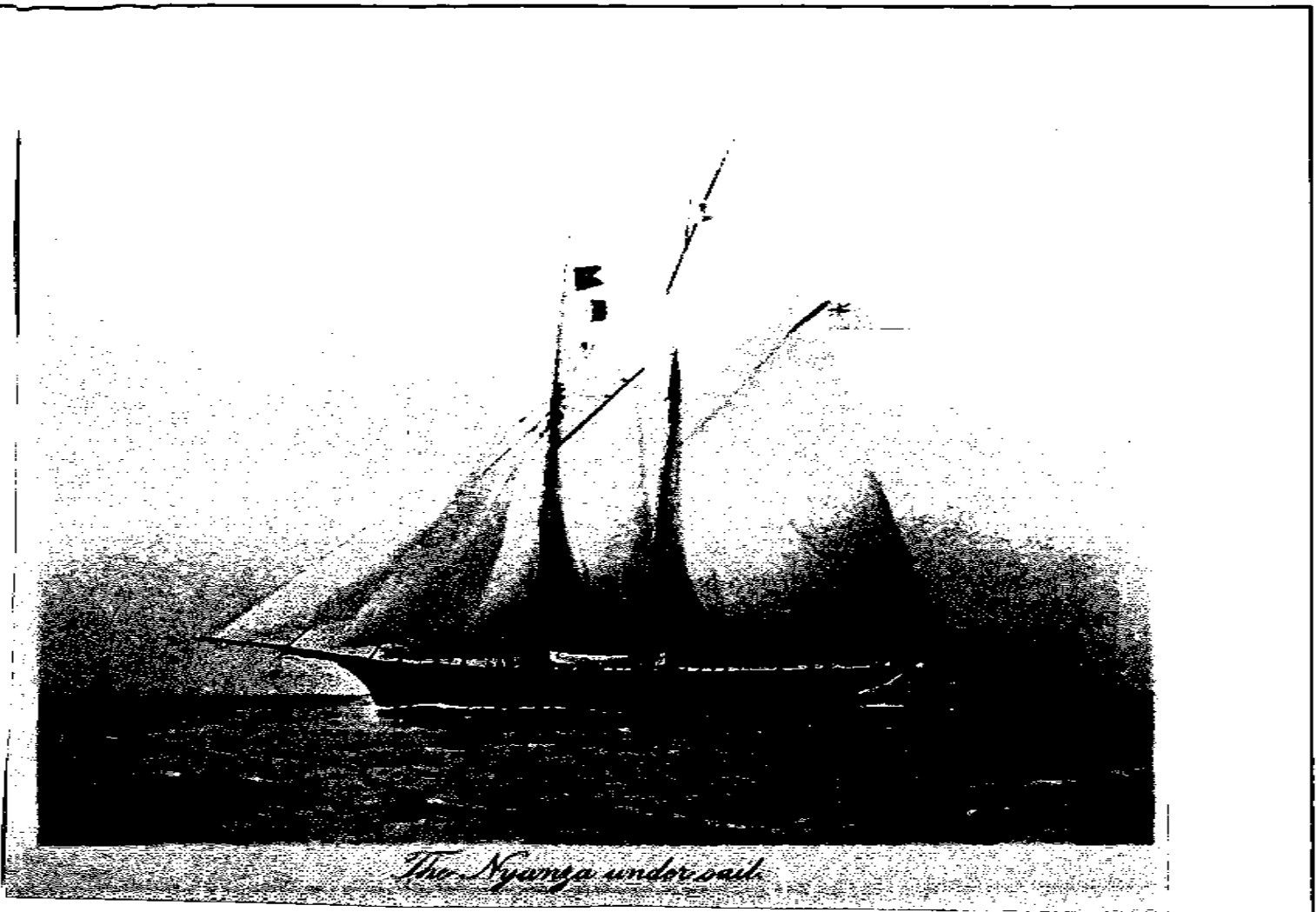
Translation.**Oceania.****XXI. Caroline Island Mission.**

The Caroline Islands in the Vicariate of Micronesia, was born only in the year 1886, when, after a supreme decision of our holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, regarding the conflict over the Carolines between Spain and Germany, by a decree of 15 May of that year, by which the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith created the special Mission which it assigned to the Capuchins of Spain. The Mission was divided into two parts, one of which to cover the Eastern Carolines and based in the island of Ponapé, and the other covering the Western Carolines and based in the island of Yap. So, each part has its own ecclesiastic prefect, that is, each one has its own regular Superior.

The climate is tropical.—The number of natives about 40,000, and they have their own language.—Four main stations have been created: Yap, Ponapé, Kiti, ... [and Guror]. In the city of Manila, there is a house to supply the Mission of the Carolines.

Missionaries.

Name and Hometown.	Rank.	Born.	Inducted.	Arrived.	Residence	
Rev. Fr. Saturnino de Artajona	Superior	1835	1875		1886	Ponapé
Fr. Augustino de Ariñez	Missionary	1858	1876		"	Kiti
Fr. Julián de Valencia	"	1850	1881		"	
Br. Miguel de Gorriti	Associate	1856	1877		"	
Br. Gabriel de Abertesga [sic]	"	1836	1878		"	
Br. Benito de Aspa	"	1854	1881		"	
Rev. Fr. Daniel de Arbácegui	Superior	1855	1877		"	Yap
Fr. José de Valencia	Missionary.	1851	1880		"	
Br. Crispín de Ruzafa	Associate	1835	1877		"	
Br. Eulogio de Quintanilla	"	1856	1881		"	
Br. Antolín de Oriola	"	1861	1881		"	
Fr. Berardo de Cieza	Missionary	1843	1877		1887	Manila
Br. José de Irañeta	Associate	1855	1880		"	
Br. Justo de Eraul	"	1863	1881		"	



The Nyanza under sail.

Documents 1889K

**The cruise of the Nyanza and her shipwreck at
Pohnpei**

K1. The narrative of Captain Dewar

Source: J. Cumming Dewar. Voyage of the Nyanza (Edinburgh and London, 1892).

VOYAGE OF THE NYANZA

R.N.Y.C.

**BEING THE RECORD OF A
THREE YEARS' CRUISE IN A SCHOONER YACHT
IN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC, AND
HER SUBSEQUENT SHIPWRECK**

BY

J. CUMMING DEWAR

**LATE CAPTAIN KING'S DRAGOON GUARDS AND
11TH PRINCE ALBERT'S HUSSARS**

With a Map and Illustrations

**WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON**

MDCCCXCII

Description of the Nyanza.

The **Nyanza** was a two-masted composite schooner-yacht of 218 tons Y.M. and 131.40 net register, built by Messrs. Steele & Co. on the Clyde in 1867.¹

Her dimensions were: Length 110 feet, beam 21 feet 5 inches, and depth moulded 11 feet 8 inches.

She was unusually strongly and substantially built; was rigged as a fore-and-aft schooner, and carried a very large spread of canvas.

She was originally built for Lord Wilton, and had carried his flag as Vice-Commodore of the Royal Yatch Squadron.

1 Ed. note: She was registered at Glasgow.

...

CHAPTER XXXI.

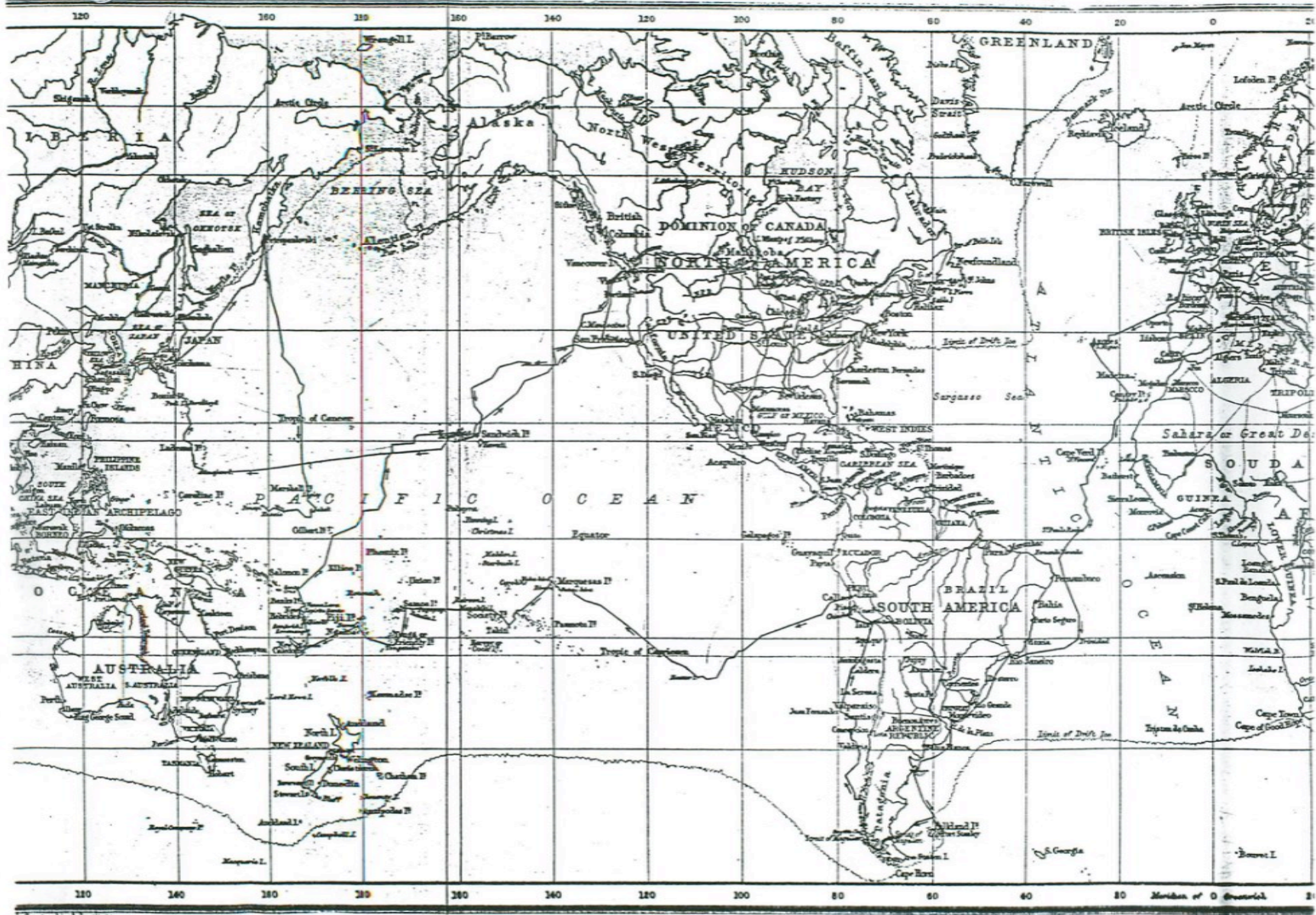
...

It was not until noon of Thursday, June 6 [1889], the third day since our arrival at the port [of Lahaina, Maui], that we had taken in 1200 gallons at the cost of seven dollars. The supplies at Lahaina were also expensive, small turkeys costing one and a half dollar apiece, fowls one dollar, little pigs four dollars, and beef eight cents a pound, whilst we were charged one dollar for five cabbages. At 1:30 P.M. we got under way, steering our course for Port San Luis d'Apra in the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands, at which I determined to call *en route* to Japan.

The distance to this place was 2400 miles, and this we traversed in exactly one calendar month, reaching Port San Luis d'Apra on Friday, July 5. There was absolutely nothing whatever worthy of mention throughout this part of our voyage, even the wind and weather being so monotonous that the record of one day's proceedings was exactly the same as that of another. On the whole I had not much occasion to find fault with the crew, though I was considerably annoyed at a gross piece of carelessness exhibited by some of their number, which cost the loss of the upper half of the starboard gangway, when we were about half-way across the passage. Some of the men let it go, whether deliberately or not I am unable to say; but, instead of showing any concern at the mishap, they merely laughed as they saw it fall into the sea.

At 2 A.M. of July 5 we sighted the island of Guajan, and at daybreak we were close to it, the island of Rota being also visible. The appearance of these islands was curious and remarkable, as they were formed of lofty table-lands topped with steep cliffs, which were covered with vegetation and were of uniform height. At 6 A.M. we were abreast of Point Ritidian, and at 9:30 A.M. we hove to off the town of Agaña. As the 'Sailing Directions' mentioned that a pilot could be obtained there, we hoisted a signal, and after considerable delay a boat came off to us containing the captain of the port, a doctor, and other officials. There was, however, no pilot with them, and they informed us that he would board us abreast of the village of Punto Piti. There people remained with us about an hour, after which we proceeded on our course, taking with us a half-caste Englishman called Mr. Henry [Millenchamp], who had been born in the Bonin Islands. On arriving off Punto Piti another delay occurred, but at length a native pilot came on board, and at 1:30 P.M. we arrived and anchored in 20 fathoms of water, about three miles from the landing-place of Port San Luis d'Apra.

THE TRACK OF THE NYANZA R. N. Y. C.



CHAPTER XXXII.

The Ladrones, or Mariana Islands.—Punto Piti.—Agaña.—The Spanish colony.—Fort Santa Cruz.—A cock-fight.—A dance.—Apra.—Dinner-party on the yacht.—Wild-deer hunting.—Generous presents.—Mail-day.—Sail for the Bonin Islands...

July 6-25, 1889.

The Ladrones, or, as they are officially called, the Mariana Islands, are fifteen in number, but only four of them are inhabited. They were discovered by Magellan on March 6, 1521, and called by him *Islas de Las Velas Latinas*; but they received the name by which they are still known from his crew, who called them *Los Ladrones* on account of the thieving propensities of the natives. Their other title, *Mariana Islands*, was given to them in 1668 in honour of Maria Anna of Austria, widow of Philip IV. of Spain. Commodore Anson visited them in 1742, and remained for some time on the island of Tinián to recruit his ship's

company. Byron also called here in 1765 and Wallis in 1767. Their total area is about 417 square miles, the highest altitude being 2700 feet. The climate is hot, the annual mean temperature at Guajan being as much as 81° [F]. The port, San Luis d'Apra, is of considerable extent, though dangerously blocked with coral reefs, in consequence of which it is exceedingly rash for strangers to attempt to enter the harbour without a native pilot. The channel is narrow and intricate, and marked out by stakes. On the shores of the harbour stand the villages of Piti, Apra, and Sumay.

Punto Piti, where we landed soon after coming to anchor, was a small village consisting of about a dozen houses, the majority of which were built of canes, and raised on wooden pillars about three feet from the ground. I was surprised to find that almost all the natives understood English more or less, but I afterwards discovered that they learned the language from the American whalers, who call there in January and February of every year. At 4 P.M. the Governor's carriage arrived with his secretary in it, whom he had most courteously sent to take us to Agaña. The carriage was drawn by a pair of sturdy little Manila ponies, about 10 hands high. The distance from the port to Agaña was about five miles, the road winding along the sea-shore and through the woods; and the scenery reminded me frequently of that at Tahiti. We crossed several streams of water by ancient stone bridges, and passed several villages on the way, arriving at the Governor's residence shortly before five. I found him a handsome, aristocratic-looking man, and he received us with every token of hospitality. He placed his carriage entirely at our disposal during our stay on the island, and expressed his readiness to assist us by every means in his power. He spoke French fluently, and I therefore had no difficulty in conversing with him.

The following day we paid a visit to the house of the secretary, who had invited almost all the Spanish colony to meet us. The only European lady in the place was the Governor's wife, who spoke English well, having received her education in the United States.¹ She and her husband afterwards conducted us on a stroll through the town,

1 Ed. note: Mrs. Solano was born in Cuba.

the majority of the houses of which were of native construction, built of cane, and elevated on pillars about three feet from the ground, exactly like those I had seen at Punto Piti. There were, however, a few old seventeenth-century Spanish houses, which resembled greatly those to be seen in the more remote and old-fashioned towns of Andalusia, Castile, and other provinces of Spain. A new Governor's residence was in course of erection; and the other public buildings comprised a court-house, prison, hospital, barracks, college, and church, the last-named dating from the end of the eighteenth century. The military force quartered at the barracks consisted of one company of native infantry from Manilla, which was composed of 137 non-commissioned officers and men, 60 native artillerymen under the command of a lieutenant, and a battalion of local militia, consisting of eight companies of 128 men each, their officers being natives of the island. The convict establishment contained 103 prisoners, all natives of the Philippine Islands, and principally guilty of murder and robbery. The streets, which were lit by oil-lamps, were marvellously clean, and a small river, crossed by two very ancient stone bridges flowed through the heart of the town. The whole population of Agaña was estimated at 6130, whilst the total number of the inhabitants on the island of Guajan was 8781. The other three inhabited islands were Saipan, Rota, and Tinian, containing respectively 921, 494, and 240 inhabitants. Thus the total population of the group amounted to 10,436. There were 12 schools on Guajan, and one on each of the other inhabited islands, the two sexes being taught apart. The Spanish colony consisted of the Governor—a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish army named Enrique Solano—his wife and three children, his secretary, a judge, a procurate-fiscal, two priests, a doctor, an accountant-general and his clerk, and a corporal in charge of the convict establishment, altogether amounting to 14 Europeans, besides whom a Spanish priest resided on each of the other three islands. The colony was very poor, having little or no commerce, and intercommunication with the outer world was only held once in three months by means of a steamer carrying the mails between Guajan and Manilla. The cost to the Spanish Government of keeping up this dependency is upwards of £10,000 a year, and for this apparently they receive no return whatever.

On the morning of Sunday, July 7, I rowed in the dingy to Fort Santa Cruz, which stands on a small island in the middle of the harbour, and is evidently one of the most ancient structures in the Ladrões, having been built by the Spanish shortly after their occupation of the group. The arms of Spain were carved over the gateway, with a date below them, which was unfortunately illegible. Three small brass guns were mounted for saluting purposes, whilst six others of medium calibre were lying on the parapet, amongst these being two magnificent bronze guns, cast at Seville in the seventeenth century, and ornamented with the royal arms. Two men were in charge of the fort, belonging to the detachment of artillery which was quartered in Agaña.

After my return from visiting this fort we had the honour of receiving on board the Governor, his secretary, and the accountant-general. The crew of the Governor's boat looked very gorgeous, dressed in scarlet and wearing caps of the same colour. The Governor made a thorough inspection of the yacht, expressing himself highly delighted with

all that he saw, and especially taking great interest in the track of our voyage, which was pointed out to him on the chart.

At 11 A.M. we all went ashore and drove to Agaña, where we lunched with Colonel and Mr. Solano. In the afternoon we went to the cock-pit, where fights take place every Sunday as well as on feast-days. The ring, which was in the open air, was formed by a circular enclosure of bamboos. On our arrival we saw several natives lounging about, almost every one of whom was in possession of a cock. The owners of these birds were apparently trying to make up matches, but the business seemed very listless, and little or no animation was exhibited. After a time, however, two cocks were pitted against one another, the fight being very quickly over. The spurs with which they were armed were of the dame shape as those which I had seen at Callao, but they seemed to me a great deal longer. The next match was a fight between two birds without spurs, which occupied a far longer time, and appeared to me a more cruel amusement. The wretched creatures mauled one another fearfully, until at length one had his eye put out, upon which he gave in, and refused to fight any longer; and for his want of pluck he was promptly knocked on the head and despatched by his disgusted owner. Provided spurs are used, I must confess that I do not see that there is much cruelty in cock-fighting, for the birds are so eager to get at one another that the whole affair is settled and one of them killed in a very short time; but without spurs it is quite another matter. The proprietor of the pit receives three rials for each fight, paid to him by the owner of the winning bird. In the evening we went to a dance, which is given every Sunday by the officers and officials. The ladies were for the most part half-castes, and were certainly not remarkable for their personal beauty.

The next day was very showery, but after lunch the weather cleared sufficiently to enable me to pay a visit to Apra, which was a considerable-sized village with a nice-looking church. At half-past five the Governor, his wife and children, the secretary, the doctor, the judge, and the accountant-general came on board the yacht to dinner, which was served on deck, where a little impromptu room had been rigged up with side awnings. A very pleasant evening was spent, and in the course of conversation I obtained a considerable amount of information from the Governor regarding the production and other statistics of the island. He informed me that the principal articles of cultivation were coffee, cocoa, rice, INdian corn, and tobacco—all of which, however, were grown in but very small quantities, and simply for the sake of local consumption. The tobacco was of a very bad quality, and to the European palate quite unfit for smoking. Buffaloes, which were used as beasts of burden, bullocks, horses, cows, pigs, and poultry, formed the sum-total of domestic animals, no sheep existing on the island. Wild deer and goats were, however, to be found in certain parts. The natives are called by the Spaniards Chamorros, and bear the reputation of being a quiet inoffensive people, but lazy, and utterly averse to work. There formerly existed on the island some remarkably interesting ancient monumental remains; but unfortunately they have all been destroyed, and not a trace of them is now to be seen. I believe, however, that some still exist on a few of the other islands of the group.

The next day, acting on the Governor's advice and permission, I determined to try my hand at a little sport with wild deer. Accordingly, at 6:30 A.M. I went ashore, accompanied by the second mate and a native guide. After we had walked some little way inland, the dogs were put into a deep ravine covered with brushwood, whilst we were posted on the hill overlooking it. Presently they set up a loud barking, and a general excitement ensued; but only a few wretched little fawns appeared, two of which were caught and killed by the dogs. Several other ravines were beaten in turn, but absolutely without success, for not a deer was started, though we could see their footprints quite fresh in many places. The dogs worked very badly, and after having killed the two little fawns appeared to take no further interest in the proceedings. However, I thoroughly enjoyed the outing, for the country was well wooded, and watered with numerous streams, which rushed down the hillside and along the bottom of the valleys, and a pleasant fresh breeze was blowing all day, so that though the sun was hot we suffered no inconvenience.

We returned to the yacht in the afternoon, and in the evening we shot the trammel, hauling it in before breakfast on the following mornign. There were, however, only a couple of very tiny fish in it. I spent the afternoon in taking photographs of the palace, the church, and the Governor's children. The Governor himself, as well as the other officials, were most generous in pressing gifts upon us. Walking-sticks made of native wood, carved shells from Manilla, a pair of boots worn by the Esquimaux in the Arctic, and a very handsome pair of walrus-tusks, were amongst the presents which we received from them. We were really ashamed and unwilling to accept all that they urged upon us; but, like all Spaniards, they would take no refusal, and would gladly have deprived themselves of anything to which we might have taken a fancy.

The Spanish mail-steamer **Don Juan** arrived from Manilla that morning, anchoring near the yacht; she was a small vessel, not more than 700 tons burden, and received a subsidy of 3000 dollars for every trip from the Government, for which she called at Yap in the CAROLINES on her way to and from Manilla. The consequence of the arrival of the steamer was, that all next day every one on the island was hard at work getting their correspondence ready for the mail. Though they have three months in which to do this, none of them think of attempting to commence it until the mail-steamer appears, and then till she sails again there is a rush to get the letters written.

On SATURDAY, July 13, having been eight days at Port San Luis d'Apra, I settled up my bills and made some necessary purchases, and at a quarter to three the Governor and all the officials came on board to bid us farewell, and to speed us on our way. We had met with much courtesy and kindness at several places on our voyage, but never had we encountered warmer, heartier cordiality and generosity than we had at this little group of Spanish islands. At a quarter past three we got under way, and by four o'clock the pilot had left us. We now sailed for Port Lloyd in the Bonin Islands, distant 850 miles from Port San Luis d'Apra.

The first three days we went along at a fair speed, averaging about five knots an hour [sic]; but after this the wind died away, and we did not reach Port Lloyd until the tenth day after leaving the Ladrões.

...

[The yacht visited Japan and then Kamchatka.]

CHAPTER XL.

A varied run of three weeks.—The Marshall Islands.—Legiep.—An obliging skipper.—The German Commissioner.—Difficulty in obtaining supplies.—My sailing-master's unreasonable request.—Another disagreeable incident.—Kusaie Island.—An unintelligent trader.—The Caroline Islands.—A Protestant missionary stronghold.—The native king.—A self-righteous missionary.—Interesting ruins.—A fruitful island.—The sailing-master's strange errors in navigation.—We sight the Island of F'Ponapi.

June 9-July 28, 1890.

The weather during the next three weeks was generally fine and pleasant, but the wind varied considerably, and the consequence was that on some days we ran many more miles than on others. Our best run was on Wednesday, June 11, when we did 252 miles, and our worst was Monday, June 23, when we only accomplished 49. It was a curious fact that we had a fair wind with us for exactly one week, followed by a head wind during the second, and that again succeeded by a fair wind during the third. Little happened during the passage worthy of recording in this book, though just before leaving the Kamschatka coast I managed to shoot and secure on board a small hair-seal. It was very delightful day after day, as we got into the more southerly latitudes, to find the temperature growing warmer, and the climate altogether becoming more enjoyable.

At daybreak on Tuesday, July 1, we sighted land in the Marshall Islands. Soon after nine we arrived off the South Pass, Legiep [Likiep] Island, and hove to whilst Captain Carrington and myself went off in the lifeboat to examine the passage. The islands are formed on a reef enclosing a lagoon, into which it was necessary for us to enter before we could anchor. We noticed the masts of a schooner in the lagoon, and soon afterwards a boat putting off from it, so that we returned to the yacht to await its arrival. It proved to contain the skipper of the schooner and a pilot. The former had been just about to start for Jaluit, but on seeing us he had kindly delayed sailing in order to lend us his pilot to take us in. Though the vessel flew American colours, the captain was a Swede, and, like most of his countrymen, a most civil and obliging man. Soon after ten we began to enter the lagoon, which was full of shoals and coral-heads. These, however, were easily seen from the masthead, owing to the bright sun which was behind us. The breeze was strong and dead ahead, and the weather squally, with frequent showers; we were therefore a considerable time beating up, and it was one o'clock before we had come to anchor off the settlement, in about 10 fathoms of water and about 40 yards from the shore. The captain and pilot at once returned to the schooner, but the latter left his son behind in order to take us out again. The latter was an intelligent lad, half-Portuguese on his father's side, and he spoke English perfectly.¹

The Marshall Islands were discovered first by Alvaro de Saavedra in 1529, and named by him "Los Pintados," on account of the natives being elaborately tattooed. Wallis visited them again in 1867, but they received their name from Captain Marshall, who spent some time there in 1788. The Russian navigator Kotzebue explored them in 1816, and since 1885 they have been a German colony. The settlement at Legiep con-

¹ Ed. note: He was the son of José de Brum, part-owner of Likiep.

sisted merely of Crawford & Co.'s former store and warehouses, two bungalows, and about a dozen native houses. The Europeans who formerly lived there had all left and gone to Jaluit, owing to the vexatious regulations imposed upon them by the Germans, who, it appears, placed every obstacle they could on all traders, excepting those of their own nationality. The German commissioner is stationed at Jaluit, and a gunboat is occasionally sent round the islands; but the Germans are not successful in their mode of dealing with the natives, who hate and detest them from the bottom of their hearts. This is scarcely to be wondered at, for they are treated by them in a harsh, inconsiderate, and high-handed manner. The taxes, which are paid in cocoa-nuts, are so heavy that, when the season is indifferent, there are absolutely not sufficient left for the food of the natives. Heavy dues and compulsory pilotage are charged on ships at Jaluit, and a ridiculously stringent order prevails that a trading-vessel can only clear from the port of Jaluit for one island in the group, and that, before visiting another, she must return to Jaluit, enter, pay fresh dues, and clear again.

The Marshall Islands are very thinly populated, and in the lagoon at Legiep, which contains 46 islands, there were only 100 natives. The rapid decrease of the population is attributed chiefly to the scarcity of food, which is rendered all the heavier by the German impositions. The native houses have their roofs and sides thatched with pandanus, and the majority of the people themselves are still heathens. So far as I can gather, no missionary had ever been at Legiep, and their only religious belief appeared to be in magic. Each tribe has its own sorcerer, who, amongst other things, foretells the arrival of vessels. The pilot informed me that the prophecy is seldom wrong, and that the arrival of my own yacht was foretold three days before I appeared. If this be true, it is certainly a strange phenomenon.

The day after our arrival I took a bathe in the lagoon, but I cannot say that I really enjoyed it, for I was haunted all the time by the fear of sharks. I was assured by the natives, as well as by the pilot's son, that sharks never entered the lagoon at all; but I had learned by experience to put so little faith in what I was told, that this assurance on their part was of very little relief to me. However, I escaped without being eaten up, nor, to tell the truth, did we see any sharks in the lagoon during the time of our stay there.

I made a great many attempts to obtain curios from the natives, but the very few things which I saw were comparatively valueless, most of their original implements and weapons having long ago been secured by traders. I obtained, however, a stone axe, a few shell necklaces, and a pearl fish-hook, similar to those which I had already seen at Tahiti and Samoa.

On Friday, July 4, we got under way again at 10:15 A.M., the wind, though light, being fair, and under the guidance of our pilot we safely threaded the narrow passage. The distance from Legiep to Jaluit was 266 miles, but the air was so calm, and we made such slow progress, that it actually took us a whole week before we reached Jaluit.

We anchored there off the German settlement at 6:45 P.M. of Thursday, July 10. Whilst we were at dinner we received a visit from two young Englishmen, who were roving round the world, and had lately arrived from San Francisco.

The American settlement at Jaluit appeared to me a miserable place, consisting merely of half-a-dozen houses, all belonging to Messrs. Crawford, and a few native huts. The German Commissioner, Dr. B. [i.e. Biermann], upon whom I called the day after our arrival, was an agreeable man who spoke English well. He had only been stationed at Jaluit a year, having formerly been Vice-Consul at Samoa. His house was delightfully cool and comfortable, and he had a large and interesting collection of curios, which he had got together from different parts of the world. The white population of Jaluit numbered altogether but 30 souls, almost all of whom were in the employ of the Jaluit-Gesellschaft Company [sic], a German trading firm which controlled the whole of the archipelago. This firm was excessively wealthy, and paid the State all expenses connected with the government of the islands. But for this, Germany would probably have abandoned the colony some time ago, and possibly the islands might have been all the better for it.

In the afternoon the Commissioner came on board the yacht to return my call. He was accompanied by his secretary, Mr. Brandeis, whom I have already mentioned as the individual who had made his name so disagreeably notorious as Tamasese's Prime Minister at Samoa. I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining the supplies which I required for the yacht at this place, and I had to visit several small villages before I could get anything. There were no pigs on the islands at all, and very few fowls and ducks. We managed to get two fowls, for which we paid one mark—that is, 1 shilling—apiece. The nominal price of ducks was four marks, but none of the natives would sell any.

The next day we spent chiefly at the house of Mr. G., the manager of the Gesellschaft Company [sic], who entertained us courteously at his home, a pretty place, well situated, and in the midst of a large garden.

On Monday, July 14, the day on which I had arranged to sail, I was greatly astonished faster breakfast by Captain Carrington, the sailing-master, informing me that he wished to leave, and requesting that I would set him at liberty that afternoon before we left. This demand appeared so extraordinary and unreasonable, and he was so utterly unable to assign any valid reason for it, that I could only conclude that, for some reasons known to himself, he was unwilling to go to Australia, whither I had told him I hoped to arrive by the end of the year. It was of course out of the question that I could accede to his request on the spur of the moment, though in reality I did not regret his desire to leave, for I had considered his conduct to be most unsatisfactory during the time that the yacht had been laid up at Kobe. I therefore suggested that he should come on to Ponapi, as his quitting my service would then look less abrupt, and I even offered to go there for the special purpose of landing him. Another unpleasantness occurred during the morning, for I was compelled to go ashore and obtain the services of the Commissioner to have M'Lellan arrested and sent on board, as he had been absent

without leave since Saturday night. About an hour afterwards he was brought off by the German police in a very drunken condition.

About 3:20 P.M. the Commissioner and Mr. Brandeis came on board to say good-bye, and ten minutes later we were under way.

The next day was a wretched one, the rain descending in torrents, and making all attempts at observations impossible. The night was calm, and we did not make a knot an hour [sic].

The next day we only ran 67 miles, and the day following 47, but on Friday, July 18, a fair breeze sprang up, and during that and the following day we ran 259 miles.

On Sunday, July 20, we sighted Kusaie Island in the midst of an awful thunderstorm, and at eight o'clock a boat came off from Chabrol harbour containing Crawford's native trader, who proved a singularly unintelligent man, from whom we could obtain no information whatever. Though we were only six miles from the entrance to the harbour, the wind, sea, and current were so strong against us that we found it impossible to make any headway, and during the whole of that day and the following night we were tossing about without gaining a foot.

I was greatly struck by the picturesque appearance of the island, the mountains of which rose to a height of over 2000 feet, densely clad with bright green tropical vegetation from base to summit, and crowned with sharp and quaintly shaped peaks. About a mile off the N.E. point of the island was a small islet, apparently connected with the mainland by a reef, and having on it a few cocoa-nut trees. Strange to say, it is not marked on either Imray's or the Admiralty Chart.

At daylight next morning we found ourselves farther away from the harbour than we had been when darkness set in the night before. At 6 o'clock, however, the wind shifted, and enabled us to lay a straight course for it. I decided, however, not to take the ship in at all, as I was afraid that I should have great difficulty in getting out again, the wind and sea being both dead in, and the entrance being too narrow to beat out against them. At 7 A.M. the trader, who had left us in the afternoon of the previous day, came off again in his boat, and at eight o'clock I went ashore with him. As soon as the boat was observed coming in, the Spanish flag was hoisted at the settlement on Lele Island. Immediately on landing I proceeded to the king's house, who received me with great hospitality, and who, to my surprise, spoke English perfectly, having been many years at sea in American whale-ships. He informed me that he had even visited England.

The natives of the Caroline Islands appeared to me to give evidence of being akin in their origin to those of the Marshall Islands, for their houses were very similarly constructed; and in many of their manners and customs they appeared to resemble them closely. Their canoes, moreover, were constructed on the same pattern, though they were longer and better finished. Most of them were painted red, and they did not appear to have any sails. Here I obtained without any difficulty a good number of curiosities, amongst which were a very fine pair of shell hatchets and several native

waist-mats, which were most beautifully made from the fibre of the banana-leaf, and dyed in brilliant colours.

The people are a fine race, the women especially being decidedly good-looking; the men were clothed in European garments, and the women in *holokus*.¹ The island of Kusaie is a great Protestant missionary stronghold, and the people appeared to me painfully good. They none of them dared to drink or smoke, and when I offered the trader a newspaper he piously replied that he never read anything except his Bible. Notwithstanding all these fine professions, the missionaries have not succeeded in inducing the king to stop his grog and tobacco, if he can get a chance of enjoying himself in this manner in secret. He was delighted with a bottle of beer which I gave him at lunch, but egged me not to tell the missionary, for that if he knew he would be very angry. The native missionary tried to sell me some swet potatoes. I had previously learned from the trader that the proper price was three cents a pound; but this self-righteous individual, who would have been scandalised at any of his converts drinking a glass of beer or smoking a pipe, was not above trying to cheat me egregiously, for he asked \$3 for a barrel which could not have held more than 50 lbs., and when I asked to have them weighed he pomposly declined to agree to this. It is needless to say that no bargain was concluded between us.

The king took me to inspect some remarkably interesting ruins near his village, of which, however, he could give me no information, except that he believed they had been built by the islanders as a means of defence in some remote ages of antiquity. They were evidently the remains of a series of large forts, the walls of which were still standing in many places to the height of 20 feet. They were built of very massive roughly hewn stones, and had evidently been in a ruined condition for a great length of time, for they were almost entirely overgrown with thick ferns and creepers. The king informed me that similar ruins were to be seen on the island of Ponapi. On my bidding him farewell, he kindly presented me with several curios, besides an immense quantity of fruit. His island, indeed, appeared to me to be a land overflowing with plenty, for bananas, pines [i.e. pine-apples], oranges, lemons, limes, and indeed almost every sort of fruit, apparently grew there; and in addition to this, pigs, poultry, and cattle could be purchased at remarkably reasonable prices.

Shortly before four in the afternoon we went about and steered for Ponapi, where I had promised to land Captain Carrington.

The next day was very warm, and the air wonderfully clear, the island of Kusaie being still distinctly visible, though distant at least 43 miles in our wake. The distance from Kusaie to Ponapi was only 325 miles, yet so little were we favoured with the necessary breeze that this short distance occupied us eight days to accomplish. We sighted one or two of the smaller islands in the Caroline group, which were first discovered by Alvaro de Saavedra in 1528, but which received their named from Admiral Francesco Lazeano [sic], who visited them in 1686, and christened them after his sovereign Char-

1 Ed. note: Kohl, a grass skirt.

les II. of Spain. From this time until 1886, exactly 200 years, the Caroline Islands were generally considered part of the Spanish possessions, though in reality they were never occupied by Spain; but in that year a dispute arose between Spain and Germany owing to a German gunboat having hoisted their national flag on Yap, the westernmost island of the group. By mutual consent the matter was finally referred to Pope Leo XIII. for arbitration, and he gave his decision in favour of Spain. The Carolines are now divided into two portions territorially, with a governor on Ponapi and Yap respectively, and these portions are known as the Eastern and Western Carolines.

During the passage from Kusaie to Ponapi I was much worried and perplexed by differences which arose every day concerning our observations. The sailing-master, chief officer, and myself always took them and worked them out separately, and up to this time we had never differed from one another in our results to any appreciable extent. Every day, however, now, though the chief officer, who was a first-rate navigator, made his results practically to coincide with mine, the discrepancies between our results and those of the sailing-master, Captain Carrington, were invariably a matter of many miles.

We sighted the island of Ponapi at 1:30 A.M. on Monday, July 28, but the breeze was so light throughout that day that we made but very little progress towards it. As we very gradually neared the island it appeared to me to be not nearly so picturesque as Kusaie, its contour being much more uniform, though at the same time it was densely wooded. The peculiar sugar-loaf hill in Port Metalimien [sic] stood out distinctly as an exception to the general uniformity of the island. At 10 P.M. I went below, everything being apparently right. The night was fine and the sky clear.



CHAPTER XLI.

A terrible disaster.—The yacht ashore.—An awful night of anxiety and suspense.—The Nyanza doomed.—Operations of the wreck.—Santiago de la Ascencion.—Disturbed condition of the island.—I witness actual warfare.—Suicide of a Spanish Colonel.—End of the outbreak.

July 29-September 21, 1890.

Tuesday, July 29, 1890, is a day which will ever be marked in black in the annals of my memory, for at 1 A.M. we were all suddenly awoke by a bumping, grating shock, which told us unmistakably that the yacht had gone ashore. We dressed as rapidly as possible, the swell and surf forcing the vesseel meanwhile every moment farther and farther up the reef, so that she began to heel over in a very alarming manner. When I reached the deck, within two minutes after the yacht first struck, I found her leaning over at a terribly sharp angle. It was evident that she had sustained a very severe injury, and the immediate danger was lest she should be driven right over the reef and sink in deep water on the other side. The weather had changed as soon as we had turned in, and the rain was descending in torrents. The boats were lowered as quickly as possible, and all hands embarked, the chief officer, myself, and the proper boat's crew going off in the lifeboat, whilst the sailing-master and the rest of the hands followed in the launch. No sooner had we shoved off than I noticed that all the lamps in the saloon and cabins had been left burning, and I therefore returned to put them out. On doing so we found that one man had inadvertently been left on board, and we therefore took him off. Having again left the vessel, I ordered my men to pull round to the place where the launch was resting on its oars. It seemed to me, now that time had been given for calmer reflection, that it was wrong and foolish to abandon the ship in such a fashion, for if she were left with no-one to protect her, the great probability would be that she would be plundered by the natives before we could return to her. I stated to Captain Carrington that I did not think it right to abandon the ship; but in reply he merely said, "Why not?" and as he would offer no practical suggestion, I decided to remain with the lifeboat near the yacht, Carrington in the meantime making off in the launch for the settlement in Jamestown harbour, with instructions to send all the assistance possible with the utmost speed. Never shall I forget that terrible night of anxiety and discomfort. The rain continued to pour down upon us with pitiless fury, and the darkness seemed most intense. Eagerly I watched and waited for daybreak that I might learn for a certainty the fate of the yacht.

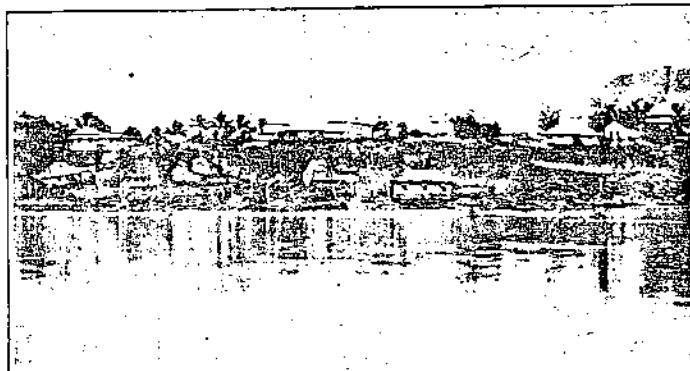
When daylight appeared we found that she was ashore on the barrier-reef surrounding the island, lying right over on her bilge, and evidently doomed to utter destruction. To my unutterable sorrow I at once recognised that the poor **Nyanza** had sailed her last, and that all that was practicable now was to endeavour to rescue as much property as we could. It was impossible to get alongside her in the boat, for the sea was breaking heavily over her on the weather side, and the water was too shallow and the swell too strong on the lee side to render it safe to approach her. We therefore rowed some considerable distance along the reef in the hope of finding a passage by which we could enter into the lagoon. Our search, however, was unsuccessful, and accordingly I re-

turned to the yacht. By this time a few natives had begun to collect on the island adjacent to the wreck, and after a good deal of gesticulation we induced one of them to swim off to us. Whilst searching for a passage into the lagoon we had seen a large shark, but in spite of this two of my men, Burrowes and Owens, very pluckily volunteered to swim to the yacht, which they succeeded safely in boarding. The natives then piloted us inside the reef through a long and intricate passage, and after about a couple of hours we found ourselves three-quarters of a mile or so away from the ship, with nothing but shallow water between us. We waded off to her and clambered on board, where we found that Burrowes and Owens had made a magnificent use of their time in putting together the most valuable things. By this time a crowd of natives had collected round the yacht in canoes, amongst them being a white man and a native missionary. These two came on board to assist us, and through them I made arrangements with the natives to carry the articles off and stow them temporarily in their canoes.

Shortly before noon the launch returned, bringing us the news that they had found a Government transport in the harbour, from whom we were about to receive the assistance we so much needed. Two hours later a steam-launch and three large boats belonging to the Spanish authorities arrived, and into these we transferred the things which had already been placed in the natives' canoes. We found, however, that many of them had been stolen and taken away. After three hours' more hard work we left the scene of the wreck for the night, M'Lellan volunteering to remain on board as caretaker. The Spanish steam-launch towed all the boats to the settlement, a distance of about eight miles, by a narrow and intricate passage inside the reef. At 8 P.M. we arrived on board the Spanish transport **Manila**, where we were most kindly and hospitably received by her commander, Captain Dimas Regalado y Vossen, his wife, and officers. The former gave up their rooms to us, and did everything in their power to make us comfortable. The **Manila** had formerly been a merchant-ship, but was now officered and manned by the Spanish navy, carrying two guns, and flying the pennant of a war-vessel. The island was then in a state of siege and under martial law, owing to an outbreak which had occurred a month before, in which the natives had treacherously murdered an officer and thirty-two soldiers, whose bodies they had mutilated in a revolting manner. Only three years before this they had killed the Governor and all the officials in like manner, the fact being that the Spanish Government did not keep a sufficient force on the island to hold the natives in control. The **Manila** was then awaiting reinforcements from the Philippines, but it was not expected that they could arrive before two months were over. The only troops on the island were 140 manilla soldiers, with European officers in the settlement, and small garrisons in two forts on other parts of the island.

The settlement itself was a miserable place, consisting of the Governor's residence, a large but roughly finished wooden house, a small fort, a hospital, *café*, about a dozen rude shanties, and the military barracks. These latter, as well as the hospital, were simply constructed of corrugated iron. The name of the settlement was SANTIAGO de la As-

cencion. There was a small temporary church in the place served by a couple of Franciscan Fathers.



Before I left Ponapi, I had the opportunity of seeing a little actual warfare; for on September 1, two Spanish cruisers, the **Velasco** and **Ulloa**, both modern vessels powerfully armed, arrived from Manilla, and on the 6th of the same month the **S.S. Salvador** came into the port bringing 500 troops.

On the 12th these troops commenced to march overland to Port Metalimien, and on the following day the ships of war proceeded by sea to the same place. By the kindness and courtesy of the captain of the **Ulloa**, I was permitted to accompany that vessel as his guest. On reaching the entrance to the harbour, the ships cleared for action; and as they steamed slowly in, they opened a heavy fire with their machine-guns on all the houses which they passed. There were, however, no signs of any natives visible, though doubtless they were lying hidden in the neighbourhood. IN the evening the electric search-lights were turned on, and the villages were again bombarded.

The firing recommenced next morning, and under cover of the guns, six boats were sent ashore to destroy the houses. The landing-party met with no opposition, nor did they see any natives. They burned down thirty-five houses, including the king's, and brought off his canoe, which was a very handsome and fine one.

Next morning landing-parties were again sent ashore to complete the demolition of the villages. Whilst they were thus engaged, some shots were fired at them from the thick bush, upon which the **Ulloa** immediately opened fire with her Hotchkiss guns on the spot whence the smoke was seen, and the boats returned immediately to the ship, bringing with them the landing-party. In the afternoon a messenger arrived from the settlement, bringing the information that the troops had returned, having found it impossible to make their way through the bush. This difficulty had been foreseen by the Governor, who had warned the officer in command of the impracticability of marching overland. The latter had, however, declined to listen to his advice, and the result was the failure and consequent delay.

Next morning the troops arrived in the **Manila** and **Antonio Muñoz**, the latter vessel having come to Ponapi since our departure. That same afternoon they all disembarked and encamped on shore, and arrangements were made that early next day they should march overland, a distance of three miles to Oa, the headquarters of the Ameri-

can Mission, where the late massacre had occurred. They were thus to take the natives in the rear, whilst the **Ulloa** was to bombard the buildings, and the **Velasco** to remain at Metalimien.

We were in the act of getting under way next morning in accordance with this plan, when the startling intelligence arrived that the officer in command of the troops had committed suicide during the night by shooting himself through the head. His want of success in the overland march was supposed to have preyed upon his mind; and the sad calamity caused a great gloom throughout the ranks, for the officer had seen much service in Cuba and in the Philippine Islands, where on both occasions he had greatly distinguished himself. As soon as the news arrived, a hasty council of war was held on board the **Velasco**, the result being that the **Manila** was ordered to go to Jamestown harbour with the body of the colonel, and to return to Metalimien immediately in order to take on the troops by water to Oa. Whilst the council was proceeding, the troops were deployed into the bush, upon which fire was opened by the natives, the result being that in a few brief moments a sergeant was shot dead and two men dangerously wounded. The fire was returned with spirit by the Spanish soldiers, but the bush was so thick that it was impossible to see the enemy, and equally impossible to know what execution had been done. At twelve o'clock the **Manila** left, taking with her the dead bodies of the colonel and sergeant, which were reverently deposited on the quarter-deck, and covered with the Spanish ensign, a brief service being held by the priest who had accompanied the expedition.

On September 19, the **Velasco** and **Ulloa** proceeded to Port Oa, escorting the troopships **Manila** and **Antonio Muñoz**. It was found on arriving that the natives had erected a strong stone breastwork on the beach, and that they had put the church and mission-house in a state of defence. Whilst the troops were being landed, wading through the water up to their waists, and whilst they were gallantly carrying the breastwork at the point of the bayonet, the ships opened fire on the church and mission-house, and in a marvellously short space of time these two buildings were nothing but a shapeless heap of ruins. After making a short but determined stand the natives appeared to have become panic-stricken, and fled precipitately in all directions, hotly pursued by the soldiers. The Spanish loss was five killed and thirteen wounded, and there was no further action.

The ships returned after two days to the settlement, where a few days later most of the native chiefs sent in their arms, offering submission and suing for pardon. Thus ended this outbreak, the sole cause of which was to be traced to the American missionaries, who invariably conducted themselves in a manner hostile to the Spanish, and made every exertion to stir up discontent against the authorities amongst the natives, over whom they had acquired great influence. The Spanish, on the other hand, had treated the natives throughout with the greatest forbearance and indulgence, and even when they had killed the Governor and all the officials without the slightest shadow of excuse, they had been freely pardoned by the special request of the Queen Regent of Spain. No taxes had ever been imposed by the Spanish Government upon the natives,

nor had their customary manners and habits been in any way interfered with by them. The reason of the trouble which had resulted in the engagement at oa was traced to the following origin. A detachment of troops had been sent to garrison a small fort there, and, as was natural and proper, a small Catholic chapel had been ordered to be erected for their benefit. The Protestant missionary had thereupon remonstrated warmly with the Governor, who had in reply informed him plainly that the chapel was intended solely for the use of the troops; that no interference with the Protestants was intended; and that, seeing that the Catholic faith was the state religion of Spain, it was only right and proper that this chapel should be built. The missionary then left him with the warning that it would not be long before he had cause to repent his decision; and only a few days afterwards an officer and thirty- two men were attacked and murdered whilst they were employed in road-making and were quite unarmed. The officer was killed by the missionary's own private secretary, as was proved by the unimpeachable evidence of several eyewitnesses. The man, though taken prisoner, escaped execution, which I could not help feeling was ill-judged leniency on the part of the Spanish authorities. The head of the Mission afterwards admitted to the Governor that they had been informed of the intended massacre twenty-four hours prior to its taking place. Yet knowing this, they had abstained from warning the authorities, which, had they done, the massacre would have been averted. After this it can scarcely be considered too much to say that the American Protestant missionaries were morally responsible for all the deaths that had occurred.

CHAPTER XLII.

The end of the Nyanza.—Loss of my collection of curiosities.—Dishonesty and arrest of Joaquim.—Recovery of many stolen articles.—Joaquim's sentence.—Sale by auction.—Disappointing result.—Conduct of the officers and crew.—Court of inquiry at Hong Kong.—Verdict.—Conclusion.

But the account of this intestine disturbance in the island has carried me away from my poor old yacht, and has made me anticipate at least a couple of months. To return to Wednesday, July 30, the day following the stranding of the vessel. As soon as day had dawned we started in the **Manila's** steam-launch, towing a gun-cutter, and our lifeboat, filled with armed crews. Having reached the yacht at 6:30 A.M., we found her lying in much the same position as we had left her, and around her were collected a large number of natives on the reef. Upon this the cutter, having anchored about 1000 yards from the yacht, opened fire with shrapnel-shell, dispersing them effectually and with great rapidity. Our own men and those from the **Manila** then landed and waded out to the yacht. The water in places came up to their waists, but otherwise the passage was easy. We met several natives who received us in a friendly manner, probably owing to the fact that we had with us a force of about forty armed sailors. Working very hard all through the day, we managed to save a considerable quantity of stores and miscellaneous effects, most, however, of which were saturated with water whilst being brought off the yacht. When we departed at night we left on board a Portuguese named Joaquim, together with his brother, providing them with revolvers and ammunition to guard her against the depredations of the natives.

Next day the steam-launch was found to have broken down, and I therefore chartered a small schooner which was lying in the harbour. In this we started at 9 A.M., accompanied by an officer and fifteen armed men from the **Manila**. We were obliged to go outside the reef, and when we rounded the point we found a strong head-wind blowing and the sea breaking heavily over the yacht. Under these circumstances it was impossible to get near the vessel; and we therefore returned and anchored in the harbour, awaiting an opportunity of going inside the reef.

Next day, Friday, August 1, was a very wet morning, but I started in the lifeboat at 7 A.M. and picked up the schooner, which had already sailed on her way down to the yacht. On reaching the latter at about half-past eight we at once went on board, where we found that untold damage had been done during the previous day and the intervening night by the natives, who had plundered the ship of everything which they could manage to carry away. The vessel was simply a shell, completely gutted, for what the natives had been unable to take off they had wantonly smashed to pieces. The bulkheads were torn down, the cabin flooring pulled up, and in short the whole place was a miserable wreck. All my boxes of curios had been opened and their contents thrown away; so that the collection, which had taken me three years to gather together, and which had cost me an infinity of time, trouble, and money, had been cruelly and ruthlessly scattered to the winds. The irreparable loss of this collection cost me, I think, more sorrow and disappointment than even the loss of the yacht itself. Joaquim and

his brother were still on board, and favoured us with glowing and highly coloured descriptions of their gallant but unsuccessful attempts to restrain the natives from plunder.

From information which we received next day our suspicions were aroused against their honesty and integrity, and we had occasion to believe that instead of protecting the property in charge of which he had been placed, Joaquim had been engaged, together with the natives, in stealing as much as he could and sending it on shore to his house. On receiving this intelligence we laid our information before the Governor, who ordered a party to proceed to Joaquim's house in the course of the night and to search it through and through. Unaware of these proceedings and quite ignorant of our suspicions concerning him, Joaquim came on board the **Manila** at one o'clock in the afternoon and commenced swaggering loudly about his exploits of the day before. He was considerably astonished when he found himself arrested and placed in irons.

At 4 A.M. next morning, before it was daylight, I started with the gun-cutter and a party of soldiers to search Joaquim's house. We were accompanied by the mate, Mr. George, and the crew of the lifeboat, all fully armed. We arrived whilst all the inmates were asleep and took them completely by surprise. The whole affair was well planned and the arrangements successfully carried out. Sentries were posted round the houses so as to intercept any who attempted to escape, and the rest of the party then forcibly entered and commenced a strict search, which resulted in a grand haul. Underneath the flooring of the room in Joaquim's house were several cases of wine and the kedge-anchor, whilst the outhouses were filled with sails, ropes, canvas, the berth on board, and a great many other articles, all belonging to the yacht. My ten-bore rifle was found buried beneath some earth. Twenty houses were searched altogether, the inmates being ordered to open all their boxes and every cupboard and receptacle that was locked; and if any hesitation was shown, the places were quickly and unceremoniously forced open by violence. At 9 A.M. we returned to the **Manila**, bringing with us a goodly spoil, together with one of Joaquim's relatives as prisoner. Joaquim himself was sent ashore to the Governor, and brought back soon after with the Governor's orders that he was to be kept in irons on board, but that every facility should be permitted him to communicate with his family and friends in order that as much as possible might be recovered of that which still was missing. Joaquim was further informed that his sentence was that he should be sent to Manilla for twelve years' penal servitude, providing that all the property which he had stolen was forthwith returned to us; but that if it was not forthcoming after a reasonable time, he would be taken ashore and shot. At his request I wrote a letter to the native missionary, asking him to render him all the necessary assistance in his power; and the result was that that same evening another large boat-load of things was brought off to us.

The following day a little more of our property was restored, but the things were not of any great value, consisting principally of buokheads and fittings. After consulting the Governor I determined, in the interests of the underwriters, to put up the yacht and most of its belongings to auction, and the next three days were occupied in drawing up catalogues and making other arrangements for the sale.

This took place on Thursday, August 7, at 3 P.M., the various articles being arranged on deck in forty-one different lots. Captain Carrington acted as auctioneer, but the result was more or less of a failure, for the attendance was very poor, and the buyers had evidently made arrangements amongst themselves and would not bid against one another. The yacht, as she lay with four anchors, cables, spars, rigging, &c., only fetched £20. The steam-launch complete, with engines and boiler, realised £21, the lifeboat £20, the dingy æ67, 10s., and the sails averaged £1, 5s. apiece. The grand total of the sale was £128, 6s. 8d. for the vessel and all her effects.

Thus ended the voyage of the **Nyanza**, a melancholy termination of an interesting, enjoyable, yet checkered cruise. During the week that had elapsed since the wreck occurred, the mate Mr. George, the carpenter Joseph Shepherd, and the seamen Burrowes, Owens, Morrison, and Coley, all of whom had joined me at San Francisco, behaved in a remarkably splendid manner, working from morning to night without a murmur, and doing their utmost to save our property before they gave a thought to their own. Mr. Erickson, the second mate, also did well, but the Swedes, without exception, were of no use whatever, refusing even to return to the wreck after the day of the accident. As for John Carrington, the sailing-master, his conduct was in my opinion deserving of the utmost reprobation. From the moment that the vessel struck, he did little or nothing to mitigate the disaster; and when the crew left the vessel he did not even muster them beforehand, the consequence being that one man was carelessly left on board, and that all the lamps and lights remained burning; so that, had I not returned, the ship would in all probability have been gutted by fire, and the man on board might have met his death. During all the week, when those whom I have mentioned were working so hard, he loitered about and did almost nothing.

After a terribly monotonous sojourn at Ponapi we finally left on October 1, some of us being taken on the **Antonio Muñoz**, and the others on the **Salvadora**. We reached Manilla on the 19th, and on the 23d left in the **Nanzing** for Hong Kong, arriving there on the 25th.

A Court of Inquiry was there held on the loss of the yacht, but unfortunately I had allowed one of my principal witnesses to remain behind at Ponapi, having previously taken his sworn statement in writing, which I imagined would have been received as evidence. This, however, was not accepted; and had it been, I feel convinced that the Court would have come to the same conclusion as myself—namely, that the vessel owed its loss mainly to the fault of one man. As it was, the following verdict was delivered:—

“We find that the schooner-yacht **Nyanza**, of which James Cumming Dewar was owner, and John Carrington sailing-master, the number of whose certificate is un-

1 Ed. note: The full report is reproduced in the appendix of the book in question. Captain Carrington was present at Hong-Kong during the inquiry. His master's certificate had been issued at Liverpool in 1874, he said.

known, being lost with the ship, was, in or about July last, on a voyage from Kusaie, Caroline group, to Ponapi, also in the Caroline group.

“The **Nyanza** was a vessel of 131 tons net register, and 218 tons yacht measurement. She was a composite-built vessel belonging to the Royal Northern Yacht Squadron.

“From the evidence before the Court it appears that the vessel was well found, sufficiently manned, and seaworthy.

“That between the 21st and 28th of July light easterly winds with variable currents had been experienced. On the 28th of July, at noon, the ship was placed, by observations made by the owner, the sailing-master, and the first mate, in latitude 6°56' N., and longitude 158°53' E., which position placed her 32 miles E. 1/2 N. of the island of Ponapi.

“During the afternoon of this day light airs from the east were experienced, and a N.W. course was steered till midnight, when it was altered to W.N.W., but there is nothing to confirm the position of the ship at that time.

“About 1:10 A.M. on the 29th of July the vessel struck on the reef on the N.E. side of the island, and eventually became a total loss.¹

“The logs, charts, &c., being lost, the Court has no means of verifying the different positions of the ship, and must therefore be guided entirely by the evidence.

“The mate, a certificated officer, was on deck in charge of the watch after midnight; but he did not know where the ship was with reference to the reef, as he says he never saw the chart, and did not ask to see it.

“Soon after she struck, the captain came on deck. The sails were clewed, and the boats got out, but nothing further was done to save the ship.

“The Court, having regard to the circumstances before it are of opinion that the master was in error, in that he did not exert himself to verify the position of the ship on the afternoon of the 28th; further, that he did not remain more constantly on deck on the night of the 28th, before the ship struck.

“Further, we are of opinion that steps should have been taken, either by letting go an anchor, or by any other means, to prevent the ship driving farther on the reef; and the Court are unable to agree with the master in his opinion that this would have been of no avail; on the contrary, they think that it might have been the saving of the ship.

“Also, we are of opinion that, after obtaining help, some attempt should have been made to get the vessel off. We recognise that there existed difficulties, and are not prepared to say that these could have been overcome; still, we think that an attempt should have been made.

“These errors of the master we do not consider amount to wrongful acts or defaults, and we therefore do not deal with his certificate; but we think it will be well for him to avoid like errors in future.

1 Ed. note: From evidence given at this court, the site of the shipwreck on the barrier reef was distant 1-1/2 miles from shore and 10 miles from the Colony.

“The Court must express the opinion that the services of the first mate, Robert George, do not appear to have been of much use in the navigation of the ship; and that, if the cross-bearings taken by him during the afternoon had been made use of, it is possible that it might have averted the disaster.”

On one point, at least, besides that at which I have already hinted, I find myself compelled to dissent from the Court. Mr. George, the first mate, was in my opinion an able and painstaking navigator, and but for him I might have fared even worse than I did.

Before I conclude this tale of events, I must take the opportunity of putting on record the unbounded kindness, sympathy, and assistance which we received from the Governor at Ponapi, the captain and officers of the **Manila**, and from all the Spanish with whom we came in contact. Nor must I forget my yacht agents, Messrs. Cox & King, of 5 Suffolk Street, London, who had discharged with unwavering fidelity and care all the numerous commissions that I gave them during my three years' absence from England.

As soon as the Court of Inquiry was finished, there was nothing further to detain us abroad, and we returned to England *via* Marseilles in the splendid steamer **Calédonien** belonging to the Messageries Maritimes Company.

APPENDIX.

...

List of Crew at Date of Shipwreck.

	Joined at
John Carrington, sailing-master	San Francisco.
Robert George, chief mate	" [Rather Vancouver.]
John Erickson, second mate	Kobe.
Joseph Shepherd, carpenter	Esquimalt, B.C.
Arthur Williams, sail-maker	Kobe.
Charles Coley, signalman	San Francisco.
Samuel Burrowes, A.B. ¹	"
George Owens, A.B.	"
Alfred Morrison, A.B.	"
John Jacobson, A.B.	Kobe.
Victor Johansson, A.B.	"
Carl Christiansen, A.B.	"
Robert M'Lellan, A.B.	"
E. Auty, A.B.	"
Sam Sing, saloon cook	"
Ah Wing, ship's cook	"
Julian Rapardzig, chief steward	Tahiti.
Yebisu Yasugiro, second steward	Kobe.
Henry Smith, mess-room steward	San Francisco.

...

K2. Captain Carrington's statement—Extract from the report of the Court of Inquiry

...

The island had been in sight since daylight. I could not get bearings in the afternoon on account of rain. I did not take sights in the afternoon, as I depended on getting bearings later on. In the evening I was on deck till about 9:30 P.M. She had gone from two to three knots since six o'clock. We were sailing W. by S. From noon till about five minutes before midnight we had a fair wind. At 9:30 P.M. it was clear, with the exception that there were occasional small rain-squalls. We could see portions of the island quite clearly.; I could not get the two extremes of the island. The second mate was left in charge of the deck. He is not a certificated man. I lay down in my clothes, having told them to call me a little before midnight. I went on deck and satisfied myself that we were from eight to ten miles from land. I altered the course to W.N.W., which would have taken her well clear of the land. I intended to go round the north end of the island.

1 Ed. note: Able-bodied (seaman).

I went below again immediately. I meant to be up and down all night. I left orders with the second officer that he was to tell the chief when he relieved him that he was to call me when the highest part of the north end of the island was about S. by W. She was then going about three knots.

I was in a light sleep when I felt her touch the ground about a quarter-past one. I ran on deck and found all sail set, and the vessel breast-on to the reef. I immediately lowered down all the alrge sails, leaving the jib standing. She ploughed along the reef a little, and then fell over to starboard. The sea had turned her almost completely round after she struck, and when she fell over she was heading to the southward. When I got on deck the breakers were about a ship's-length ahead, but she was set up into the breakers before I left. There were two fathoms of water amidships at that time. A quarter of an hour after that I found only about seven feet. Captain Dewar%GED. note: The articles had listed Dewar officially as Master, and Carrington as acting sailing-master, a mistake that led to shared responsibility for navigational errors. came on deck shortly after me, and asked me what I thought of it. I said I thought she was hard fast, and advised him to go below and dress and get his valuables together. In the meantime I got the boats ready. When all was ready, being of opinion there was no chanc of getting her off, I gave all hands orders to get into the boats. I shipped all Captain Dewar's money, plate, and jewellery in the first boat.¹ I went in the launch to the port of Ponapi about 2 A.M. After getting some little distance from the ship, Captain Dewar hailed me, and said he thought one of us ought to remain near the ship till morning. It was arranged I should proceed to get assistance and return as early as possible in the morning. This was arranged with Captain Dewar. I suppose he thought it would be better for me to go, as I can speak Spanish well. Captain Dewar knew I could speak Spanish.

I arrived at the port at 7 A.M., and getting what assistance I could, returned to the ship in the afternoon. I got four boats and a steam-launch, with between twenty and thirty men, from the transport **Manila**. I returned to the ship before them, having arranged for them to follow. The ship was a little further on the reef, and at low tide one could walk roun her. The reef was a flat one, and extended for about half a mile. I don't think the ship was making water the first day. The third day, after going ashore, I came to the conclusion that she was breaking up. She was making water badly. It was useless to make any attempt to get her off. When we abandoned her the keel was turned right off, and the beams all bent. She was a composite- built ship, twenty-one years old. The hull was sold by auction about ten days after for \$125.

...

1 Ed. note: Dewar's comments are as follows: "This was not the case; on the contrary, obstacles were placed in the way of my doing so."

K3. Letter from the British Consul to Captain Joaquín Cincúnegui, dated Manila 13 July 1891

Source: MN 2121, fol. 93.

Original text in Spanish.

Seal of the British Consulate, Manila.

Ruego a V.S. se sirva entregar a los Señores Ker [sic] & Co., negociantes de esta Plaza, la amitralladora que perteneció al Yacht Ingles "Nyanza," y los cartuchos correspondientes, que segun aviso que he recibido del Excelentísimo Señor Comandante General de Marina se encuentra actualmente abordo del Crucero "Don Juan de Austria" bajo su digno mando.

Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años.

Consulado de S.M. Britanica

Manila 13 de Julio de 1891

(Signed) Mex Bollan

Consul de S.M.B.

[A] Sr. Comandante del Crucero "Don Juan de Austria"

Translation.

Seal of the British Consulate, Manila.

I beg Your Lordship to please deliver to **Messrs. Ker [sic] & Co.**, traders at this place, the machine-gun that belonged to the English yacht **Nyanza** and the corresponding cartridges, which, according to a note that I have received from His Excellency the Commmander General of the Navy, is presently found aboard the cruiser **Don Juan de Austria** under your worthy command.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

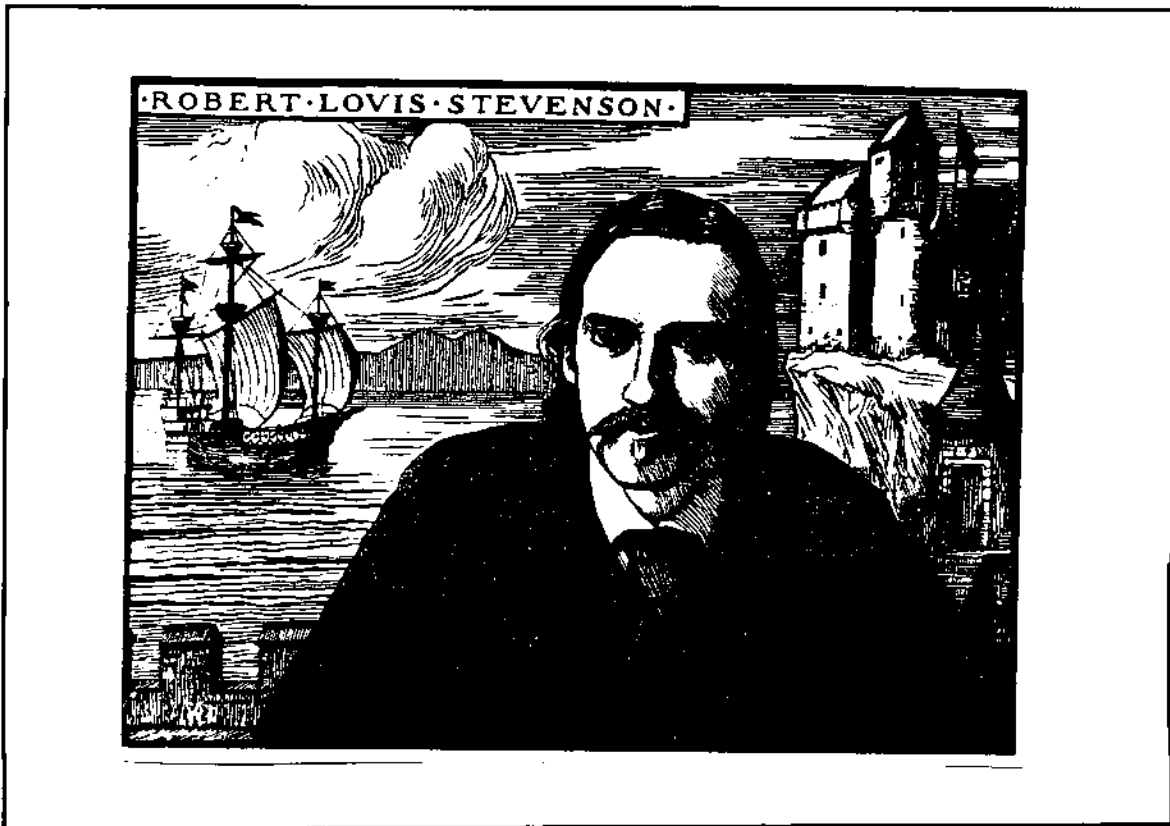
Consulate of H.B.M.

Manila, 13 July 1891.

(Signed) Mex. Bollan,

H.B.M. Consul.

[To] The Commander of the cruiser **Don Juan de Austria**.



Robert Louis Stevenson, 1850-1894. (Woodcut from the Bookman, 1913.)

 Documents 1889L

Robert Louis Stevenson in Micronesia, 1889 and 1890

L1. The letters of R. L. S.

Source: Vol.3 of Sidney Colvin (ed.). The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson (1911; London, 1924; reprinted 1969 by Greenwood Press, New York).

Note: It hardly seems necessary to remind the reader that R.L.S. was then a British novelist, made famous for his books entitled: "Treasure Island", and "Mr. Jekull and Mr. Hyde". The book featured below is not a novel, but an accurate travelogue.

X

PACIFIC VOYAGES

...Schooner Equator.—S.S. Janet Nicoll.
June 1888-October 1890.

Introductory notes.

In the following section are printed nearly all the letters which reached Stevenson's correspondents in England and the United States, at intervals necessarily somewhat rare, during the eighteen months of his Pacific voyages... His company consisted, besides himself, of his wife, his mother, his stepson Mr. Lloyd Osbourne, and the servant Valentine Roch...

...
[After visiting the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Hawaii, Stevenson decided to stay longer in the Pacific.]

...
He started accordingly from Honolulu in June 1889 on a trading schooner, the **Equator**, bound to the Gilberts, one of the least visited and most primitively mannered of all the island groups of the Western Pacific; emerged towards Christmas of the same year into semi-civilization again at Apia, on the island of Upalu in Samoa...

...
[After visiting Sydney, he decided to return to Micronesia.]

...

He started with his party on a fresh sea voyage from Sydney, this time on a trading-steamer, the **Janet Nicoll**, which took him by a very devious courde to the Gilberts again, the Marshalls, and among many other remote islands during the months of April-August 1890...

Letter dated Apaiang, 22 August 1889.

Notes: This letter was addressed to his literary agent, Sidney Colvin, who first published it in 1911. The Equator was owned by a San Francisco trading firm, the Wightman Brothers.

Schooner Equator, Apaiang Lagoon, August 22nd, 1889

My dear Colvin,

The missionary ship [Morning Star] is outside the reef trying (vainly) to get in; so I may have a chance to get a line off. I am glad to say I shall be home by June next for the summer, or we shall know the reason why. For God's sake be well and jolly for the meeting. I shall be, I believe, a different character from what you have seen this long shile. The cruise is up to now a huge success, being interesting, pleasant, and profitable. The beachcomber is perhaps the most interesting character here; the natives are very different, on the whole, from Polynesians: they are moral, stand-offish (for good reasons), and protected by a dark tongue. It is delightful to meet the few Hawaiians (mostly missionaries) that are dotted about, with their Indian *brio* and their ready friendliness. The whites are a strange lot, many of them good, kind, pleasant fellows; others quite the lowest I have ever seen in the slums of cities. I wish I had time to narrate to you the doings and character of three white murderers (more or less proven) I have met. One, the only undoubted assassin of the lot, quite gained my affection in his big home out of a wreck, with his New Hebrides wife in her savage turban of hair and yet a perfect lady, and his three adorable little girls in Rob Roy Macgreger dresses, dancing to the hand organ, performing circus on the floor with startling effects of nudity, and curling up together on a mat to sleep, three sizes, three attitudes, three Rob Roy dresses, and six little clenched fists: the murderer meanwhile brooding and gloating over his chicks, till your whole heart went out to him; and yet his crime on the face of it was dark; disemboweling, in his own house, an old man of seventy, and him drunk.

It is lunch-time, I see, and I must close up with my warmest love to you. I wish you were here to sit upon me when required. Ah! if you were but a good sailor! I will never leave the sea, I think; it is only there that a Briton lives: my poor grand-father, it is from him I inherit the taste, I fancy, and he was round many islands in his day; but I, please God, shall beat him at that before the recall is sounded. Would you be surprised to learn that I contemplate becoming a shipowner? I do, but it is a secret. Life is far better fun than people dream who fall asleep among the chimney stacks and telegraph wires.

Love to Henry James and others near.

Ever yours, my dear fellow,

Robert Louis Stevenson.

Letter dated Apemama October 1889.

Equator Town, Apemama, October 1889

No **Morning Star** came, however, and so now I try to send this to you by the schooner **J. L. Tiernan**. We have been about a month ashore, camping out in a kind of town the king set up for us: on the idea that I was really a "big chief" in England. He dines with us sometimes, and sends up a cook for a share of our meals when he does not come himself.

The king is a great character—a thorough tyrant, very much of a gentleman, a poet, a musician, a historian, or perhaps rather more of a genealogist—it is strange to see him lying in his house among a lot of his wives (nominal wives) writing the History of Apemama in an account-book; his description of one of his own songs, which he sang to me himself, as "about sweethearts, and trees, and the sea—and no true all-the-same lie", seems about as compendious a definition of lyric poetry as a man could ask. Tembinok' is here the great attraction: all the rest is heat and tedium and villainous dazzle, and yet more villainous mosquitoes. We are like to be here, however, many a long week before we get away, and then whither? A strange trade this voyaging: so vague, so bound-down, so helpless. Fanny has been planting some vegetables, and we have actually onions and radishes coming up: ah, onion-despiser, were you but a while in a low island, how your heart would leap at sight of a coster's barrow! I think I could shed tears over a dish of turnips. No doubt we shall all be glad to say farewell to low islands—I had near said forever. They are very tame; and I begin to read up the directory and pine for an island with a profile, a running brook, or were it only a well among the rocks. The thought of a mango came to me early this morning and set my greed on edge; but you would not know what a mango is, so—

I have been thinking a great deal of you and the Monument of late, and even tried to get my thoughts into a poem, hitherto without success. God knows how you are: I begin to weary dreadfully to see you—well, in nine months, I hope; but that seems a long time. I wonder what has befallen me too, that flimsy part of me that lives (or dwindles) in the public mind; and what has befallen *The Master*, and what kind of a Box the Merry Box has been found. It is odd to know nothing of all this.

We had an old woman to do devil-work for you a month ago, in a Chinaman's house on Apaiang (August 23rd or 24th). You should have seen the crone with a noble masculine face, like that of an old crone, a body like a man'

s (naked all but the feathery female girdle), knotting cocoanut leaves and muttering spells: Fanny and I, and the good captain of the **Equator**, and the Chinaman and his native wife and sister-in-law, all squatting on the floor about the sibyl; and a crowd of dark faces watching from behind her shoulder (she sat right in the doorway) and tittering aloud with strange, appalled, embarrassed laughter at each fresh adjuration. She informed us you were in England, not travelling and now no longer sick; she promised us a fair wind next day, and we had it, so I cherish the hope she was as right about Sidney Colvin. The ship-owning has rather petered out since I last wrote, and a good many other plans beside.

Health? Fanny very so-so; I pretty right upon the whole, and getting through plenty work: I know not quite how, but it seems to me not bad and in places funny.

South Sea Yarns:

1. *The Wrecker*, by R.L.S. and Lloyd O.
2. *The Pearl Fisher*, id.
3. *The Beachcombers* id.

The Pearl Fisher, part done, lies in Sydney. It is *The Wrecker* we are now engaged upon: strange ways of life, I think, they set forth: things that I can scarce touch upon, or even not at all, in my travel book: and the yarns are good, I do believe. *The Pearl Fisher* is for the New York Ledger: the yarn is a kind of Monte Cristo one. *The Wrecker* is the least good as a story, I think; but the characters seem to me good. *The Beachcombers* is more sentimental. These three scarce touch the outskirts of the life we have been viewing; a hot-bed of strange characters and incidents: Lord, how different from Europe or the Pallid States! Farewell. Heaven knows when this will get to you. I burn to be in Sydney and have news.

R. L. S.

Letter dated 2 December 1889.

Schooner Equator, at sea. 190 miles off Samoa

Monday, Decembver 2nd, 1889

My dear Colvin,

We are just nearing the end of our long cruise. Rain, calms, squalls, bang—there's the foretopmast gone; rain, calm, squalls, away with the staysail; more rain, more calm, more squalls; a prodigious heavy sea all the time, and the **Equator** staggering and hovering like a swallow in a storm; and the cabin, a great square, crowded with wet human beings, and the rain avalanching on the deck, and the leaks dripping everywhere: Fanny in the midst of fifteen males, bearing up wonderfully. But such voyages are at the best a trial. We had one particularrity: coming down on Winslow Reef, p. d. (position doubtful): two positions in the directory, a third (if you cared to count that) on the chart; heavy sea running, and the night due. The boats were cleared, bread put on board, and we made up our packets for a boat voyage of four or five hundred miles, and turned in, expectant of a crash. Needless to say it did not come, and no doubt we were far to leeward. If we only had two-pence worth of wind, we might be at dinner in Apia to-morrow evening; but no such luck: here we roll, dead before a light air—and that is no point of sailing at all for a fore and aft schooner—the sun blazing overhead, thermometer 88°, four degrees above what I have learned to call South Sea temperature; but for all that, land so near, and so much grief being happily astern, we are all pretty gay on board, and have been photographing and draught-playing and sky-larking like anything...

My book¹ is now practically modelled... At least, nobody has had such stuff; such wild stories, such beautiful scenes, such singular intimacies, such manners and traditions, so incredible a mixture of the beautiful and horrible, the savage and civilised... I propose to call the book *The South Seas*: it is rather a large title, but not many people have seen more of them than I, perhaps no-one—certainly no-one capable of using the material.

...

Part VI. The Gilberts.

Chapter XX.—The Group. ii. Position of Woman. iii. The Missions. iv. Devil-work. v. Republics.

Chapter XXI.—Rule and Misrule on Makin. i. Butaritari, its King and Court. ii. History of Three Kings. iii. The Drink Question.

Chapter XXII.—A Butaritarian Festival.

Chapter XXIII.—The King of Apemama. i. First Impression. ii. Equator Town and the Palace. iii. The Three Corselets.

...

I will copy for you here a copy of verses made in Apemama.

I heard the pulse of the besieging sea
 Throb far away all night. I heard the wind
 Fly crying, and convulse tumultuous palms.
 I rose and strolled. The isle was all bright sand,
 And flailing fans and shadows of the palm:
 The heaven all moon, and wind, and the blind vault—
 The keenest planet slain, for Venus slept.
 The King, my neighbour, with his host of wives,
 Slept in the precinct of the palisade:
 Where single, in the wind, under the moon,
 Among the slumbering cabins, blazed a fire,
 Sole street-lamp and the only sentinel.
 To other lands and nights my fancy turned,
 To London first, and chiefly to your house,
 The many-pillared and the well-beloved.

...

L2. Extracts from the published narratives of R. L. S.

Source: *R.L.S. In the South Seas* (many editions).

1 Ed. note: *In the South Seas* (see extracts below).

IN THE SOUTH SEAS

PART III : THE GILBERTS

- I. Butaritari
- II. The Four Brothers
- III. Around our House
- ...
- VI. The Five Days' Festival

PART IV : THE GILBERTS—APEMAMA

- I. The King of Apemama : The Royal Trader
- ...
- VI. The King of Apemama : Devil-Work
- ...
- VII. The King of Apemana

— 0 — 0 —

PART III. THE GILBERTS

CHAPTER I Butaritari

At Honolulu we had said farewell to the **Casco** and to Captain Otis, and our next adventure was made in changed conditions. Passage was taken for myself, my wife, Mr. Osbourne, and my China boy, Ah Fu, on a pigmy trading schooner, the **Equator**, Captain Dennis Reid; and on a certain bright June day in 1889, adorned in the Hawaiian fashion with the garlands of departure, we drew out of port and bore with a fair wind for Micronesia.

The whole extent of the South Seas is desert of ships; more especially that part where we were now to sail. No post runs in these islands; communication is by accident; where you may have designed to go is one thing, where you shall be able to arrive another. It was my hope, for instance, to have reached the Carolines, and returned to the light of day by way of Manila and the China ports; and it was in Samoa that we were destined to re-appear and be once more refreshed with the sight of mountains. Since the sunset faded from the peaks of Oahu six months had intervened, and we had seen no spot of earth so high as an ordinary cottage. Our path had been still on the flat sea, our dwellings upon unerected coral, our diet from the pickle-tub or out of tins; I had learned to welcome shark's flesh for a variety; and a mountain, an onion, an Irish potato or a beef-steak, had been long lost to sense and dear to aspiration.

The two chief places of our stay, Butaritari and Apemama, lie near the line; the latter within thirty miles. Both enjoy a superb ocean climate, days of blinding sun and

bracing wind, nights of a heavenly brightness. Both are somewhat wider than Fakarava, measuring perhaps (at the widest) a quarter of a mile from beach to beach. In both, a coarse kind of *taro* thrives; its culture is a chief business of the natives, and the consequent mounds and ditches make miniature scenery and amuse the eye. In all else they show the customary features of an atoll: the low horizon, the expanse of the lagoon, the sedge-like rim of palm-tops, the sameness and smallness of the land, the hugely superior size and interest of sea and sky. Life on such islands is in many points like life on shipboard. The atoll, like the ship, is soon taken for granted; and the islanders, like the ship's crew, become soon the centre of attention. The isles are populous, independent, seats of kinglets, recently civilised, little visited. IN the last decade many changes have crept in; women no longer go unclothed till marriage; the widow no longer sleeps at night and goes abroad by day with the skull of her dead husband; and, firearms being introduced, the spear and the shark-tooth sword are sold for curiosities. Ten years ago all these things and practices were to be seen in use; yet ten years more, and the old society will have entirely vanished. We came in a happy moment to see its institutions still erect and (in Apemama) scarce decayed.

Populous and independent—warrens of men, ruled over with some rustic pomp—such was the first and still the recurring impression of these tiny lands. As we stood across the lagoon for the town of Butaritari, a stretch of the low shore was seen to be crowded with the brown roofs of houses; those of the palace and king's summer parlour (which are of corrugated iron) glittered near one end conspicuously bright; the royal colours flew hard by on a tall flagstaff; in front, on an artificial islet, the gaol played the part of a martello. Even upon this first and distant view, the place had scarce the air of what it truly was, a village; rather of that which it was also, a petty metropolis, a city rustic and yet royal.

The lagoon is shoal. The tide being out, we waded for some quarter of a mile in tepid shallows, and stepped ashore at last into a flagrant stagnancy of sun and heat. The lee side of a line island after noon is indeed a breathless place; on the ocean beach the trade will be still blowing, boisterous and cool; out in the lagoon it will be blowing also, speeding the canoes; but the screen of bush completely intercepts it from the shore, and sleep and silence and companies of mosquitoes brood upon the towns.

We may thus be said to have taken Butaritari by surprise. A few inhabitants were still abroad in the north end, at which we landed. As we advanced, we were soon done with encounter, and seemed to explore a city of the dead. Only, between the posts of open houses, we could see the townsfolk stretched in the siesta, sometimes a family together veiled in a mosquito net, sometimes a single sleeper on a platform like a corpse on a bier.

The houses were of all dimensions, from those of toys to those of churches. Some might hold a battalion, some were so minute that they could scarce receive a pair of lovers; only in the playroom, when the toys are mingled, do we meet such incongruities of scale. Many were open sheds; some took the form of roofed stages; others were walled and the walls pierced with little windows. A few were perched on piles in the lagoon;

the rest stood at random on a green, through which the roadway made a ribbon of sand, or along the embankments of a sheet of water like a shallow dock. One and all were the creatures of a single tree; palm-tree wood and palm-tree leaf their materials; no nail had been driven, no hammer sounded, in their building, and they were held together by lashings of palm-tree sinnet.

In the midst of the thoroughfare, the church stands, like an island, a lofty and dim house with rows of windows; a rich tracery of framing sustains the roof; and through the door at either end the street shows in a vista. The proportions of the place, in such surroundings, and built of such materials, appeared august; and we threaded the nave with a sentiment befitting visitors in a cathedral. Benches run along either side. In the midst, on a crazy dais, two chairs stand ready for the king and queen when they shall choose to worship; over their heads a hoop, apparently from a hogshead, depends by a strip of red cotton; and the hoop (which hangs askew) is dressed with streamers of the same material, red and white.

This was our first advertisement of the royal dignity, and presently we stood before its seat and centre. The palace is built of imported wood upon a European plan; the roof of corrugated iron, the yard enclosed with walls, the gate surmounted by a sort of lych-house. It cannot be called spacious; a labourer in the States is sometimes more commodiously lodged; but when we had the chance to see it within, we found it was enriched (beyond all island expectation) with coloured advertisements and cuts from the illustrated papers. Even before the gate some of the treasures of the crown stand public: a bell of a good magnitude, two pieces of cannon, and a single shell. The bell cannot be rung nor the guns fired; they are curiosities, proofs of wealth, a part of the parade of the royalty, and stand to be admired like statues in a square. A straight gut of water like a canal runs almost to the palace door; the containing quay-walls excellently built of coral; over against the mouth, by what seems an effect of landscape art, the martello-like islet of the gaol breaks the lagoon. Vassal chiefs with tribute, neighbour monarchs come a-roving, might here sail in, view with surprise these extensive public works, and be awed by these mouths of silent cannon. It was impossible to see the place and not to fancy it designed for pageantry. But the elaborate theatre then stood empty; the royal house deserted, its doors and windows gaping; the whole quarter of the town immersed in silence. On the opposite bank of the canal, on a roofed stage, an ancient gentleman slept publicly, sole visible inhabitant; and beyond on the lagoon a canoe spread a striped lateen, the sole thing moving.

The canal is formed on the south by a pier or causeway with a parapet. At the far end the parapet stops, and the quay expands into an oblong peninsula in the lagoon, the breathing-place and summer parlour of the king. The midst is occupied by an open house or permanent marquee—called here a *maniapa*, or, as the word is now pronounced, a *maniap*—at the lowest estimation forty feet by sixty. The iron roof, lofty but exceedingly low-browed, so that a woman must stoop to enter, is supported externally on pillars of coral, within by a frame of wood. The floor is of broken coral, divided in aisles by the uprights of the frame; the house far enough from shore to catch the

breeze, which enters freely and disperses the mosquitoes; and under the low eaves the sun is seen to glitter and the waves to dance on the lagoon.

It was now some while since we had met any but slumberers; and when we had wandered down the pier and stumbled at last into this bright shed, we were surprised to find it occupied by a society of wakeful people, some twenty souls in all, the court and guardsmen of Butaritari. The court ladies were busy making mats; the guardsmen yawned and sprawled. Half a dozen rifles lay on a rock and a cutlass was leaned against a pillar: the armoury of these drowsy musketeers. At the far end, a little closed house of wood displayed some tinsel curtains, and proved, upon examination, to be a privy on the European model. In front of this, upon some mats, lolled Tebureimoa, the King; behind him, on the panels of the house, two crossed rifles represented fasces. He wore pyjamas which sorrowfully misbecame his bulk; his nose was hooked and cruel, his body overcome with sodden corpulence, his eye timorous and dull; he seemed at once oppressed with drowsiness and held awake by apprehension: a pepper rajah muddled with opium, and listening for the march of a Dutch army, looks perhaps not otherwise. We were to grow better acquainted, and first and last I had the same impression; he seemed always drowsy, yet always to hearken and start; and, whether from remorse or fear, there is no doubt he seeks a refuge in the abuse of drugs.

The rajah displayed no sign of interest in our coming. But the queen, who sat beside him in a purple sacque, was more accessible; and there was present an interpreter so willing that his volubility became at last the cause of our departure. He had greeted us upon our entrance:—"That is the honourable King, and I am his interpreter," he had said, with more stateliness than truth. For he held no appointment in the court, seemed extremely ill-acquainted with the island language, and was present, like ourselves, upon a visit of civility. Mr. Williams was his name: an American darkey, runaway ship's cook, and bar-keeper at *The Land we Live in* tavern, Butaritari. I never knew a man who had more words in his command or less truth to communicate; neither the gloom of the monarch, nor my own efforts to be distant, could in the least abash him; and when the scene closed, the darkey was left talking.

The town still slumbered, or had but just begun to turn and stretch itself; it was still plunged in heat and silence. So much the more vivid was the impression that we carried away of the house upon the islet, the Micronesian Saul wakeful amid his guards, and his unmelodious David, Mr. Williams, chattering through the drowsy hours.

CHAPTER II

The Four Brothers.

The kingdom of Tebureimoa includes two islands, Great and Little Makin; some two thousand subjects pay him tribute, and two semi-independent chieftains do him qualified homage. The importance of the office is measured by the man; he may be a nobody, he may be absolute; and both extremes have been exemplified within the memory of residents.

On the death of king Tetimararoa, Tebureimoa's father, Nakaeia, the eldest son, succeeded. He was a fellow of huge physical strength, masterful, violent, with a certain barbaric thrift and some intelligence of men and business. Alone in his islands, it was he who dealt and profited; he was the planter and the merchant; and his subjects toiled for his behoof in servitude. When they wrought long and well their taskmaster declared a holiday, and supplied and shared a general debauch. The scale of his providing was at times magnificent; six hundred dollars' worth of gin and brandy was set forth at once; the narrow land resounded with the noise of revelry; and it was a common thing to see the subjects (staggering themselves) parade their drunken sovereign on the forehatch of a wrecked vessel, king and commons howling and singing as they went. Ast a word from Nakaeia's mouth the revel ended; makin beame once more an isle of slaves and of teetotalers; and on the morrow all the population must be on the roads or in the taro-tatches toiling under his blood-shot eye.

The fear of Nakaeia filled the land. No regularity of justice was affected; there was no trial, there were no officers of the law; it seems there was but one penalty, the capital; and daylight assault and midnight murder were the forms of process. The king himself would play the executioner; and his blows were dealt by stealth, and with the help and countenance of none but his own wives. These were his oarswomen; one that caught a crab, he slew incontinently with the tiller; thus disciplined, they pulled him by night to the scene of his vengeance, which he would then execute alone and return well-pleased with his connubial crew. The inmates of the harem held a station hard for us to conceive. Beasts of draught, and driven by the fear of death, they were yet implicitly trusted with their sovereign's life; they were still wives and queens, and it was supposed that no man should behold their faces. They killed by the sight like basilisks; a chance view of one of those boatwomen was a crime to be wiped out with blood.

In the days of Nakaeia the palace was beset with some tall coco-palms which commanded the enclosure. It chanced one evening, while Nakaeia sat below at supper with his wives, that the owner of the grove was in a tree-top drawing palm-tree wine; it chanced that he looked down, and the king at the same moment looking up, their eyes encountered. Instant flight preserved the involuntary criminal. ut during the remainder of that reign he must lurk and be hid by friends in remote parts of the isle; Nakaeia hunted him without remission, although still in vain; and the palms, accessories to the fact, were ruthlessly cut down. Such was the ideal of wifely purity in an isle where nubile virgins went naked as in paradise. And yet scandal found its way into Nakaeia's well-guarded harem. He was at that time the owner of a schooner, which he used for a pleasure-house, lodging on board as she lay anchored; and thither one day he summoned a new wife. She was one that had been sealed to him; that is to say (I presume), that he was married to her sister, for the husband of an elder sister has the call of the cadets. She would be arrayed for the occasion; she would come scented, garlanded, decked with fine mats and family jewels, for marriage, as her friends supposed; for death, as she well knew. "Tell me the man's name, and I will spare you," said Nakaeia. But the girl was

staunch; she held her peace, saved her lover; and the queens strangled her between the mats.

Nakaeia was feared; it does not appear that he was hated. Deeds that smell to us of murder wore to his subjects the reverend face of justice; his orgies made him popular; natives to this day recall with respect the firmness of his government; and even the whites, whom he long opposed and kept at arm's-length, give him the name (in the canonical South Sea phrase) of "a perfect gentleman when sober."

When he came to lie, without issue, on the bed of death, he summoned his next brother, Nanteitei, made him a discourse on royal policy, and warned him he was too weak to reign. The warning was taken to heart, and for some while the government moved on the model of Nakaeia's. Nanteitei dispensed with guards, and walked abroad alone with a revolver in a leather mail-bag. To conceal his weakness he affected a rude silence; you might talk to him all day; advice, reproof, appeal, and menace alike remained unanswered. The number of his wives was seventeen, many of them heiresses; for the royal house is poor, and marriage was in these days a chief means of buttressing the throne. Nakaeia kept his harem busy for himself; Nanteitei hired it out to others. In his days, for instance, Messrs. Wightman built a pier with a verandah at the north end of the town. The masonry was the work of the seventeen queens, who toiled and waded there like fisher lasses; but the man who was to do the roofing durst not begin till they had finished, lest by chance he should look down and see them.

It was perhaps the last appearance of the harem gang. For some time already Hawaiian missionaries had been seated at Butaritari—Maka and Kanoa, two brave child-like men. Nakaeia would have none of their doctrine; he was perhaps jealous of their presence; being human, he had some affection for their persons. In the house, before the eyes of Kanoa, he slew with his own hand three sailors of Oahu, crouching on their backs to knife them, and menacing the missionay if he interfered; yet he not only spared him at the moment, but recalled him afterwards (when he had fled) with some expressions of respect. Nanteitei, the weaker man, fell more completely under the spell. Maka, a light-hearted, lovable, yet in his own trade very rigorous man—gained and improved an influence on the king which soon grew paramount. Nanteitei, with the royal house, was publicly converted; and, with a severity which liberal missionaries disavow, the harem was at once reduced. It was a compendious act. The throne was thus impoverished, its influence shaken, the queen's relatives mortified, and sixteen chief women (some of great possessions) cast in a body on the market. I have been shipmates with a Hawaiian sailor who was successively married to two of the *impromptu* widows, and successively divorced by both for misconduct. That two great and rich ladies (for both of these were rich) should have married, 169a man from another island" marks the dissolution of society. The laws besides were wholly remodelled, not always for the better. I lose Maka as a man; as a legislator he has two defects: weak in the punishment of crime, stern to repress innocent pleasures.

War and revolution are the common successors of reform; yet Nanteitei died (of an overdose of chloroform), in quiet possession of the throne, and it was in the reign of



Protestant missionaries Maka and Kanoa, and wives.

the third brother, Nabakatokia, a man brave in body and feeble of character, that the storm burst. The rule of the high chiefs and notables seems to have always underlain and perhaps alternated with monarchy. The Old Men (as they were called) have a right to sit with the king in the Speak House and debate: and the king's chief superiority is a form of closure—"The Speaking is over." After the long monocracy of Nakaeia and the changes of Nanteitei, the Old Men were doubtless grown impatient of obscurity, and they were beyond question jealous of the influence of Maka. Calumny, or rather caricature, was called in use; a spoken cartoon ran round society; Maka was reported to have said in church that the king was the first man in the island and himself the second; and, stung by the supposed affront, the chiefs broke into rebellion and armed gatherings. In the space of one forenoon the throne of Nakaeia was humbled in the dust. The king sat in the maniap' before the palace gate expecting his recruits; Maka by his side, both anxious men; and meanwhile, in the door of a house at the north entry of the town, a chief had taken post and diverted the succours as they came. They came singly or in groups, each with his gun or pistol slung about his neck. "Where are you going?" asked the chief. "The king called us," they would reply. "Here is your place. Sit down," returned the chief. With incredible disloyalty, all obeyed; and sufficient force being thus got together from both sides, Nabakatokia was summoned and surrendered.

About this period, in almost every part of the group, the kings were murdered; and on Tapituea, the skeleton of the last hangs to this day in the chief Speak House of the isle, a menace to ambition.

Nabakatokia was more fortunate; his life and the royal style were spared to him, but he was stripped of power. The Old Men enjoyed a festival of public speaking; the laws were continually changed, never enforced; the commons had an opportunity to regret the merits of Nakaeia; and the king, denied the resource of rich marriages and the service of a troop of wives, fell not only in disconsideration but in debt. He died some months before my arrival in the islands, and no-one regretted him; rather all looked hopefully to his successor. This was by repute the hero of the family. Alone of the four brothers, he had issue, a grown son, Natiata, and a daughter three years old; it was to him, in the hour of the revolution, that Nabakatokia turned too late for help; and in earlier days he had been the right hand of the vigorous Nakaeia.

Nantemat', *Mr. Corpse*, was his appalling nickname, and he had earned it well. Again and again, at the command of Nakaeia, he had surrounded houses in the dead of night, cut down the mosquito bars and butchered families. Here was the hand of iron; here was Nakaeia *redux*. He came, summoned from the tributary rule of Litle Makin: he was installed, he proved a puppet and a trembler, the unwieldy shuttlecock of orators; and the reader has seen the remains of him in his summer parlour under the name of Tebureimoa.

The change in the man's character was much commented on in the island, and variously explained by opium and Christianity. To my eyes, there seemed no change at all, rather an extreme consistency. Mr. Corpse was afraid of his brother: King Tebureimoa is afraid of the Old Men. Terror of the first served him for deeds of desperation; fear

of the second disables him for the least set of government. He played his part of bravo in the past, following the line of least resistance, butchering others in his own defence: to-day, grown elderly and heavy, a convert, a reader of the Bible, perhaps a penitent, conscious at least of accumulated hatreds, and his memory charged with images of violence and blood, he capitulates to the Old Men, fuddles himself with opium, and sits among his guards in dreadful expectation. The same cowardice that put into his hand the knife of the assassin deprives him of the sceptre of a king.

A tale that I was told, a trifling incident that fell in my observation, depicts him in his two capacities. A chief in Little Makin asked, in an hour of lightness, "Who is Kaeia? A bird carried the saying; and Kanaeia placed the matter in the hands of a committee of three. Mr. Corpse was chairman; the second commissioner died before my arrival; the third was yet alive and green, and presented so venerable an appearance that we gave him the name of Abou ben Adhem. Mr. Corpse was troubled with a scruple; the man from Little Makin was his adopted brother; in such a case it was not very delicate to appear at all, to strike the blow (which it seems was otherwise expected of him) would be worse than awkward. "I will strike the blow," said the venerable Abou; and Mr. Corpse (surely with a sigh) accepted the compromise. The quarry was decoyed into the bush; he was set to carrying a log; and while his arms were raised Abou ripped up his belly at a blow. Justice being thus done, the commission, in a childish horror, turned to flee. But their victim recalled them to his side. "You need not run away now," he said. "You have done this thing to me. Stay." He was some twenty minutes dying, and his murderers sat with him the while: a scene for Shakespeare. All the stages of a violent death, the blood, the failing voice, the decomposing features, the changed hue, are thus present in the memory of Mr. Corpse; and since he studied them in the brother he betrayed, he has some reason to reflect on the possibilities of treachery. I was never more more sure of anything than the tragic quality of the king's thoughts; and yet I had but the one sight of him at unawares. I had once an errand for his ear. It was once more the hour of the siesta; but there were loiterers abroad, and these directed us to a closed house on the bank of the canal where Tebureimoa lay unguarded. We entered without ceremony, being in some haste. He lay on the floor upon a bed of mats, reading in his Gilbert Island Bible with compunction. On our sudden entrance the unwieldy man reared himself half-sitting so that the Bible rolled on the floor, stared on us a moment with blank eyes, and, having recognised his visitors, sank again upon the mats. So Eglon looked on Ehud.

The justice of facts is strange, and strangely just: Nakaeia, the author of these deeds, died at peace discoursing on the craft of kings; his tool suffers daily death for his enforced complicity. Not the nature, but the congruity of men's deeds and circumstances damn and save them; and Tebureimoa from the first has been incongruously placed. At home, in a quiet bystreet of a village, the man had been a worthy carpenter, and, even bedevilled as he is, he shows some private virtues. He has no lands, only the use of such as are impignorate for fines; he cannot enrich himself in the old way by marriages; thrift is the chief pillar of his future, and he knows and uses it. Eleven foreign

traders pay him a patent of a hundred dollars, some two thousand subjects pay capitulation at the rate of a dollar for a man, half a dollar for a woman, and six shilling for a child: allowing for the exchange, perhaps a total of three hundred pounds a year. He had been some nine months on the throne: had bought his wife a silk dress and hat, figure unknown, and himself a uniform at three hundred dollars; had sent his brother's photograph to be enlarged in San Francisco at two hundred and fifty dollars; had greatly reduced that brother's legacy of debt; and had still sovereigns in his pocket. An affectionate brother, a good economist; he was besides a handy carpenter, and cobbled occasionally on the woodwork of the palace. It is not wonderful that Mr. Corpse has virtues; that Tebureimoa should have a diversion filled me with surprise.

CHAPTER III Around our House

When we left the palace we were still but seafarers ashore; and within the hour we had installed our goods in one of the six foreign houses of Butaritari, namely, that usually occupied by Maka, the Hawaiian missionary. Two San Francisco firms are here established, Messrs. Crawford and Messrs. Wightman Brothers; the first hard by the palace of the said town, the second at the north entry; each with a store and bar-room. Our house was in the Wightman compound, betwixt the store and bar, within a fenced enclosure. Across the road a few native houses nestled in the margin of the bush, and the green wall of palms rose solid, shutting out the breeze. A little sandy cove of the lagoon ran in behind, sheltered by a verandah pier, the labour of queens' hands. Here, when the tide was high, sailed boats lay to be loaded; when the tide was low, the boats took ground some half a mile away, and an endless series of natives descended the pier stair, tailed across the sand in strings and clusters, waded to the waist with the bags of copra, and loitered backward to renew their charge. The mystery of the copra trade tormented me, as I sat and watched the profits drip on the stair and the sands.

In front, from shortly after four in the morning until nine at night, the folk of the town streamed by us intermittingly along the road: families going up the island to make copra on their lands; women bound for the bush to gather flowers against the evening toilet; and, twice a day, the toddy-cutters, each with his knife and shell. In the first grey of the morning, and again late the afternoon, these would straggle past about their tree-top business, strike off here and there into the bush, and vanish from the face of earth. At about the same hour, if the tide be low in the lagoon, you are likely to be bound yourself across the island for a bath, and may enter close at their heels alleys of the paom wood. Right in front, although the sun is not yet risen, the east is already lighted with preparatory fires, and the huge accumulations of the trade-wind cloud glow with and heliograph the coming day. The breeze is in your face; overhead in the tops of the palms, its playthings, it maintains a lively bustle; look where you will, above or below, there is no human presence, only the earth and shaken forest. And right overhead the song of an invisible singer breaks from the thick leaves; from farther on a sec-

ond tree-top answers; and beyond again, in the bosom of the woods, a still more distant minstrel perches and sways and sings. So, all round the isle, the toddy-cutters sit on high, and are rocked by the trade, and have a view far to seaward, where they keep watch for sails, and like huge birds utter their songs in the morning. They sing with a certain lustiness and Bacchic glee; the volume of sound and the articulate melody fall unexpected from the tree-top, whence we anticipate the chattering of fowls. And yet in a sense these songs also are but chatter; the words are ancient, obsolete, and sacred; few comprehend them, perhaps no-one perfectly; but it was understood the cutters "prayed to have good toddy, and sang of their old wars." The prayer is at least answered; and when the foaming shell is brought to your door, you have a beverage well "worthy of a grace." All forenoon you may return and taste; it only sparkles, and sharpens, and grows to be a new drink, not less delicious; but with the progress of the day the fermentation quickens and grows acid; in twelve hours it will be yeast for bread, in two days more a devilish intoxicant, the counsellor of crime.

The men are of a marked Arabian cast of features, often bearded and mustached, often gaily dressed, some with bracelets and anklets, all stalking hidalgo-like, and accepting salutations with a haughty lip. The hair (with the dandies of either sex) is worn turban-wise in a frizzled bush; and like the daggers of the Japanese, a pointed stick (used for a comb) is thrust gallantly among the curls. The women from this bush of hair look forth enticingly: the race cannot be compared with the Tahitian for female beauty; I doubt even if the average be high; but some of the prettiest girls, and one of the handsomest women I ever saw, were Gilbertines. Butaritari, being the commercial centre of the group, is Europeanised; the coloured sacque or the white shift are common wear, the latter for the evening; the trade hat, loaded with flowers, fruit, and ribbons, is unfortunately not unknown; and the characteristic female dress of the Gilberts no longer universal. The *ridi* is its name: a cutty petticoat or fringe of the smoked fibre of coconut leaf, not unlike tarry string; the lower edge not reaching the mid-thigh, the upper adjusted so low upon the haunches that it seems to cling by accident. A sneeze, you think, and the lady must surely be left destitute. "The perilous, hairbreadth *ridi*", was our word for it; and in the conflict that rages over women's dress it has the misfortune to please neither side, the prudish condemning it as insufficient, the more frivolous finding it unlovely in itself. Yet if a pretty Gilbertine would look her best, that must be her costume. In that, and naked otherwise, she moves with an incomparable liberty and grace and life, that marks the poetry of Micronesia. Bundle her in a gown, the charm is fled, and she wriggles like an English-woman.

Towards dusk the passers-by became more gorgeous. The men broke out in all the colours of the rainbow—or at least of the trade-room,—and both men and women began to be adorned and scented with new flowers. A small white blossom is the favourite, sometimes sown singly in a woman's hair like little stars, now composed in a thick wreath. With the night, the crowd sometimes thickened in the road, and the padding and brushing of bare feet became continuous; the promenades mostly grave, the silence only interrupted by some giggling and scampering of girls; even the children

quiet. At nine, bed-time struck on a bell from the cathedral, and the life of the town ceased. At four the next morning the signal is repeated in the darkness, and the innocent prisoners set free; but for seven hours all must lie—I was about to say within doors, of a place where doors, and even walls, are an exception—housed, at least, under their airy roofs and clustered in the tents of the mosquito-nets. Suppose a necessary errand to occur, suppose it imperative to send abroad, the messenger must then go openly, advertising himself to the police with a huge brand of cocoa-nut, which flares from house to house like a moving bonfire. Only the police themselves go darkling, and grope in the night for misdemeanants. I used to hate their treacherous presence; their captain in particular, a crafty old man in white, lurked nightly about my premises till I could have found it in my heart to beat him. But the rogue was privileged.

Not one of the eleven resident traders came to town, no captain cast anchor in the lagoon, but we saw him ere the hour was out. This was owing to our position between the store and the bar—the *Sans Souci*, as the last was called.¹ Mr. Rick was not only Messrs. Wightman's manager, but consular agent for the States; Mrs. Rick was the only white woman on the island, and one of the only two in the archipelago; their house besides, with its cool verandahs, its bookshelves, its comfortable furniture, could not be rivalled nearer than Jaluit or Honolulu. Every one called in consequence, save such as might be prosecuting a South Sea quarrel, hingeing on the price of copra and the odd cent, or operhaps a difference about poultry. Even these, if they did not appear upon the north, would be presently visible to the southward, the *Sans Souci* drawing them as with cords. In an island with a total population of twelve white persons, one of the two drinking-shops might seem superfluous; but every bullet has its billet, and the double accommodation of Butaritari is found in practice highly convenient by the captains and the crews of ships: *The Land we Live in* being tacitly resigned to the fore-castle, the *Sans Souci* tacitly reserved for the afterguard. So aristocratic were my habits, so commanding was my fear of Mr. Williams, that I have never visited the first; but in the other, which was the club or rather the csino of the island, I regularly passed my evenings. It was small, but neatly fitted, and at night (when the lamp was lit) sparkled with glass and glowed with coloured pictures like a theatre at Christmas. The pictures were advertisements, the glass coarse enough, the carpentry amateur; but the effect, in that incongruous isle, was of unbridled luxury and inestimable expense. Here songs were sung, tales told, tricks performed, games played. The Ricks, ourselves, Norwegian Tom the bar-keeper, a captain or two from the ships, and perhaps three or four traders come down the island in their boats or by the road on foot, made up the usual company. The traders, all bred to the sea, take a humorous pride in their new business; "South Sea Merchants" is the title they prefer. "We are all sailors here" "Merchants, if you please" — "*South Sea Merchants*," — was a piece of conversation endlessly repeated, that never seemed to lose in savour. We found them at all times simple, genial, gay, gal-

1 Ed. note: Sans souci, in French, means Without a worry.

lant, and obliging; and, across some interval of time, recall with pleasure the traders of Butaritari.

There was one black sheep indeed. I tell of him here where he lived, against my rule; for in this case I have no measure to preserve, and the man is typical of a class of ruffians that once disgraced the whole field of the South Seas, and still linger in the rarely visited isles of Micronesia. He had the name on the beach of "a perfect gentleman when sober," but I never saw him otherwise than drunk. The few shocking and savage traits of the Micronesian he has singled out with the skill of a collector, and planted in the soil of his original baseness. He has been accused and acquitted of a treacherous murder; and has since boastfully owned it, which inclines me to suppose him innocent. His daughter is defaced by his erroneous cruelty, for it was his wife he had intended to disfigure, and, in the darkness of the night and the frenzy of coco-brandy, fastened on the wrong victim. The wife has since fled and harbours in the bush with natives; and the husband still demans from deaf ears her forcible restoration. The best of his business is to make natives drink, and then advance the money for the fine upon a lucrative mortgage. "Respect for whites" is the man's word: "What is the matter with this island is the want of respect for whites." On his way to Butaritari, while I was there, he spied his wife in the bush with certain natives and made a dash to capture her; whereupon one of herc companions drew a knife, and the husband retreated: "Do you call that proper respect for whites?" he cried. At an early stage of the acquaintance we proved our respect for his kind of white by forbidding him our enclosure under pan of death. Thenceforth he lingered often in the neighbourhood with I knew not what sense of envy or design of mischief; his white, handsome face (which I beheld with loathing) looked in upon us at all hours across the fence; and once, from a safe distance, he avenged himself by shouting a recondite island insult, to us quite inoffensive, on his English lips incredibly incongruous.

Our enclosure, round which this composite of degradations wandered, was of some extent. In one corner was a trellis with a long table of rough boards. Here the Fourth of July feast had been held not long before with memorable consequences, yet to be set forth; here we took our meals; here entertained to a dinner the king and notables of Makin. In the midst was the house, with a verandah front and back, and three rooms within. In the verandah we slung our man-of-war mannocks, worked there by day, and slept at night. Within were beds, cahirs, a round table, a fine hanging lamp, and portraits of the royal family of FHawaii. Queen Victoria proves nothing; Kalakaua and Mrs. Bishop are diagnostic; and the truth is we were the stealthy tenants of the parsonage.

[Description of Rev. Maka]

On the day of our arrival Maka was away; faithless trustees unlocked his doors; and the dear rigorous man, the sworn foe of liquor and tobacco, returned to find his verandah littered with cigarettes and his parour horrible with bottles. He made but one condition—on the round table, which he used in the celebration of the sacraments, he

begged us to refrain from setting liquor; in all else he bowed to the accomplished fact, refused rent, retired across the way into a native house, and, plying in his boat, beat the remotest quarters of the isle for provender. He found us pigs—I could not fancy where—no other pigs were visible; he brought us fowls and taro; when we gave our feast to the monarch and gentry, it was he who supplied the wherewithal, he who superintended the cooking, he who asked grace at table, and when the king's health was proposed, he also started the cheering with an English hip-hip=hip. There was never a more fortunate conception; the heart of the fatted king exulted in his bosom at the sound.

Take him for all in all, I have never known a more engaging creature than this parson of Butaritari: his mirth, his kindness, his noble, friendly feelings, brimmed from the man in speech and gesture. He loved to exaggerate, to act and overact the momentary part, to exercise his lungs and muscles, and to speak and laugh with his whole body. He had the morning cheerfulness of birds and healthy children; and his humour was infectious. We were next neighbours and met daily, yet our salutations lasted minutes at a stretch—shaking hands, slapping shoulders, capering like a pair of Merry-Andrews, laughing to split our sides upon some pleasantry that would scarce raise a titter in an infant-school. It might be five in the morning, the toddy-cutters just gone by, the road empty, the shade of the island lying far on the lagoon: and the ebullition cheered me for the day.

Yet I always suspected Maka of a secret melancholy; these jubilant extremes could scarce be constantly maintained. He was besides long, and lean, and lined, and corded, and a trifle grizzled; and his Sabbath countenance was even ssturnine. On that day we made a procession to the church, or (as I must always call it) the cathedral: Maka (a blot on the hot landscape) in tall hat, black frock-coat, black trousers; under his arm the hymn- book and the Bible; in his face, a reverent gravity:—beside him Mary his wife, a quiet, wise, and handsome elderly lady, seriously attired:—myself following with singular and moving thoughts. Long before, to the sound of bells and streams and birds, through a green Lothian glen, I had accompanied Sunday by Sunday a minister in whose house I lodged; and the likeness, and the difference, and the series of years and deaths, profoundly touched me. In the great, dusky, palm-tree cathedral the congregation rarely numbered thirty: the men on one side, the women on the other, myself posted (for a privilege) amongst the women, and the small missionary contingent gathered close around the platform, we were lost in that round vault. The lessons were read antiphonally, the flock was catechised, a blind youth repeated weekly a long string of psalms, hymns were sung—I never heard worse singing,—and the sermon followed. To say I understood nothing were untrue; there were points that I learned to expect with certainty; the name of Honolulu, that of Kalakaua, the word Cap'n-man-o'-war, the word ship, and a description of a storm at sea, infallibly occurred; and I was not seldom rewarded with the name of my own Soverieng in the bargain. The rest was but sound to the ears, silence for the mind: a plain expanse of tedium, rendered unbearable by heat, a hard chair, and the sight through the wide doors of the more happy heathen on the green. Sleep breathed on my joints and eyelids, sleep hummed in my ears; it reigned in



Hula [sic] dancers.

the dim cathedral. The congregation stirred and stretched; they moaned, they groaned aloud; they yawned upon a singing note, as you may sometimes hear a dog when he had reached the tragic bitterest of boredom. In vain the preacher thumped the table; in vain he singled and addressed by name particular hearers. I was myself perhaps a more effective excitant; and at least to one old gentleman the spectacle of my successful struggles against sleep—and I hope they were successful—cheered the flight of time. He, when he was not catching flies or playing tricks upon his neighbours, gloated with a fixed, truculent eye upon the stages of my agony; and once, when the service was drawing towards a close, he winked at me across the church.

I write of the service with a smile; yet I was always there—always with respect for Maka, always with admiration for his deep seriousness, his burning energy, the fire of his roused eye, the sincere and various accents of his voice. To see him weekly flogging a dead horse and blowing a cold fire was a lesson in fortitude and constancy. It may be a question whether if the mission were fully supported, and he was set free from business avocations, more might not result; I think otherwise myself; I think not neglect but rigour has reduced his flock, that rigour which has once provoked a revolution, and which to-day, in a man so lively and engaging, amazes the beholder. No song, no dance, no tobacco, no liquor, no alleviative of life—only toil and church-going; so says a voice from his face; and the face is the face of the Polynesian Esau, but the voice is the voice of a Jacob from a different world. And a Polynesian at the best makes a singular missionary in the Gilberts, coming from a country recklessly unchaste to one conspicuously strict; from a race hag-ridden with bogies to one comparatively bold against the terrors of the dark. The thought was stamped one morning in my mind, when I chanced to be abroad by moonlight, and saw all the town lightless, but the lamp faithfully burning by the missionary's bed. It requires no law, no fire, and no scouting police, to withhold Maka and his countrymen from wandering in the night unlighted.

...
CHAPTER VI
The Five Days' Festival

Thursday, July 25th.—The street was this day much enlivened by the presence of the men from Little Makin; they average taller than Butaritarians, and, being on a holiday, went wreathed with yellow leaves and gorgeous n vivid colours. They are said to be more savage, and to be proud of the distinction. Indee, it seemed to us they swaggered in the town, like plaided Highlanders upon the streets of Inverness, conscious of barbaric virtues.

In the afternoon the summer parlour was observed to be packed with people; others standing outside and stooping to peer under the eaves, like children at home about a circus. It was the Makin company, rehearsing for the day of competition. Karaiti sat in the front row close to the singers, where we were summoned (I suppose in honour of Queen Victoria) to join him. A strong breathless heat reigned under the iron roof, and the air was heavy with the scent of wreaths. The singers, with fine mats about their loins,

cocoa-nut feathers set in rings upon their fingers, and their heads crowned with yellow leaves, sat on the floor by companies. A varying number of soloists stood up for different songs; and these bore the chief part in the music. But the full force of the companies, even when not singing, contributed continuously to the effect, and marked the ictus of the measure, mimicking, grimacing, casting up their heads and eyes, fluttering the feathers on their fingers, clapping hands, or beating (loud as a kettle-drum) on the left breast; the time was exquisite, the music barbarous, but full of conscious art. I noted some devices constantly employed. A sudden change would be introduced (I think of key) with no break of the measure, but emphasised by a sudden dramatic heightening of the voice and a swinging, general gesticulation. The voices of the soloists would begin far apart in a rude discord, and gradually draw together to a unison; which, when they had reached, they were joined and drowned by the full chorus. The ordinary, hurried, barking, unmelodious movement of the voices would at times be broken and glorified by a psalm-like strain of melody, often well constructed, or seeming so by contrast. There was much variety of measure, and towards the end of each piece, when the fun became fast and furious, a recourse to this figure:—

2/4 time: 1/2 1/2 full; 1/2 1/2, full; 1/2 1/2 full.

It is difficult to conceive what fire and devilry they get into these hammering finales; all go together, voices, hands, eyes, leaves, and fluttering fingerings; the chorus swings to the eye, the song throbs on the ear; the faces are convulsed with enthusiasm and effort.

Presently the troop stood up in a body, the drums forming a half-circle for the soloists, who were sometimes five or even more in number. The songs that followed were highly dramatic; though I had none to give me any explanation, I would at times make out some shadowy but decisive outline of a plot; and I was continually reminded of certain quarrelsome concerted scenes in grand operas at home; just so the single voices issue from and fall again into the general volume; just so do the performers separate and crowd together, brandish the raised hand, and roll the eye to heaven—or the gallery. Already this is beyond the Thespian model; the art of this people is already past the embryo; song, dance, drums, quartette and solo—it is the drama full developed although still in miniature. Of all so-called dancing in the South Seas, that which I saw in Butaritari stands easily the first. The *hula*, as it may be viewed by the speedy globe-trotter in Honolulu, is surely the most dull of man's inventions, and the spectator yawns under its length as at a college lecture or a parliamentary debate. But the Gilbert Island dance leads on the mind; it thrills, rouses, subjugates; it has the essence of all art, an unexplored imminent significance. Where so many are engaged, and where all must make (at a given moment) the same swift, elaborate, and often arbitrary movement, the toil of rehearsal is of course extreme. But they begin as children. A child and a man may often be seen together in a mania: the man sings and gesticulates, the child stands before him with streaming tears and tremulously copies him in act and sound; it is the Gilbert Island artist learning (as all artists must) his art in sorrow.

I may seem to praise too much; here is a passage from my wife's diary, which proves that I was not alone in being moved, and completes the picture:

—"The conductor gave the cue, and all the dancers, waving their arms, swaying their bodies, and clapping their breasts in perfect time, opened with an introductory. The performers remained seated, except two, and once three, and twice a single soloist. These stood in the group, making a slight movement with the feet and rhythmical quiver of the body as they sang. There was a pause after the introductory, and then the real business of the opera—for it was no less—bagan; an opera where every singer was an accomplished actor. The leading man, in an impassioned ecstasy which possessed him from head to foot, seemed transfigured; once it was as though a strong wind had swept over the stage—their arms, their feathered fingers thrilling with an emotion that shook my nerves as well: heads and bodies followed like a field of grain before a gust. My blood came hot and cold, tears pricked my eyes, my head whirled, I felt an almost irresistible impulse to join the dancers. One drama, I think, I very nearly understood. A fierce and savage old man took the solo part. He sang of the birth of a prince, and how he was tenderly rocked in his mother's arms; of his boyhood, when he excelled his fellows in swimming, climbing, and all athletic sports; of his youth, when he went out to sea with his boat and fished; of his manhood, when he married a wife who cradled a son of his own in her arms. Then came the alarm of war, and a great battle, of which for a time the issue was doubtful; but the hero conquered, as he always does, and with a tremendous burst of the victors the piece closed. There were also comic pieces, which caused great amusement. During one, an old man behind me clutched me by the arm, shook his finger in my face with a roguish smile, and said something with a chickle, which I too, to be the equivalent of "O, you women, you women; it is true of you all!" I fear it was not complimentary. At no time was there the least sign of the ugly indecency of the eastern islands. All was poetry pure and simple. The music itself was as complex as our own, though constructed on an entirely different basis; once or twice I was startled by a bit of something very like the best English sacred music, but it was only for an instant.

"At last there was a longer pause, and this time the dancers were all on their feet. As the drama went on the interest grew. The performers appealed to each other, to the audience, to the heaven above; they took counsel with each other, the conspirators drew together in a knot; it was just an opera, the drums coming in at proper intervals, the tenor, baritone, and bass all where they should be—except that the voices were all of the same calibre. A woman once sang from the back row with a very fine contralto voice spoiled by being made artificially nasal; I notice all the women affect that unpleasantness. At one time a boy of angelic beauty was the soloist; and at another, a child of six or eight, doubtless an infant phenomenon being trained, was placed in the centre. The little fellow was desperately frightened and embarrassed at first, but towards the close warmed up to his work and showed much dramatic talent. The changing expression on the faces of the dancers were so speaking, that it seemed a great stupidity not to understand them."

...
With his kingly countenance, and ourselves squatted on the ground, we heard several songs from one side or the other. Then royalty and its guards withdrew, and Queen Victoria's son and daughter-in-law were summoned by acclamation to the vacant throne. Our pride was perhaps a little modified when we were joined on our high places by a certain thriftless loafer of a white; and yet I was glad too, for the man had a smattering of native, and could give me some idea of the subject of the songs. One was patriotic, and dared Tembinok' of Apemama, the terror of the group, to an invasion. One mixed the planting of taro and the harvest-home. Some were historical, and commemorated kings and the illustrious chances of their time, such as a bout of drinking or a war. One, at least, was a drama of domestic interest, excellently played by the troop from Makin. It told the story of a man who has lost his wife, at first bewails her loss, then seeks another: the earlier strains (or acts) are played exclusively by men; but towards the end a woman appears, who has just lost her husband; and I suppose the pair console each other, for the finale seemed of happy omen. Of some of the songs my informant told me briefly they were "like about the *weemen*; this I could have guessed myself. Each side (I should have said) was strengthened by one or two women. They were all soloists, did not very often join in the performance, but stood disengaged at the back part of the stage, and looked (in *ridi*, necklace, and dressed hair) for all the world like European ballet dancers. When the song was anyway broad these ladies came particularly to the front; and it was singular to see that, after each entry, the *première danseuse* pretended to be overcome by shame, as though led on beyond what she had meant, and her male assistants made a feint of driving her away like one who had disgraced herself. Similar affectations accompany certain truly obscene dances of Aamoa, where they are very well in place. Here it was different. The words, perhaps, in this free-spoken world, were gross enough to make a carter blush; and the most suggestive feature was this feint of shame. For such parts the women showed some disposition; they were pert, they were neat, they were acrobatic, they were at times really amusing, and some of them were pretty. But this is not the artist's field; there is the whole width of heaven between such capering and ogling, and the strange rhythmic gestures, and strange, rapturous, frenzied faces with which the best of the male dancers held us spell-bound through a Gilbert Island ballet.

Almost from the first it was apparent that the people of the city were defeated. I might have thought them even good, only I had the other troop before my eyes to correct my standard, and remind me continually of "the little more, and how much it is." Perceiving themselves worsted, the choir of Butaritari grew confused, blundered, and broke down; amid this hubhub of unfamiliar intervals I should not myself have recognised the slip, but the audience were quick to catch it, and to jeer.

To crown it all, the Makin company began a dance of truly superlative merit. I know not what it was about, I was too much absorbed to ask. In one act a part of the chorus, squealing in some strange falsetto, produced very much the effect of our orchestra; in another, the dancers, leaping like jumping-jacks, with arms extended, passed through

and through each other's ranks with extraordinary speed, neatness, and humour. A more laughable effect I never saw; in any European theatre it would have brought the house down, and the island audience roared with laughter and applause. This filled up the measure for the rival company, and they forgot themselves and decency. After each act or figure of the ballet, the performers pause a moment standing, and the next is introduced by the clapping of hands in triplets. Not until the end of the whole ballet do they sit down, which is the signal for the rivals to stand up.

But now all rules were to be broken. During the interval following on this great applause, the company of Butaritari leaped suddenly to their feet and most unhandsomely began a performance of their own. It was strange to see the men of Makin staring; I have seen a tenor in Europe stare with the same blank dignity into a hissing theatre; but presently, to my surprise, they sobered down, gave up the unsung remainder of their ballet, resumed their seats, and suffered their ungallant adversaries to go on and finish. Nothing would suffice. Again, at the first interval, Butaritari unhandsomely cut in; Makin, irritated in turn, followed the example; and the two companies of dancers remained permanently standing, continuously clapping hands, and regularly cutting across each other at each pause. I expected blows to begin with any moment; and our position in the midst was highly unstrategical. But the Makin people had a better thought; and upon a fresh interruption turned and trooped out of the house. We followed them, first because these were the artists, second because they were guests and had been scurvily ill-used. A large population of our neighbours did the same, so that the causeway was filled from end to end by the procession of deserters; and the Butaritari choir was left to sing for its own pleasure in an empty house, having gained the point and lost the audience. It was surely fortunate that there was no one drunk; but, drunk or sober, where else would a scene so irritating have concluded without blows?

...

PART IV THE GILBERTS—APEMAMA

CHAPTER I

The King of Apemama: The Royal Trader

There is one great personage in the Gilberts: Tembinok' of Apemama: solely conspicuous, the hero of song, the butt of gossip. Through the rest of the group the kings are slain or fallen in tutelage: Tembinol' alone remains, the last tyrant, the last erect vestige of a dead society. The white man is everywhere else, building his houses, drinking his gin, getting in and out of trouble with the weak native governments. There is only one white on Apemama, and he on sufferance, living far from court, and hearken- ing and watching his conduct like a mouse in a cat's ear. Through all the other islands a stream of native visitors comes and goes, travelling by families, spending years on the grand tour. Apemama alone is left upon one side, the tourist dreading to risk himself within the clutch of Tembinok'. And fear of the same Gorgon follows and troubles them at home. Maiana once paid him tribute; he once fell upon and seized Monuti: first steps to the empire of the archipelago. A British warship coming on the scene, the conqueror was driven to disgorge, his career checked in the outset, his dear-bought armoury sunk in his own lagoon. But the impression had been made; periodical fear of him still shakes the islands; rumour depicts him mustering his canoes for a fresh onfall; rumour can name his destination; and Tembinok' figures in the patriotic war-songs of the Gilberts like Napoleon in those of our grandfathers.

We were at sea, bound from Mariki to Nonuti and Tapituea, when the wind came suddenly fair for Apemama. The course was at once changed; all hands were turned to clean ship, the decks holy-stoned, the cabin washed, the trade-room overhauled. IN all our cruising we never saw the **Equator** so smart as she was made for Tembinok'. Nor was Captain Reid alone in these coquetries; for, another schooner chancing to arrive during my stay in Apemama, I found that she also was dandified for the occasion. And the two cases stand alone in my experience of South Sea traders.

We had on board a family of native tourists, from the grandsire to the babe in arms, trying (against an extraordinary series of ill-luck) to regain their native island of Peru. Five times already they had paid their fare and taken ship; five times they had been disappointed, dropped penniless upon strange islands, or carried back to Butaritari, whence they sailed. This last attempt had been no better-starred; their provisions were exhausted. Peru was beyond hope, and they had cheerfully made up their minds to a fresh stage of exile in Tapituea or Nonuti. With this slant of wind their random destination became once more changed; and like the Calendar's pilot, when the "black mountains" hove in view, they changed colour and beat upon their breasts. Their camp, which was on deck in the ship's waist, resounded with complaint. They would be set to work, they must become slaves, escape was hopeless, they must live and toil and die in

Apemama, in the tyrant's den. With this sort of talk they so greatly terrified their children, that one (a big hulking boy) must at last be torn screaming from the schooner's side. And their fears were wholly groundless. I have little doubt they were not suffered to be idle; but I can vouch for it that they were kindly and generously used. For, the matter of a year later, I was once more shipmate with these inconsistent wanderers on board the **Janet Nicoll**. Their fare was paid by Tembinok'; they who had gone ashore from the **Equator** destitute, reappeared upon the **Janet** with new clothes, laden with mats and presents, and bringing with them a magazine of food, on which they lived like fighting-cocks throughout the voyage; I saw them at length repatriated, and I must say they showed more concern on quitting Apemama than delight at reaching home.

We entered by the north passage (Sunday, September 1st), dodging among shoals. It was a day of fierce equatorial sunshine; but the breeze was strong and chill; and the mate, who coned the schooner from the cross-trees, returned shivering to the deck. The lagoon was thick with many-tinted wavelets; a continuous roaring of the outer sea overhung the anchorage; and the long, hollow crescent of palm ruffled and sparked in the wind. Opposite our berth the beach was seen to be surmounted for some distance by a terrace of white coral, seven or eight feet high and crowned in turn by the scattered and incongruous buildings of the palace. The village adjoins on the south, a cluster of high-roofed maniap's. And village and palace seemed deserted.

We were scarce yet moored, however, before distant and busy figures appeared upon the beach, a boat was launched, and a crew pulled out to us bringing the king's ladder. Tembinok' had once an accident; has feared ever since to intrust his person to the rotten chandlery of South Sea traders; and devised in consequence a frame of wood, which is brought on board a ship as soon as she appears, and remains lashed to her side until she leaves. The boat's crew, having applied this engine, returned at once to shore. They might not come on board; neither might we land, or not without danger of offence; the king giving pratique in person. An interval followed, during which dinner was delayed for the great man; the prelude of the ladder, giving us some notion of his weighty body and sensible, ingenious character, had highly whetted our curiosity and it was with something like excitement that we saw the beach and terrace suddenly blacken with attendant vassals, the king and party embark, the boat (a man-of-war gig) come flying towards us dead before the wind, and the royal coxswain lay us cleverly aboard, mount the ladder with a jealous diffidence, and descend heavily on deck.

Not long ago he was overgrown with fat, obscured to view, and a burthen to himself. Captains visiting the island advised him to walk; and though it broke the habits of a life and the traditions of his rank, he practised the remedy with benefit. His corpulence is now portable; you would call him lusty rather than fat; but his gait is still dull, stumbling, and elephantine. He neither stops nor hastens, but goes about his business with an implacable deliberation. We could never see him and not be struck with his extraordinary natural means for the theatre: a beaked profile like Dante's in the mask, a mane of long black hair, the eye brilliant, imperious, and inquiring: for certain parts, and to one who could have used it, the face was a fortune. His voice matched it well,

being shrill, powerful, and uncanny, with a note like a sea-bird's. Where there are no fashions, none to set them, few to follow them if they were set, and none to criticise, he dresses—as Sir Charles Grandison lived—“to his own heart.” Now he wears a woman's frock, now a naval uniform; now (and more usually) figures in a masquerade costume of his own design: trousers and a singular jacket with shirt tails, the cut and fit wonderful for island workmanship, the material always handsome, sometimes green velvet, sometimes cardinal red silk. This masquerade becomes him admirably. IN the woman's frock he looks ominous and weird beyond belief. I see h im now come pacing towards me in the cruel sun, solitary, a figure out of Hoffmann.

A visit on board ship, such as that at which we now assisted, makes a chief part and by far the chief diversion of the life of Tembinok'. He is not only the sole ruler, he is the sole merchant of his triple kingdom, Apemama, Aranuka, and KURia, well-planted islands. The taro goes to the chiefs, who divide as they please among their immediate adherents; but certain fish, turtles—which abound in Kuria,—and the whole produce of the coco-palm, belong exclusively to Tembinol'. “A' cobra belong me,” observed his majesty with a wave of his hand; and he counts and sells it by the houseful. “You got copra, king?” I have heard a trader ask. “I got two, three outches [houses],” his majesty replied: “I think three.” Hence the commercial importance of Apemama, the trade of three islands being centred there in a single hand; hence it is that so many whites have tried in vain to gain or to preserve a footing; hence ships are adorned, cooks haver special orders, and captains array themselves in smiles, to greet the king. If he be pleased with his welcome and the fare he may pass days on board, and every day, and sometimes every hour, will be of profit to the ship. He oscillates between the cabin, where he is entertained with strange meats, and the trade-room, where he enjoys the pleasures of shopping on a scale to match his person. A few obsequious attendants squat by the house door, awaiting his least signal. In the boat, which has been suffered to drop astern, one or two of his wives lie covered from the sun under mats, tossed by the short sea of the lagoon, and enduring agonies of heat and tedium. This severity is now and then relaxed and the wives allowed on board. Three or four were thus favoured on the day of our arrival: substantial ladies airily attired in *ridis*. Each had a share of copra, her *peculium*, to dispose of for herself. The display in the trade-room—hats, ribbons, dresses, scents, tins of salmon—the pride of the eye and the lust of the flesh—tempted them in vain. They had but the one idea—tobacco, the island currency, tantamount to minted gold; returned to shore with it, burthened but rejoicing; and late into the night, on the royal terrace, were to be seen counting the sticks by lamplight in the open air.

The king is no such economist. He is greedy of things new and foreign. House after house, chest after chest, in the palace precinct, is already crammed with clocks, musical boxes, blue spectacles, umbrellas, kitted waistcoats, bolts of stuff, tools, rifles, fowling-pieces, medicines, European foods, sewing-machiens, and, what is more extraordinary, stoves: all that ever caught his eye, tickled his appetite, pleased him for its use, or puzzled him with his apparent inutility. And still his lust in unabated. He is possessed by the seven devils of the collector. He hears a thing spoken of, and a shadow

dow comes on his face. "I think I no got him," he will say; and the treasures he has seem worthless in comparison. If a ship be bound for Apemama, the merchant racks his brain to hit upon some novelty. This he leaves carelessly in the main cabin or partly conceals in his own berth, so that the king shall spy it for himself. "How much you want?" inquires Tembinok', passing and pointing. "No, king; that too dear," returns the trader. "I think I like him," says the king. This was a bowl of gold-fish. On another occasion it was scented soap. "No, king; that cost too much," said the trader; "too good for a Kanaka." "How much you got? I take him all," replied his majesty, and became the lord of seventeen boxes at two dollars a cake. Or again, the merchant feigns the article is not for sale, is private property, an heirloom or a gift; and the trick infallibly succeeds. Thwart the king and you hold him. His autocratic nature rears at the affront of opposition. He accepts it for a challenge; sets his teeth like a hunter going at a fence; and with no mark of emotion, scarce even of interest, stolidly piles up the price. Thus, for our sins, he took a fancy to my wife's dressing-bag, a thing entirely useless to the man, and sadly battered by years of service. Early one forenoon he came to our house, sat down, and abruptly offered to purchase it. I told him I sold nothing, and the bag at any rate was a present from a friend; but he was acquainted with these pretexts from of old, and knew what they were worth and how to meet them. Adopting what I believe is called "the object method," he drew out a bag of English gold, sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and began to lay them one by one in silence on the table; at each fresh piece reading our faces with a look. In vain I continued to protest I was no trader; he deigned not to reply. There must have been twenty pounds on the table, he was still going on, and irritation had begun to mingle with our embarrassment, when a happy idea came to our delivery. Since his majesty thought so much of the bag, we said, we must beg him to accept it as a present. It was the most surprising turn in Tembinok's experience. He perceived too late that his persistence was unmannerly; hung his head a while in silence: then, lifting up a sheepish countenance, "I 'shamed," said the tyrant. It was the first and the last time we heard him own to a flaw in his behaviour. Half an hour after he sent us a camphor-wood chest, worth only a few dollars—but then heaven knows what Tembinok' had paid for it.

Cunning by nature, and versed for forty years in the government of men, it must not be supposed that he is cheated blindly, or has resigned himself without resistance to be the milch-cow of the passing trader. His efforts have been even heroic. Like Nakaeia of Makin, he has owned schooners. More fortunate than Nakaeia, he has found captains. Ships of his have sailed as far as to the colonies. He has trafficked direct, in his own bottoms, with New Zealand. And even so, even there, the world-enveloping dishonesty of the white man prevented him; his profit melted, his ship returned in debt, the money for the insurance was embezzled, and when the **Coronet** came to be lost, he was astonished to find he had lost all. At this he dropped his weapons; owned he might as hopefully wrestle with the winds of heaven; and like an experienced sheep, submitted his fleece thenceforward to the shearers. He is the last man in the world to waste anger on the incurable; accepts it with cynical composure; asks no more in those he deals with

than a certain decency of moderation: drives as good a bargain as he can; and when he considers he is more than usually swindled, writes it in his memory against the merchant's name. He once ran over to me a list of captains and supercargoes with whom he had done business, classing them under three heads: "He cheat a litty"—"He cheat plenty"—and "I think he cheat too much." For the first two classes he expressed perfect toleration; sometimes, but not always, for the third. I was present when a certain merchant was turned about his business, and was the means (having a considerable influence ever since the bag) of patching up the dispute. Even on the day of our arrival there was like to have been a hitch with Captain Reid: the ground of which is perhaps worth recital.

Among goods exported specially for Tembinok' there is a beverage known (and labelled) as Hennessy's brandy. It is neither Hennessy, nor even brandy; is about the colour of sherry, but it not sherry; tastes of kirsch, and yet neither is it kirsch. The king, at least, has grown used to this amazing brand, and rather prides himself upon the taste; and any substitution is a double offence, being at once to cheat him and to cast a doubt upon his palate. A similar weakness is to be observed in all connoisseurs. Now the last case sold by the **Equator** was found to contain a different and I would fondly fancy a superior distillation; and the conversation opened very black for Captain Reid. But Tembinok' is a moderate man. He was reminded and admitted that all men were liable to error, even himself; accepted the principal that a fault handsomely acknowledged should be condoned; and wound the matter up with this proposal: "Tuppoti [suppose] I mi'take, you 'peakee me. Tuppoti you mi'take, I 'peakee you. Mo' betta."

After dinner and supper in the cabin, a glass or two of "Hennetti"—the genuine article this time, with the kirsch bouquet,—and five hours' lounging on the trader-rom counter, royalty embarked for home. Three tacks grounded the boat before the palace; the wives were carried ashore on the backs of vassals; Tembinok' stepped on a railed platform like a steamer's gangway, and ws borned shoulder-high through the shallows, up the beach, and by an incline plane, paved with pebbles, to the glaring terrace where he dwells.

...

CHAPTER VI

The King of Apemama : Devil-Work

...

Our experience of Devil-work at Apaiang had been as follows:—It chanced we were benighted at the house of Captain Tierney. My wife and I lodged with a Chinaman some half a mile away; and thither Captain Reid and a native boy escorted us by torch-light. On the way the torch went out, and we took shelter n a small and lonely Christian chapel to rekindle it. Stuck in the rafters of the chapel was a branch of knotted palm. "What is thjat?" I asked. "O, that's Devil-work," said the Captain. "And what is Devil-work?" I inquired. "If you like, I'll show you some when we get to Johnnie's," he replied. "Johnnie's" was a quaint little house upon the crest of the beach, raised some three feet on posts, approached by stairs; part walled, part trellised. Trophies of adver-

tisement-photographs were hung up within for decoration. There was a table and a recess-bed, in which Mrs. Setevenson slept; while I camped on the matted floor with Johnnie, Mr. Johnnie, her sister, and the devil's own regiment of cockroaches. Hither was summoned an old witch, who looked the part to horror. The lamp was set on the floor; the crone squatted on the threshold, a green palm-branch in her hand, the light striking full on her aged features and picking out behind her, from the black night, timorous faces of spectators. Our sorceress began with a chanted encantation; it was in the old tongur, for which I had no interpreter; but ever and again there ran among the crowd outside that laugh which every traveller in the islands learns so soon to recognise,—the laugh of terror. Doubtless these half-Christian folk were shocked, these half-heathen folk alarmed. Chench or Taburik thus invoked, we put our questions; the witch knotted the leaves, here a leaf and there a leaf, plainly on some arithmetical system; studied the result with great apparent contention of omind; and gave the answers. Sidney Colvin was in robust health and gone a journey; and we should have a fair wind upon the morrow: that was the result of our consultation, for which we paid a dollar. The next day dawned cloudless and breathless; but I think Captain Reid placed a secret reliance on the sibyl, for the schooner was got ready for sea. By eight the lagoon was flawed with long cat's-paws, and the palms tossed and rustled; before ten we were clear of the passage and skimming under all plain sail, with bubbling scuppers. So we had the breeze, which was well worth a dollar in itself; but the bulletin about my friend in England proved, some six months later, when I got my mail, to have been groundless. Perhaps London lies beyond the horizon of the island gods.

Tembinok', in his first dealings, showed himself sternly averse from superstition: and had not the **Equator** delayed, we might have left the island and still supposed him an agnostic. It chanced one day, however, that he came to our maniap', and found Mrs. Stevenson in the midst of a game of patience. She explained the game as well as she was able, and wound up jocularly by telling him this was her devil-work, and if she won, the **Equator** would arrive next day. TEMbinok' must have drawn a long breath; we were not so high-and-dry after all; he need no longer dissemble, and he plunged at once into confessions. He made devil-work every day, he told us, to know if ships were coming in; and thereafter brought us regular reports of the results. It was surprising how regularly he was wrong; but he had always an explanation ready. There had been some schooner in the offing out of view; but either she was not bound for Apemama, or had changed her course, or lay becalmed. I used to regard the king with veneration as he thus publicly deceived himself. I saw behind him all the fathers of the Church, all the philosophers and men of science of the past; before him, all those that are to come; himself in the midst; the whole visionary series bowed over the same task of welding incongruities. To the end Tembinok' spoke reluctantly of the island gods and their worship, and I learned but little. Taburik is the god of thunder, and deals in wind and weather. A whole since there were wizards who could call him down in the form of lightning. "My patha he tell me he see: you think he lie?" Tienti—pronounced something like

“Chench,” and identified by his majesty with the devil—sends and removes bodily sickness. He is whistled for in the Paumotuan manner, and is said to appear; but the king has never seen him. The doctors treat disease by the aid of Chench: eclectic Tembinok’ at the same time administering “pain-killer” from his medicine-chest, so as to give the sufferer both chances. “I think mo’ betta,” observed his maesty, with more than his usual self-approval. Apparently the gods are not jealous, and placidly enjoy both shrine and priest in common. On Tamaiti’s medicine-tree, for instance, the model canoes are hung up *ex voto* for a prosperous voyage, and must therefore be dedicated to Taburik, god of the weather; but the stone in front is the place of sick folk come to pacify Chench.

It chanced, by great good luck, that even as we spoke of these affairs, I found myself threatened with a cold. I do not suppose I was ever glad of a cold before, or shall ever be again; but the opportunity to see the sorcerers at work was priceless, and I called in the faculty of Apemama. Tey came in a body, all in their Sunday’s best and hung with wreaths and shells, the insignia of the devil-worker. Tamaiti I knew already: Terutak’ I saw for the first time—a tall, lank, rgo-boned, serious North-Sea fisherman turned brown; and there was a third in their company whose name I never heard, and who played to Tamaiti the part of *famulus*. Tamaiti took me in hand first, and lef me, conversing agreeably, to the shores of Fu Bay. The *famulus* climbed a tree for some green cocoa-nuts. Tamaiti himself disappeared a while in the bush and returned with coco tinder, dry leaves, and a spray of waxberry. I was placed on the stone, with my back to the tree and my face to windward; between me and the gravel-heap one of the green nuts was set; and then Tamaiti (having previously bared his feet, for he had come n canvas shoes, which tortured him) joined me within the magic circle, hollowed out the top of the gravel-heap, built his fire in the bottom, and applied a match: it was one of Bryant and May’s. The flame was slow to catch, and the irreverent sorcerer filled in the time with talk of foreign places—of London, and “companies,” and how much money they had; of San Francisco, and the nefarious fogs, “all the same smoke,” which had been so nearly the occasion of his death. I tried vainly to lead him to the matter in hand. “Everybody make medicine,” he said lightly. And when I asked him if he were himself a good practitioner—“No savvy,” he replied, more lightly still. At length the leaves burst in a flame, which he continued to feed; a thick, light smoke blew in my face, and the flames streamed against and scorched my clothes. He is the meanwhile addressed, or affected to address, the evil spirit, his lips moving fast, but without sound; at the same time he waved in the air and twice struck me on the breast with his green spray. So soon as the leves were consumed the ashes were buried, the green spray was imbedded in the gravel, and the creremony was at an end.

A reader of the *Arabian Nights* felt quite at home. Here was the suffumigation; here was the muttering wizard; here was the desert plae to which Aladdin ws decoyed by the false uncle. But they manage these things better n fiction. The effect was marred by the levity of the magician, entertaining his patient with small talk like an affable dentist, and by the incongruous presence of Mr. Osbourne with a camera. As for my cold, it was neither better nor worse.

I was now handed over to Terutak', the leading practitioner or medical baronet of Apemama. His place is on the lagoon side of the island, hard by the palace. A rail of light wood, some two feet high, encloses an oblong piece of gravel like the king's Pray Place; in the midst is a green tree; below, a stone table bears a pair of boxes covered with a fine mat; and in front of these an offering of food, a cocoa-nut, a piece of taro or a fish, is placed daily. On two sides the enclosure is lined with maniap's; and one of our party, who had been there to sketch, had remarked a daily concourse of people and an extraordinary number of sick children; for this is in fact the infirmary of Apemama. The doctor and myself entered the sacred place alone; the voxes and the mat were displaced; and I was enthroned in their stead upon the stone, facing once more to the east. For a while the sorcerer remained unseen behind me, making passes in the air with a branch of aplm. Then eh struck lightly on the brim of my strawhat; and this blow he continued to repeat at intervals, sometimes brushing instead my arm and shoulder. I have had people try to mesmerise me a dozen times, and never with the least result. But at the first tap—on a quarter no more vital than my har-brim, and from nothing more virtuous than a switch of palm wielded by a man I could not even see—sleep rushed upon me like an armed man. My sinews fainted, my eyes closed, my brain hummed, with drowsiness. I resisted—at first instinctively, then with a certain flurry of despair, in the end successfully; if that were indeed success which enabled me to scramble to my feet, to stumble home somnambulous, to cast myself at once upon my bed, and sink at once into a dreamless stupor. When I awoke my cold was gone. So I leave a matter that I do not understand.

Meanwhile my appetite for curiosities (not usually very keen) had been strangely whetted by the sacred boxes. They were of pandanus wood, oblong in shape, with an effect of pillaring along the sides like straw work, lightly fringed with hair or fibre and standing on four legs. The outside was neat as a toy; the inside a mystery I was resolved to penetrate. But there was a lion in the path. I might not approach Terutak', since I had promised to buy nothing in the island; I dared not have recourse to the king, for I had already received from him more gifts than I knew how to repay. In this dilemma (the schooner being at last returned) we hit on a device. Captain Reid came forward in my stead, professed an unbridled passion for the boxes, and asked and obtained leave to bargain for them with the wizard. That same afternoon the captain and I made haste to the infirmary, entered the enclosure, raised the mat, and had begun to examine the boxes at our leisure, when Terutak's wife bounced out of one of the nigh houses, fell upon us, swept up the treasures, and was gone. There was never a more absolute surprise. She came, she took, she vanished, we had not a guess whither; and we remained, with foolish looks and laughter, on the empty field. Such was the fit prologue of our memorable bargaining.

Presently Terutak' came, bringing Tamaiti along with him, both smiling; and we four squatted without the rail. In the three maniap's of the infirmary a certain audience was gathered: the family of a sick child under treatment, the king's sister playing cards, a

pretty girl, who swore I was the image of her father; in all perhaps a score. Terutak's wife had returned (even as she had vanished) unseen, and now sat, breathless and watchful, by her husband's side. Perhaps some rumour of our quest had gone abroad, or perhaps we had given the alert by our unseemly freedom: certain, at least, that in the faces of all present expectation and alarm were mingled.

Captain Reid announced, without preface or disguise, that I was come to purchase; Terutak', with sudden gravity, refused to sell. He was pressed; he persisted. It was explained we only wanted one: no matter, two were necessary for the healing of the sick. He was rallied, he was reasoned with: in vain. He sat there, serious and still, and refused. All this was only a preliminary skirmish; hitherto no sum of money had been mentioned; but now the dcaptain brought his great guns to bear. He named a pound, then two, then three. Out of the maniap's one person after another came to join the group, some with mere excitement, others with consternation in their faces. The pretty girl crept to my side; it was then that—surely with the most artless flattery—she informed me of my likeness to her father. Tamaiti the infidel sat with hanging head and every mark of dejection. Terutak' streamed with sweat, his eye was glazed, his face wore a painful rictus, his chest heaved like that of one spent with running. The man must have been by nature covetous; and I doubt if ever I saw moral agony more tragically displayed. His wife by his side passionately encouraged his resistance.

And now came the charge of the old guard. The captain, making a skip, named the surprising figure of five pounds. At the word the maniap's were emptied. The king's sister flung down her cards and came to the front to listen, a cloud on her brow. The pretty girl beat her breast and cried with wearisome iteration that if the box were hers I should have it. Terutak's wife was beside herself with pious fear, her face discomposed, her voice (which scarce ceased from warning and encouragement) shrill as a whistle. Even Terutak' lost that image-like immobility which he had hitherto maintained. He rocked on his mat, threw up his closed knees alternately, and struck himself on the breast after the manner of dancers. But he came gold out of the furnace; and with what voice was left him continued to reject the bribe.

And now came a timely interjection. "Money will not heal the sick," observed the king's sister sententiously; and as soon as I heard the remark translated my eyes were unsealed, and I began to blush for my employment. Here was a sick child, and I sought, in the view of its parents, to remove the medicine-box. Here was the priest of a religion, and I (a heathen millionaire) was corrupting him to sacrilege. Here was a greedy man, torn in twain betwixt greed and conscience; and I sat by and relished, and lustfully renewed his torments. *Ave, Cæsar!* Smothered in a corner, dormant but not dead, we have all the one touch of nature: an infant passion for the sand and blood of the arena. So I brought to an end my first and last experience of the joys of the millionaire, and departed amid silent awe.

Nowhere else can I expect to stir the depths of human nature by an offer of five pounds; nowhere else, even at the expense of millions, could I hope to see the evil of riches stand so legibly exposed. Of all the by-standers, none but the king's sister retained

any memory of the gravity and danger of the thing in hand. Their eyes gloed, the girl beat her breast, in senseless animal excitement. Nothing was offered them; they stood neither to gain nor to lose; at the mere name and wind of these great sums Satan possessed them.

From this singular interview I went straight to the palace; found the king; confessed what I had been doing; begged him, in my name, to compliment Terutak' on his virtue, and to have a similar box made for me against the return of the schooner. Tembinok', Rubam, and one of the Daily Papers—him we used to call "the Facetiæ Column"—laboured for a shile of some idea, which was at last intelligibly delivered. They feared I thought the box would cure me; whereas, without the wizard, it was useless; and when I was threatened with another cold I should do better to rely on pain-killer. I explained I merely wished to keep it in my "outch" as a thing made in Apemanma; and these honest men were much relieved.

Late the same evening, my wife, crossing the isle to windward, was aware of singing in the bush. Nothing is more comon in that hour and place than the jubilant carol of the toddy-cutter, swinging high overhead, beholding below him the narrow ribbon of the isle, the surrounding field of ocean, and the fires of the sunset. But this was of a graver character, and seemed to proceed from the ground-level. Advancing a little in the thicket, Mrs. Stevenson saw a clear space, a fine mat spread in the midst, and on the mat a wreath of white flowers and one of the devil-work boxes. A woman—whom we guess to have been Mrs. Terutak'—sat in front, now drooping over the box like a mother over a cradle, now lifting her face and directing her song to heaven. A passing toddy-cuter told my wife that she was praying. Probably she did not so much pray as deprecate; and perhaps even the ceremony was one of disenchantment. For the box was already doomed; it was to pass from its green medicine-tree, reverent precinct, and devout attendants; to be handled by the profane; to cross three seas; to come to land under the foolscap of St. Paul's; to be domesticated within hail of Lillie Bridge; there to be dusted by the British housemaid, and to take perhaps the roar of London for the voice of the outer sea along the reef. Before even we had finished dinner Chench had begun his journey, and one of the newspapers had already placed the box upon my table as the gift of Tembinok'.

I made haste to the palace, thanked the king, but offered to restore the box, for I could not bear that the sick of the island should be made to suffer. I was amazed by his reply. Terutak', it appeared, had still three or four in reserve against an accident; and his reluctance, and the dread painted at first on every face, was not in the least occasioned by the prospect of medical destitution, but by the immediate divinity of Chench. How much more did I respect the king's command, which had been able to extort in a moment and for nothing a sacrilegious favour that I had in vain solicited with millions! But now I had a difficult task in front of me; it was not in any view that Terutak' should suffer by his virtue; and I must persuade the king to share my opinion, to let me enrich one of his subjects, and (what was yet more delicate) to pay for my present. Nothing shows the king in a more becoming light than the fact that I succeeded. He demurred

at the principle; he exclaimed, when he heard it, at the sum. "Plenty money!" cried he, with contemptuous displeasure. But his resistance was never serious; and when he had blown off his ill-humour—"A' right," said he. "You give him. Mo'betta."

Armed with this permission, I made straight for the infirmary. The night was now come, cool, dark, and starry. On a mat, hard by a clear fire of wood and coco-shell, Terutak' lay beside his wife. Both were smiling; the agony was over, the king's command had reconciled (I must suppose) their agitating scruples; and I was bidden to sit by them and share the circulating pipe. I was a little moved myself when I placed five gold sovereigns in the wizard's hand; but there was no sign of emotion in Terutak' as he returned them, pointed to the palace, and named Tembinok'. It was a changed scene when I had managed to explain. Terutak, long, dour Scots fisherman as he was, expressed his satisfaction within bounds; but the wife beamed; and there was an old gentleman present—her father, I suppose—who seemed nigh translated. His eyes stood out of his head; "*Kaupoi, kaupoi*—rich, rich!" ran on his lips like a refrain; and he could not meet my eye but what he gurgled into foolish laughter.

I might now go home, leaving that fire-lit family party gloating over their new millions, and consider my strange day. I had tried and rewarded the virtue of Terutak'. I had played the millionaire, had behaved abominably, and then in some degree repaired my thoughtlessness. And now I had my box, and could open it and look within. It contained a miniature sleeping-mat and a white shell. Tamaiti, interrogated next day as to the shell, explained it was not exactly Chench, but a cell, or body, which he would at times inhabit. Asked why there was a sleeping-mat, he retorted indignantly, "Why have you mats?" And this was the sceptical Tamaiti! But island scepticism is never deeper than the lips.

...

CHAPTER VII

The King of Apemama

Thus all things on the island, even the priests of the gods, obey the word of Tembinok'. He can give and take, and slay, and allay the scruples of the conscientious, and do all things (apparently) but interfere in the cookery of a turtle. "I got power" is his favourite word; it interlards his conversation; the thought haunts him and is ever fresh; and when he has asked and meditates of foreign countries, he looks up with a smile and reminds you, "I got power." Nor is his delight only in the possession, but in the exercise. He rejoices in the crooked and violent paths of kingship like a strong man to run a race, or like an artist in his art. To feel, to use his power, to embellish his island and the picture of the island life after a private ideal, to milk the island vigorously, to extend his singular museum—these employ delightfully the sum of his abilities. I never saw a man more patently in the right trade.

It would be natural to suppose this monarchy inherited intact through generations. And so far from that, it is a thing of yesterday. I was already a boy at school while Apemama was yet republican, ruled by a noisy council of Old Men, and torn with incur-

able feuds. And Tembinok' is no Bourbon; rather the son of a Napoleon. Of course, he is well-born. No man need aspire high in the isles of the Pacific unless his pedigree be long and in the upper regions mythical. And our king counts cousinship with most of the high families in the archipelago, and traces his descent to a shark and a heroic woman. Directed by an oracle, she swam beyond sight of land to meet her revolting paramour, and received at sea the seed of a predestined family. "I think lie," is the king's emphatic commentary; yet he is proud of the legend. From this illustrious beginning the fortunes of the race must have declined; and Teñkoruti, the granfather of Tembinok', was the chief of a village at the north end of the island. Kuria and Aranuka were yet independent; Apemama itself the arena of devastating feuds. Through this perturbed period of history the figure of Teñkoruti stalks memorable. In war he was swift and bloody; several towns fell to his spear, and the inhabitants were butchered to a man. IN civil like his arrogance was unheard of. When the council of Old Men was summoned, he went to the Speak House, delivered his mind, and left without waiting to be answered. Wisdom had spoken: let others opine according to their folly. He was feared and hated, and this was his pleasure. He was no poet; he cared not for arts or knowledge. "My gran'patha one thing savvy, savvy pight,ø observed the king. In some lull of their own disputes the Old Men of Apemama adventured on the conquest of Apemama; and this unlicked Caius Marcius was elected general of the united troops. Success attended him; the islands were reduced, and Teñkoruti returned to his own government, glorious and detested. He died about 1860, in the seventieth year of his age and the full odour of unpopularity. He was tall and lean, says his grandson, looked extremely old, and "walked all the same young man." The same observer gave me a significant detail. The survivors of that rough epoch were all defaced with spearmarks; there was none on the body of this skiful fighter. "I see old man, no got a spear," said the king.

Teñkoruti left two sons, Tembaitake and Tembinatake. Tembaitake, our king's father, was short, middling stout, a poet, a good genealogist, and something of a fighter; it seems he took himself seriously, and was perhaps scarce conscious that he was in all things the creature and nursling of his brother. There was no shadow of dispute between the pair: the greater man filled with alacrity and content the second place; held the breach in war, and all the portfolios in the time of peace; and, when his brother rated him, listened in silence, looking on the ground. Like Teñkoruti, he was tall and lean and a swift walker—a rare trait in the islands. He possessed every accomplishment. He knew sorcery, he was the best genealogist of his day, he was a poet, he could dance and make canoes and armour; and the famous mast of Apemama, which ran one joint higher than the man-mast of a full-rigged ship, was of his conception and design. But these were avocations, and the man's trade was war. "When my uncle go make wa', he laugh," said Tembinok'. He forbade the use of field fortification, that protractor of native hostilities; his men must fight in the open, and win or be beaten out of hand; his own activity inspired his followers; and the swiftness of his blows beat down, in one lifetime, the resistance of three islands. He made his brother sovereign, he left his

nephew absolute. "My uncle make all smooth," said Tembinok'. "I mo' king than my patha: I got power," he said, with formidable relish.

Such is the portrait of the uncle drawn by the nephew. I can set beside it another by a different artist, who has often—I may say always—delighted me with his romantic taste in narrative, but not always—and I may say not often—persuaded me of his exactitude. I have already denied myself the use of so much excellent matter from the same source, that I begin to think it time to reward good resolution; and his account of Tembinatake agrees so well with the king's, that it may very well be (what I hope it is) the record of a fact, and not (what I suspect) the pleasing exercise of an imagination more than sailorly. A., for so I had perhaps better call him, was walking up the island after dusk, when he came on a lighted village of some size, was directed to the chief's house, and asked leave to rest and smoke a pipe. "You will sit down, and smoke a pipe, and wash, and eat, and sleep," replied the chief, "to-morrow you will go again." Food was brought, prayers were held (for this was in the brief day of Christianity), and the chief himself prayed with eloquence and seeming sincerity. All evening A. sat and admired the man by the firelight. He was six feet high, lean, with the appearance of many years, and an extraordinary air of breeding and command. "He looked like a man who would kill you laughing," said A. in singular echo of one of the king's expressions. And again: "I had been reading the Musketeer books, and he reminded me of Aramis." Such is the portrait of Tembinatake, drawn by an expert romancer.

We had heard many tales of "my patha;" never a word of my uncle till two days before we left. As the time approached for our departure Tembinok' became greatly changed; a softer, a more melancholy, and, in particular, a more confidential man appeared in his stead. To my wife he contrived laboriously to explain that though he knew he must lose his father in the course of nature, he had not minded nor realised it till the moment came; and that now he was to lose us he repeated the experience. We showed fireworks one evening on the terrace. It was a heavy business; the sense of separation was in all our minds, and the talk languished. The king was specially affected, sat disconsolate on his mat, and often sighed. Of a sudden one of the wives stepped forth from a cluster, came and kissed him in silence, and silently went again. It was just such a caress as we might give to a disconsolate child, and the king received it with a child's simplicity. Presently after we said good-night and withdrew; but Tembinok' detained Mr. Osbourne, putting the mat by his side and saying: "Sit down. I feel bad, I like talk." Osbourne sat down by him. "You like some beer?" said he; and one of the wives produced a bottle. The king dis not partake, but sat signing and smoking a meerschaum pipe. "I very sorry you go," he said at last. "Miss Stlevens he good man, woman he good man, boy he good man; all good man. Woman he smart all the same man. My woman" (glancing towards his wives) "he good woman, no very smart. I think Miss Stlevens he big chiep all the same cap'n man-o'-wa'. I think Miss Stlevens he rich man all the same me. All go schoona. I very sorry. My patha he go, my uncle he go, my cutcheons he go, Miss Stlevens he go: all go. You no see king cry before. King all the same man: feel bad, he cry. I very sorry."

In the morning it was the common topic in the village that the king had wept. To me he said: "Last night I no can 'peak: too much here," laying his hand upon his bosom. "Now you go away all the same my family. My brothers, my uncle go away. All the same." This was said with a dejection almost passionate. And it was the first time I had heard him name his uncle, or indeed employ the word. The same day he sent me a present of two corselets, made in the island fashion of plaited fibre, heavy and strong. One had been worn by Teñkoruti, one by Tembaitake; and the gift being gratefully received, he sent me, on the return of his messengers, a third—that of Tembinatake. My curiosity was roused; I begged for information as to the three wearers; and the king entered with gusto into the details already given. Here was a strange thing, that he should have talked so much of his family, and not once mentioned that relative of whom he was plainly the most proud. Nay, more: he had hitherto boasted of his father; thenceforth he had little to say of him; and the qualities for which he had praised him in the past were now attributed where they were due,—to the uncle. A confusion might be natural enough among islanders, who call all the sons of their grandfather by the common name of father. But this was not the case with Tembinok'. Now the ice was broken the word uncle was perpetually in his mouth; he who had been so ready to confound was now careful to distinguish; and the father sank gradually into a self-complacent ordinary man, while the uncle rose to his true stature as the hero and founder of the race.

The more I heard and the more I considered, the more this mystery of Tembinok's behaviour puzzled and attracted me. And the explanation, when it came, was one to strike the imagination of a dramatist. Tembinok' had two brothers. One, detected in private trading, was banished, then forgiven, lives to this day in the island, and is the father of the heir-apparent, Paul. The other fell beyond forgiveness. I have heard it was a love-affair with one of the king's wives, and the thing is highly possible in that romantic archipelago. War was attempted to be levied; but Tembinok' was too swift for the rebels, and the guilty brother escaped in a canoe. He did not go alone. Tembinatake had a hand in the rebellion, and the man who had gained a kingdom for a weakling brother was banished by that brother's son. The fugitives came to shore in other islands, but Tembinok' remains to this day ignorant of their fate.

So far history. And now a moment for conjecture. Tembinok' confused habitually, not only the attributes and merits of his father and his uncle, but their diverse personal appearance. Before he had even spoken, or thought to speak, of Tembinatake, he had told me often of a tall, lean father, skilled in war, and his own schoolmaster in genealogy and island arts. How if both were fathers, one natural, one adoptive? How if the heir of Tembaitake, like the heir of Tembinok' himself, were not a son, but an adopted nephew? How if the founder of the monarchy, while he worked for his brother, worked at the same time for the child of his loins? How if on the death of Tembaitake, the two stronger natures, father and son, king and king-maker, clashed, and Tembinok', when he drove out his uncle, drove out the author of his days? Here is at least a tragedy four-square.

The king took us on board in his own gig, dressed for the occasion in the naval uniform. He had little to say, he refused refreshments, shook us briefly by the hand, and went ashore again.; That night the palm-tops of Apemama had dipped behind the sea, and the schooner sailed solitary under the stars.

Epilogue, by R.L.

In an article by H. E. Maude, published in the *Journal of Pacific History*, the draft copy of a testimonial letter which R. L. S. left with King Binoka before he left Abemama reads as follows:¹

“To the Officer commanding any Man of War calling at Apemaa:

“Sir,

“In the possible event of any difficulty or dispute, I wish to leave on the spot my testimony in favour of King Timpanok [sic].

“I have lived on his island alone with my family for two months: a circumstance which puts me in a better position to speak than any other white man. The king's rule is severe but very salutary. Drunkenness is prohibited, industry enforced, Civility and honesty are the rule. Compared with other islands in the group, Apemama offers a remarkable example of stability and peace; and a foreign power which should do anything to diminish the prestige of the ruler, would incur a serious responsibility. I should add that he is a man of quite remarkable intelligence, and highly capable of taking a hint, should one be needful.

I have the honour to be...”

Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson were to return to Abemama in 1890 for a short visit. King Binoka died a year later, on 10 November 1891. Six months earlier, Father Bontemps, the first Catholic missionary to step ashore at Abemama, had been well received by Binoka, and his island had become Christian once again.

1 Ms. F & J 5/135 in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, N.Z.

Documents 1889N

R.L.S. in Micronesia—The narratives of Mrs. Stevenson

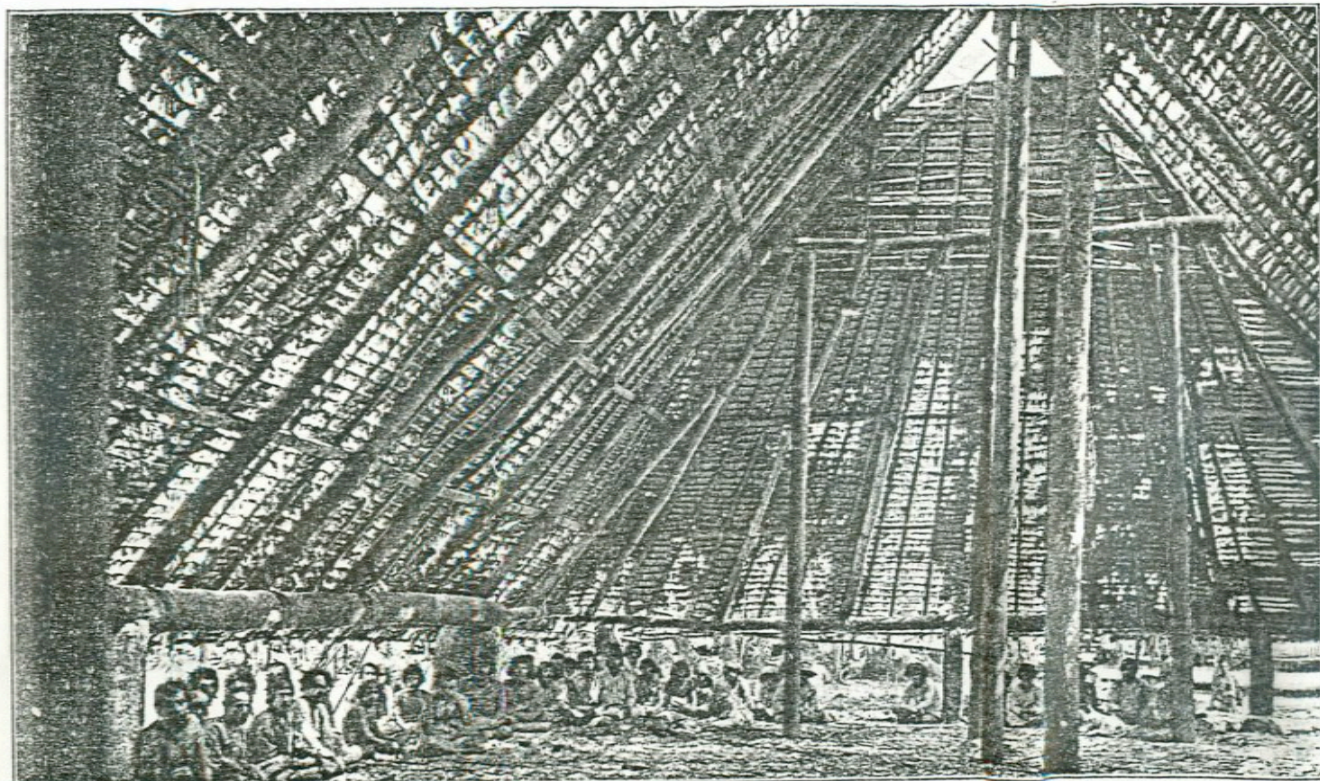
Source: Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson. The Cruise of the "Janet Nichol" [sic] Among the South Sea Islands (New York, 1914).

N1. Extracts from her diary for 1889

[A visit to Marakei]

As we neared the end of our walk we came into quite a large village. The aspect of the people was more savage and ugly than we had heretofore seen, the faces brutal and unintelligent. Half-grown children, and, indeed, some more than half-grown, were entirely naked. The young boys were like little old men, their faces hard and their eyes haggard and anxious. I saw one with St. Vitus' dance, several with hydrocephalus, and a number who had affections of the eyes. many of the little girls had their heads entirely shaved, with the exception of a small tassel at the nape of the neck which gave a very curious effect. The older ones wore their hair bushed out to a great size. Almost all wore necklaces of braided hair with an oval bit of red or white shell hanging to it like a locket. One haughty, impudent, fat young fellow, evidently a beau, swaggered about with a white handkerchief, twisted most ingenuously into a crown, on his head. Almost all of the women wore a girdle of flat, round beads (made of cocoanut shells) above the *ridi*.

As we walked along the village street the whole population joined us. We stopped at the sight of a church neatly made of wattled cocoanut leaves bearing at the peak of its front gable a belfry of braided leaves. There was actually a bell in this belfry which looked as though a breath would disperse it. The floor of the church is covered with mats, which are renewed each new year. A very odd thing was an arrangement of strings which inside of the building, crossed each other with a sort of pattern just above a tall man's height. All along these strings, at regular intervals, strips of bright-hued calico were tied—I thought in an attempt at ornamentation, but was told it was for a game of the children. I should like to see the game played. Indeed, I do not believe it to be a game. (We found afterward that these decorations were for the purpose of propitiating "chinch," a terrible evil spirit—the devil, in fact). We asked for the missionary; a fine-looking young Hawaiian came up to us, saluting us with the pleasant "Aloha!" His



Speak House, Island of Marakei.

house was our appointed place of meeting with the captain. The missionary, we were told, was in council with the "old men."

The island is a republic governed by the "old men." To arrive at the distinction of being an "old man," one must be either very rich or have performed some prodigy of valour in war time. Accompanied by the Hawaiian, we wandered along to the Council House. The missionary looked extremely like a mixture of native and Chinese—a large, imposing man with a long, thin, white moustache and thick, grey hair. As we sat outside in the circle surrounding the Council House, conversing with the Hawaiian, it occurred to me that I might buy one of the cocoanut-beaded girdles worn by most of the women. The Hawaiian turned to one of them and asked what she would take for her girdle; a dollar was the answer; at that I handed a half dollar and two quarters to the young man who, saying that it was too much, gave me back half the moeny. "They sell them for two fish-hooks," he said, "and this is simply extortion; howeevr, as she has seen the money she will do her best to get it, so you might as well give her the half dollar." The exchange was made, and after a moment's confabulation with a crowd of her neighbours the woman demanded the other half dollar. At this the Hawaiian asked for the piece of money she had, took it, and gave back the girdle. In an instant the whole place was in an uproar. Men bounded up with furious gestures; the old men in the Council House shouted with threatening yells, while the Hawaiian, leaping to his feet, his eyes flashing like a cat's in the dark, defied them all. Fearful that harm might come to him after we were gone, I begged him to let me give the people whatever they might ask for, but he would not hear of it, and matters were the worse for my offer, as the people evidently understood it had been made. Finally, leaving the crowd in a state of ferment, we walked away with the Hawaiian to his very pleasant house, he entertaining us on the way with a list of the laws made that day by the "old men." They were as follows: "Dancing, one dollar fine; concealed weapons, five dollars; murder, fifteen; stealing, twenty-five, and telling a lie, fifty dollars." Pretty soon the crowd began surging round us; there was more furious talk, the Hawaiian looking very fine as he walked towards the mass of people, shaking his fists and, I am bound to say, interlarding his language with English oaths. When he had forced the crowd back by, I really think, the fire of his eye, he laughed in their faces contemptuously and turned to me translating the meaning of the scene. The "old men" had made another law, against him, placing him under tapu so that he could neither trade nor be traded with. I felt very miserable at being the innocent cause of so much trouble. He said he did not care a rush and meant to leave the island anyway. FHe had married a native of maraki, bringing her home to visit her people, with whom she had proposed they should stop, but now, he said, she was as eager to go as he was. When we left he presented us with a girdle that he had somehow got hold of and his wife gave me a young fowl. I, very fortunately, had a handsome wreath of flowers on my hat which I took off and gave the wife. It was amusing to watch the dandy of the village, the haughty and insolent fat young man who had been too languid to see us before, trying to keep all speculation out of his eyes when I

passed over the wreath. He could not do it. The red imitation currants held his gaze like fish-hooks.

We sailed away quite gaily from Marakei, fell into a calm, and had to turn and come back again, so had yet another day, and all together four, before we really got away. All the time, more or less, we were overrun by the traders, who came to beg drink and buy and sell.

We have now seen the South Sea "bad man" of the story- books, Peter Grant. He always comes with "Little Peter," a kindly, simple lad who has been on the island since he was thirteen and speaks excellent English with the native tossing and eyebrow lifting.¹ Peter Grant is the most hideous ruffian I have ever beheld. The skin of his face has the quality of a burn scar and is crossed with wrinkles in places where no other human being has wrinkles. His forehead is narrow and retreating, his eyes very light, with a strange scaly look, not a pair in size, colour, or movement, and set too close together in a large, gaunt face. His nose, hooked at the end until it almost touches his upper lip, is unusually bony and is bent over to the left as though from a blow. His coarse-lipped, stupid mouth is creased with slashes like cuts. One of his unpleasant peculiarities is what Louis calls "crow's-feet between the eyes."

The next to the last day at Marakei Lloyd and I went ashore with the captain, who had, as he said, "business to attento" with a missionary.² I knew the business had something to do with a tapu put upon Peter Grant some six months ago, but that a concerted attack was to be made upon the old missionary I did not suspect or I should never have gone. We were met by my friend the young Hawaiian, who accompanied us to the missionaries' house. There the best seat was offered me, all being received with dignified hospitality as they dropped in, one horror after another. Little Peter was appointed interpreter. The missionary was charged, first, with having instigated the natives to tapu Peter Grant. It was supposed he denied this, but in reality he did not. Head and shoulders above the rest he sat, a fine, massive figure, with impenetrable Chinese eyes, master of the situation. I only noticed once any sign of perturbation in him; that was when the head of the "old men" was brought in to be questioned. The missionary made a quick attempt to put the old man on his guard, but was instantly checked by a trader, who leaped to his feet and shook his fist in the missionary's face, ordering him to be silent. The missionary smiled contemptuously, but a thick seat gathered upon his face and neck, his hands trembled slightly, and his great chest rose and fell, slowly and heavily. Feeling that to gaze upon him was an indelicacy, though I was doing so in sympathy and admiration, I made a slight movement to turn away; as though he knew my thought, the missionary suddenly looked me in the eyes with a charming smile, fanned me a moment with a fan that lay beside him, then handed me the fan with a bow.

1 Little Peter died from poisoning some years after; it was supposed to be a murder.

2 The Hawaiian missionary who was to travel in the Morning Star with our dear Maka of Butaritari. Ed. comment: Rev. Kanoho, I think.

Fortunately, the attempt to warn the "old man" had been enough, for he seemed idiotic in his apparent endeavours to understand what was wanted of him. The charge against the missionary then changed to theft. He was said to have stolen a murdered man's property. In answer to that he said: "Then place the affair in the hands of either the first man-of-war that comes to the group or the **Morning Star**," which is daily expected. The traders all cried out with fury at the mention of the **Morning Star**, and, all speakin at once, charged him with instigating the natives to all sorts of evil when he should be setting them a good example. For the first time he retorted, saying that the missionaries came only to try to make the people better, and that the only difficulty was the wickedness of the white men. I am sorry to say that I got the impression that there was something ni danger of being discovered which would have been to the disadvantage of the missionary, but not exactly what the traders were looking for. They were too stupid to see that, and were forced to come to a pause, having gained nothing. Both Lloyd and I had a distressed feeling that we might be confounded with their party in the mind of the missionary, but he reassured us with his eyes, and, pushing aside those in his way, shook hands with Lloyd and then with me. I held his hand and pressed it and said all that eyes and smile could manage.

As we went out of the house the missionary's wife made me a present of a fowl. The Hawaiian joined us as we passed his place and his wife ran out with another fowl. I had made up a little parcel for her, a red comb, a bead necklace, a bottle of fine scent, and a striped blue-and-white summer jersey, with a large silk handkerchief for her husband. The next day they, with their little daughter, came to pay us a visit on board, fetching with them three young fowls and a very fine, beautiful mat of a pattern I had not seen before. Louis was greatly pleased with my friends and promised to send the man his photograph. When he said good-bye, to our surprise he asked for Louis' card, which was a piece of civilisation we were not prepared for. We have touched at no island where there has not been at least one person we were sorry to leave and should be glad to meet again, though this was the only place where these friends were foreign to the land.

...
We were forced to kidnap "the passenger," Paul Hoeflich, a very pleasant, agreeable German, when we were on the **Equator**. Mr. Hoeflich had taken passage on the schooner from Butaritari to another island, only a few miles distant, where he meant to start business as an independent trader. All his worldly goods, including the stuff for stocking his store, were on board the **Equator**. It was the beginning of the bad season, and we had continual contrary winds with heavy seas. In vain we cruised round and round his island—we could not make a landing. We were losing much time, so my husband informed Mr. Hoeflich that he must join us in a trip to Samoa, our next destination. It so fell out that Mr. Hoeflich, who had helped greatly to lighten the tedium of a long voyage in bad weather (we arrived at Apia in a somewhat wrecked condition, with one fore top-mast gone), took an imense liking to Sanoa and remained there instead of returning to the Gilberts. He has prospered exceedingly and blesses the day he was kid-

napped. At this time, when we met him he had come back to the line islands for a final arrangement of his affairs preliminary to settling permanently in Samoa.

...

It seems easier to explain our relation with Tembinoka, King of Apemama ... by giving an extract from a former diary written on the trading schooner **Equator**:

We have been now about a month on the island of the redoubtable Tembinoka, an absolute monarch, who holds the lives of his subjects (our own also) in the hollow of his hand. He says: "I kill plenty men, him 'praid (afraid) now. I no kill any more." That he does not mean to kill any more his subjects do not believe, nor I, quite, myself. He once shot five men, one after another, as they sat in a "*maniap*" (native house) where they had been brought to be examined by him concerning some breach of his laws. There were seven men in all, but two escaped and are still at large in another island. He says his father had a head house where he hung up the decapitated heads of his enemies—or in other words, people who differed in their opinion from him or whom he did not like (a friend of ours afterward saw this *maniap* with its grisly decoration of skulls). No missionaries and no white people are allowed on Tembinoka's islands (he rules over three) with the exception of Johnny, an inoffensive, dying "poor white," who lives some four miles from the village. We did not know in the least whether we should be allowed to remain, and waited with some anxiety for the appearance of his Majesty. In the meantime the whole ship was in a commotion, scouring the decks and getting everything into apple-pie order. I did not know that the Equator could be brought to such a pitch of cleanliness. Finally the King's steps arrived, were made fast to the sides, and the royal boat was seen to put out. We thought it more dignified to remain in the cabin and show none of the curiosity we felt concerning this very remarkable man. We had been told that he was grossly stout, and that was all the description we had been able to get from the stupid people we had talked with; consequently, we were not prepared to meet the most magnificently royal personage that it has yet been our lot to behold, a gentleman by nature and a king every inch of him. He gave us a long and careful sutdy; afterward he said it was first the eyes and then the mouth he judged by. We passed muster, Louis' eyes being specially commended, and were told to come ashore and remain as long as we liked as his guests.

The next day we chose a spot where we thought it would be pleasant to live, and Tembinoka ordered his men to carry houses and set them up there for us. The captain and Lloyd stayed at the King's palace all night; the next morning they were alarmed to see Tembinoka shooting into the village with a rifle. He explained that his men were lazy and should be at work, so he was reminding them that accidents were possible. The whole trembling village set to work like bees, and by the time I came over, one sleeping house was up, a little thatched bird-cage with flaps on all sides to raise or lower as one likes, and an open-sided cook house for Ah Foo (a Chinese servant we brought from the Marquesas). The King sat on a mat and directed proceedings. He motioned me to sit beside him and asked for a cigarette, of which he is very fond. Whenever a na-

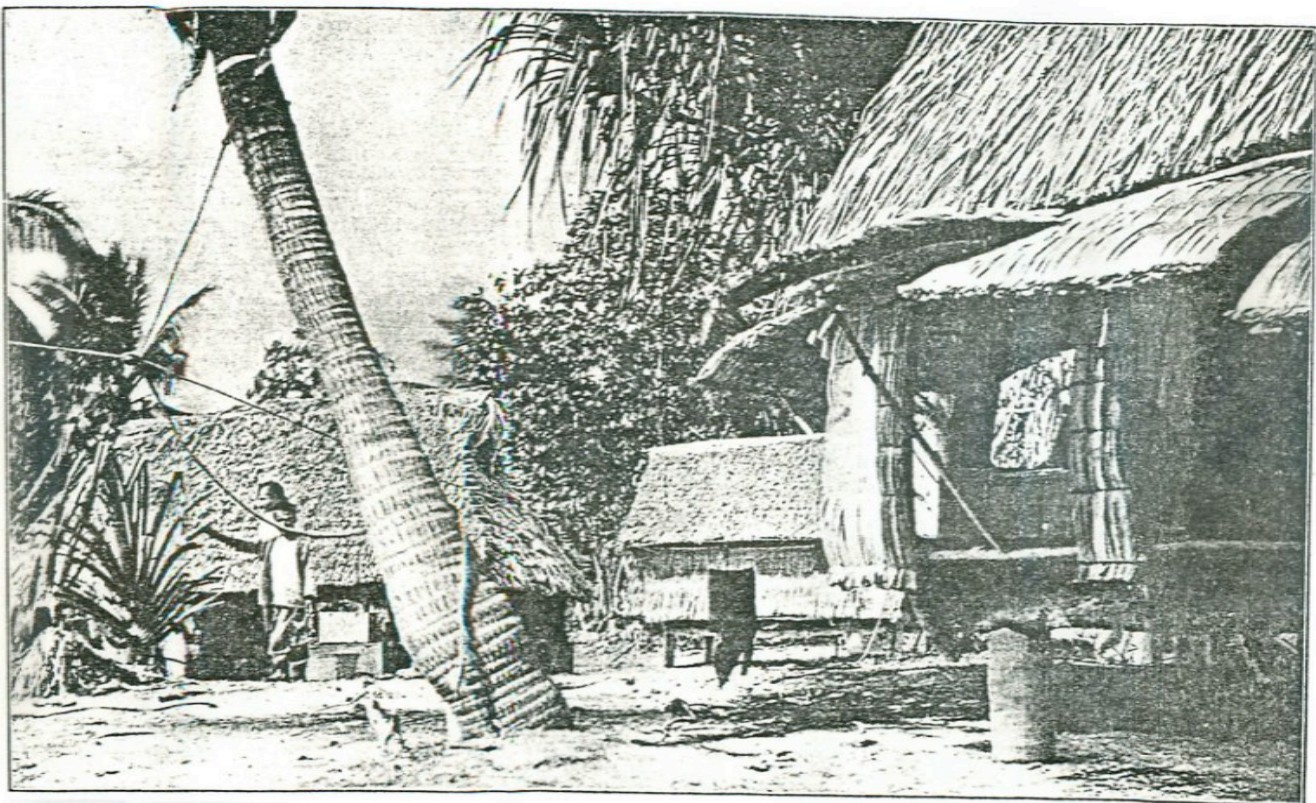
tive has to pass the King, or come near him for any purpose, he must crouch and crawl; even his Majesty's own sister did so when she came to join our party.

..

We have had a little ripple of excitement on the usually smooth current of our existence. To go back to the beginning: Soon after we were settled in "Equator town," as we call our hamlet, the King proposed sending the royal cook to learn from Ah Foo. The man an insolent, handsome fellow, with no intention of either learning or working, and either lay on the floor of the kitchen or squatted smoking, while Ah Foo, who was in mortal terror of Tembinoka, prepared the dishes which the royal cook, without doubt, passed off as his own productions. This went on for some time, and as the King's meal hours are the same as our own, interfered a good deal with Ah Foo's work and consequently our comfort. The climax was reached when the cook, too lazy to walk down to the well for a can of water for himself, came soltly behind me as I was watering my plants and impudently snatched a dipperful from my pail. We then took the first opportunity to let the King know how things were going, advising him to send a man who was willing to learn. Since then his Majesty's servant, a capable, serious man, has accompanied the cook. Shortly after our complaint we heard several rifle-shots from the palace, and soon after met the cook, who passed as hurriedly, without the usual salutations, his countenance bearing the marks of furious anger and fear. It seems that he had been the King's target, running and crouching behind piles of stones, the bullets flying after him. Tembinoka came over a few days later and apologised for having possibly alarmed or annoyed us. He said he had no intention of killing the man, which he might have done easily, being a dead shot, but only wished to frighten him. He said he had killed enough people to show the rest what he could do, but thought it a good plan to remind them occasionally that he had a rifle and the power to use it as he pleased. "MOre better him 'praid" (afraid), were his words. As may be imagined, the cook bears us no good will, knowing that our complaints had turned that fearful rifle against him. However, he dropped his insolent airs and became almost obsequious.

...

Since we have been here, the schooner [J. L.] **Tiernan** came in for copra. While she was lying in the lagoon, the King spent most of his time aboard and some seven hundred dollars of his money (he spent nearly one thousand on the **Equator**; then he got very drunk, going on steadily a little worse or a little better, according to his headaches. Day before yesterday, he gave a feast and dance to which he did not invite us. At noon he came to say he would lunch with us. His eyes were wandering and his voice excited and almost boisterous. It was plain that royalty was not far from being vulgarly drunk. We could see that he had been worried by our visits to the palace having ceased and wished to have an understanding that there was no ill feeling on either side. He demanded beer, saying that he had been drinking gin and port wine, and dozed off in his chair, starting up in a few moments much mortified. I noticed that even in this stage of semi-intoxication, he used his knife and fork in our fashion, and not as he had learned from the "South Sea merchants." It is an unending pleasure to hear the King say: "I



*“Equator Town,” showing a corner of the sleeping-house and
cook-house.*

want to go home." There is an element of appeal in it, reminding one of a child who can bear the tedium no longer. It is always directed to Louis or, he being absent, to me as his representative. He wanted to go home very soon after that luncheon. In the evening we could hear the dancers in the big "speak house," clapping, stamping, and singing. The sounds were so savage, so like an immense pack of dogs fighting in a mass, that we did not realise what it was, but thought that some form of riot was going on. An absolute tyrant like Tembinoka walks amid dangers of which he is fully conscious. Tembinoka dead drunk was not an idea to contemplate with serenity, and the sound of a single shot did not tend to reassure us, so we laid our pistols where they would be handy. Louis' idea is that no-one would attack the King unless he were absolutely certain of killing him instantly, in which case we had better wait here until the enemy came for us. I think on the contrary, that the commission of so enormous a crime would make a pause. The terrors of the deed would fill the childish minds of the natives to the exclusion of anything else and there would be a short time of confusion in which nothing would take place but shoutings and aimless running about; then would be our time to rush in and take possession of a stout wooden house inside the palace walls, and the King's arms, and really the King's throne. There would always be the chance, a very slight one, to be sure, that we might still be in time to save the King's life. I do not quite understand what Louis' tactics would be, but aside from any other consideration, there must be but one commander and he should be absolute even though the others do not agree with him.

After the shot)which was only aimed at a dog, though that we could not know) we listened and found that there was no interruption to the singing and dancing, which reassured us. In the night, Louis, being restless and not sleepy, took his flageolet and wandered off into the woods, playing as he walked, until I lost hearing of him. About midnight, or a little later, I was out a short distance from the home watching with some anxiety for his return. Pretty soon I saw him coming along the main path towards our house. I also saw a dark figure dogging his steps. I called to him, telling him what I had seen. He was convinced that it was an hallucination of mine and I was quite ready to believe him, but as we talked I caught sight of the man running towards the palace. I pointed him out to Louis, who dashed off in pursuit. When the man saw he was outdistanced, for Louis is a fine sprinter, he turned the face of the cook, smiling suavely. I heard "sea language" in Louis' biggest voice, and saw him leaping strangely in the moonlight, like a grasshopper. He came back in fits of laughter, saying he had kicked the cook, who fled in terror.

Ever since the cook found we had turned against him I have had an uneasy feeling that some one was about our sleeping house in the night, and several times I was certain a hand was cautiously feeling about inside our door flap. It seemed a foolish notion, so I had said nothing about it until this night, then Louis said he, too, had distinctly heard the same thing. We cannot complain to the King for he would kill the man instantly, and we do not go so far as to desire his death. We have not seen or heard from him since. Ah Foo thinks he has gone away in fear of his life. I have it in my heart to

be sorry for the fellow, for his terror must be extreme, and we who have brought this upon him belong to the feared and hated white race.

...
We are getting to t\be rather anxious concerning the **Equator**. She was to be gone two weeks, but it is now over a month since she left us. The **Tiernan** met her at Butaritari, she leaving the day before Captain Saxe of the **Tiernan**. Captain Reid intended to go to Maraki to take a man known as "the poisoner" over to another island, Tarawa, I think. Now Tarawa is so near to Maraki that Peter Grant had been over there in a small boat. There may have been trouble in Maraki—certainly it was imminent—which has kept the capain, but still it is a long time. He promised, if the schooner were lost and he was saved, that he would make his way here somehow. In these dangerous and uncertan waters one is easily made uneasy. Fortunately for us, the **Tiernan** was able to let us have some stores. Our salt beef was finished, and we were absolutely sickened of wild chickens shot by Ah Foo with the King's gun.

I had a little strip of coral dug out, got rotted leaves from under a tree, put them into the hole, and into this I emptied the half-decayed filth that was left in the onion basket. I should think I have nearly two dozen onions now growing finely. I have invented a salad for Louis of which he is extremely fond.

In all these islands there is one cocoanut that has a sweet husk, used for cleaning the teeth. IN Butaritari the baron often caused me great embarrassment by chewing a brush for me. This sweet nut when green has a little crisp portion at the stem end which I cut up and made into salad with oil and vinegar, or rather oil and lime-juice, as we have no vinegar. We have put out a bottle of sour toddy hoping to get vinegar from that.

...
It seemed a rash thing to let the **Tiernan** sail away without us as we had finished, not only our own supplies, but the King's also. True, Mr. Lauterbach, the mate of the **Tiernan**, let us have several kegs of salt beef, and Reuben (which was the nearest we coud come to pronouncing his name), the King's majordomo, had fetched three big hawkbill turtles from another island. The turtles were for the King's own larder, but he sent us a generaus portion of each; we, of course, divided accordingly when we opened our kegs of beef. But these provisions would soon be finished, and if, as we each feared but dared not say, the **Equator** were lost, "cocoanut steaks" might become our sole diet. Indeed, I had packed the most of our belongings in some large camphor-wood chests ready to go on board, and we had even chosen our bunks when a picture of Captain Reid's face if we arrived to find us gone rose before my mind's eye. "Louis," I suddenly whispered, "I don't want to go." Without a question Louis immediately cancelled our passage and the **Tiernan** sailed away without us. Not many days afterward she capsized and sank in a very odd way. A heavy gale that had piled the sea up into enormous waves was follwoed by a dead calm. The **Tiernan**, lying quite helpless, was rolled over, further and further, until she '69turned turtle" and sank. Years after, the mate, Mr. Lautenbach, whom I had supposed to be drowned, came to see me in San Francisco. He, he told me, with some natives, managed to turn over a boat that floated out

upside down from the schooner. With only the carcass of the ship's pet pig which they had picked up and what rain fell from the sky for sustenance, the boat went drifting off. I am not sure that they had an oar, but Mr. Lauterbach caught a native sleeping-mat that was flating on the water; the castaways took turns in holding up this mat, which thus served as a sail. They could not hope for a rescue in these unfrequented waters, so Mr. Lauterbach tried to work toward an inhabited island with only the position of sun and stars for guidance. When he did make land, after an incredible length of time to have lived without food or water, there were, as I remember, only himself, one man and a demented woman left living in the boat. None of our party, except, perhaps, Ah Foo, would have been able to endure such hardships—if, indeed, we had not gone straight down with the schooner—the most likely thing to happen. So it was as well that I asked to go back to our meagre fate to await the **Equoter**.

...

N2. Extract from her diary for 1890

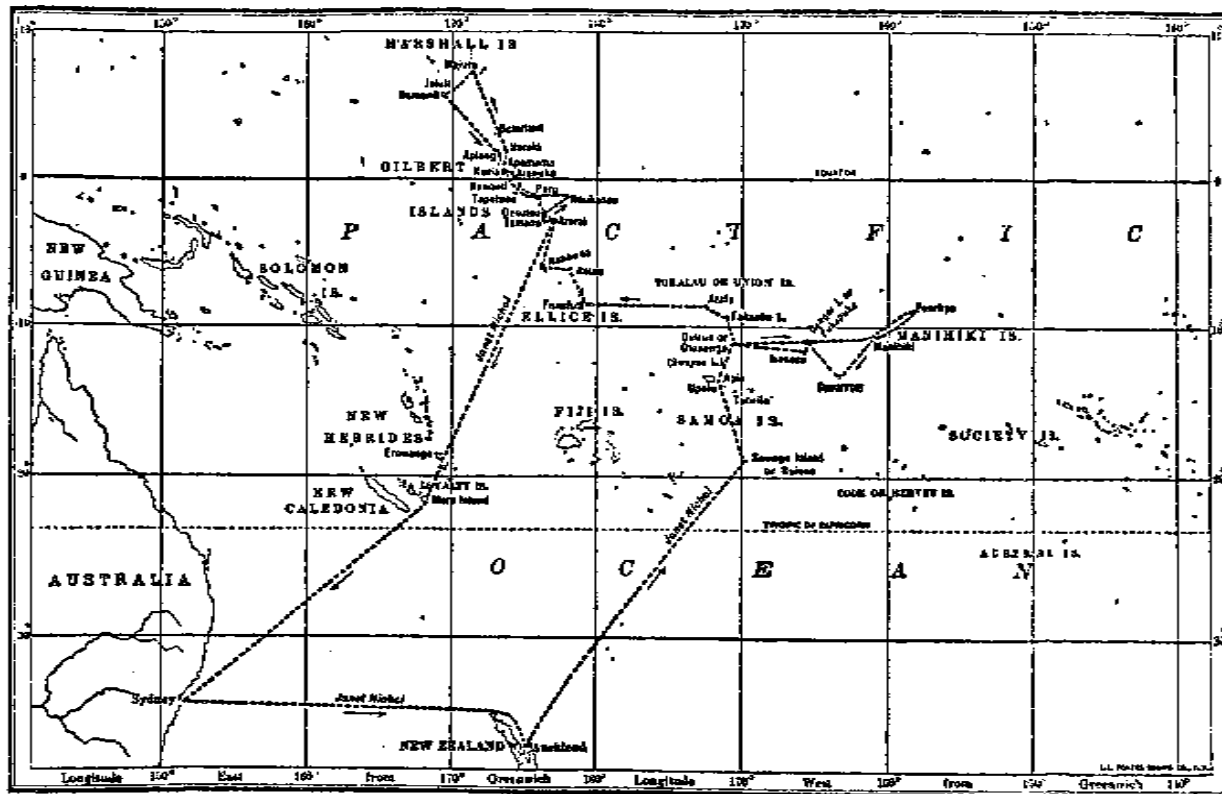
Note: The Janet Nicoll was owned by Henderson and MacFarlane of Auckland, New Zealand.

The **Janet Nichol** [sic] was an iron-screw cargo boat, topsail schooner rigged, of some six hundred tons gross. Her large, airy saloon and cabins were placed amidship on the main deck, with ports opening forward, the "trade room" being at the extreme aft. There was a comfortable bathroom and space enough on deck for exercise, but, for that matter, we might walk, sit, or sleep where we would. I have slept in the chart room and on the platform of the captain's bridge; though the after hatch, over which a great awning was spread, was the place chosen by the most of us for permanent night quarters. Here some swung in hammocks, some lay on mats, while the more luxurious carried blankets and pillows back and forth each night and morning. For me four mats were hung in a square; the mats, being loosely woven, did not cut off the current of air that usually swept over the hatch nor, unfortunately, the terrible groans of one of the mates who slept near me and was subject to nightmares.

...

[Visit to Arorai Island]

9th [June 1890].—We should have picked up Arorai yesterday at four o'clock, but somehow missed it and did not arrive until this morning. An atoll about six miles long, the first of the Kingsmills (or Gilberts). Natives swarmed round the ship in canoes built somewhat after the pattern of the American Indian birch-bark canoe. The pieces are tied together with cocoanut sennit [sinnet] and the boats leak like sieves. Louis, Lloyd, and I went on shore in the afternoon, Louis, to my distress, for it was very hot, with a hammer to break off bits of the reef for examination and Lloyd with the camera. Louis found the rock he wished to break but was a little afraid to use the force necessary. Seeing a powerful young man standing near, he offered a stick of tobacco for the job. The fellow smiled with delight, took the hammer, and struck one blow. "Too much work," said he, dropping the hammer.



Map to illustrate the cruise of the "Janet Nichol" in 1890.

Lloyd and I were taken in tow by an old man and led to the house of the missionary,¹ who was himself on board the ship; but his wife and family, a handsome young Samoan woman with a pair of sickly twins, were at the door to give us welcome. We drank cocoanuts with her and took a photograph of the group.

There is very little soil on the island, which is subject to severe droughts; yet there are a number of breadfruit and jack-fruit trees growing luxuriantly, not many, however, old enough to bear. The village looked clean and prosperous. Children and women were pulling weeds and carrying them away in baskets. Lloyd and I strolled along a wide avenue that ran through the town for about a quarter of a mile, stopping once to photograph an old woman who had evidently dressed up for the ship. She was standing in the doorway of a neat house built of stockades tied together—the first I've seen in these islands. The house belonged to a trader who was abroad at the time. Returning, we saw two women, tall and superior in carriage and looks to the common people, marching abreast toward us; they were dressed in gala-day *ridis* of smoked and oiled pandanus strips and swung the heavy fringe from side to side, as they walked, in the most approved and latest style. As they came nearer to us their four eyes were fixed on the horizon behind us, and they swaggered past as though unaware of our existence, though we were attended by a following of the greater part of the village. I stopped and looked after them, but neither turned a head.²

At the verandah of the mission house we found Louis entertained by the old man and indignant at receiving no attention from the missionary people; we suggested that his chopping at the reef in the hot sun had convinced them that he was a lunatic.

We had heard of a sick trader, so we all three went to his house with an immense tail of followers, who seated themselves outside in a circle eight or ten deep while we talked to the sick man. A forlorn being he looked, lying on a mat, his head thrust out into the open through the thatched sides of the hut to catch what air there was. He had been ill a month and a half, he said; the whole population had been ill, also, his wife and children with the rest. With them it came first as a rash, then a fever, followed by convalescence. He had no rash, but after feeling very badly for a week or two, fell down in a fit, foaming at the mouth and black in the face. Since then he had been suffering from an intolerable pain in the head and could not stand for weakness. I asked if he had proper food, which Louis followed by asking if his appetite was good. When he could get anything to eat, he replied, he like it well enough; but he could not get anything. A bit of fish or a chicken he could relish, but the people seldom fished and a chicken was impossible. His food consisted almost entirely of pounded pandanus seeds, in which there was about as much nourishment as in chopped straw. His hands and feet were pallid and bloodless and he looked very near the end.

1 Ed. note: A Samoan teacher sent by the London Missionary Society.

2 At this island I remember that the women wore what looked like doll's hats as ornaments on their heads. They were about the size of the top of a tumbler.

He was born, he said, in Colton Terrace, Edinburgh.¹ "I'm frae Edinburgh mysel'," said Louis. "We are far frae hame," returned the poor fellow with a sigh. We went at once to the beach to get a boat, intending to consult "Hartshorn," our medical authority, as to his case, which I believed to be suppressed measles. Louis spoke to Mr. Henderson about sending the man a case of soups to begin with, anything heavier being dangerous in his weak state and semi-starved condition. Mr. Henderson, who is generosity itself, seemed rather hurt that we had not taken it for granted that anything the man needed would be supplied him at once. Mr. Henderson's only fear was that the man would, in the usual native custom, give all the food away. He first divides with his family, and then they divide with the outside relations, so that provisions sufficient for a month may only last a day. It is an amiable weakness, certainly, but one could wish that the recipients of his bounty showed a little more gratitude. Fishing would be no more than play for them; but I fear neither fish, flesh, nor fowl can save him now.

The missionary who came aboard showed Louis his eye, in which he was blind, the effect of measles, and begged for a cure. Of course there was none, but Louis advised him to live as generously as possible and, instead of a continual diet of pandanus seeds, to try and get some fish. As soon as it was dark the sea was crowded with fishing-boats, lighted up with flaring torches, made by wrapping sennit round a dry cocoanut leaf; so we hope our poor trader may receive some benefit, also. We could see that they were scooping up in their nets many flying-fish. The light from the torch attracts the fish, which come to the surface of the water round the boats and are then dipped up in little nets on the ends of long poles.

While I was resting after my excursion to the island I heard a great commotion; a native had been discovered trying to stow away in the hold among the coal. Two large men could not overpower him, and for a long time he refused to come out. One of the white firemen finally leaned over the open hatch and held out a stick of tobacco. "Won't you come out for that?" he asked with an insinuating smile. "He is making signs that he will," he continued, looking at me quite proud of his cleverness. Sure enough, up came the native, a beautiful youth with a sullen face and blazing eyes. He strode haughtily past the fireman, looking neither at him nor his proffered tobacco, sprang upon the side of the ship, where he balanced himself a moment, and then jumped into the sea and swam ashore. I sympathised with the boy and was sorry he was caught, the more especially that another man had chosen a better hiding-place and was not discovered until we were well at sea.

When we left the island we should have signalled a boat, but a canoe lying at hand, we took that instead. We waded out towards the canoe, but, as the water began rising above my knees, I stopped in alarm when a native caught me up in his arms, unawares, before I had time to arrange my skirts, and I was carried out, willy-nilly, my legs waving frantically in the air. I tried to shield them from the view of the ship with my umbrella, which I was unable to open, but I fear my means were inadequate.; The canoe

1 Ed. note: His name was MacKenzie (see below).

was a fourth filled with water; its owner sternly commanded Louis and me to bail and Lloyd to paddle.

From the last island we took on some passengers—two cats in an onion crate—and at this island exchanged them for a woman and a sickly baby. I was much amazed at seeing the mother spread a thick, dry mat on the wet deck for her own comfort, her baby being planted on the cold boards. I made her take it up and lay it beside her on the mat, which seemed to amuse her a great deal. As the baby still shivered, I got an old *lava-lava* of Tin Jack's and wrapped it up in that, charging the mother not to dare remove the *lava-lava*.

This is the island where, in 1871, three slae-ships, the **Moroa** [Moorea?] (bark), **Eugenie** [Eugene] (schooner), and a barkentine, name unknown, came for "recruits." The King, in his fright, offered them all his people except the very young, the very old, and a few young girls reserved for his harem. It is needless to say that his offer was accepted. I have since met and conversed with a man who was on board one of these ships.

12th.—Arrived early this morning at Onotoa. The missionary's child is named Pain-killer.

13rd.—Nukunau in the morning. Met the German "labour" brig **Cito** [sic], after recruits, doubtless for Samoa; then ran over to Peru [Beru] and back again to Nukunau at night. At Piru we met the American schooner **Lizzie** [Lizzie Vance] with two passengers.

At Peru came on board a man named Cameron, another named Briggs, and a person with an Italian name I forget. Briggs said he made much more money by "doctoring" than by trading. A strange disease, he told us, had broken out in the island; the Samoan wife of a trader had died the night before and many others were down with it. It is contagious, and the natives take no care to avoid infection. I said it was measles, which Briggs denied, declaring it was typhus. I asked him where he got his knowledge of "doctoring." "Straight from my father," said he; "my father was the celebrated Doctor Briggs, and if you buy a bottle of his patent medicine you can read an account of his life on the wrapper."

Cameron¹ is a Scotsman with a twinkling, hard blue eye, the daft Scotch eye. He followed every word we said with sly caution (partly, no doubt, in consequence of drink) as though he feared being trapped into some dangerous admission. He was one of the men of the **Wandering Minstrel** that was so mysteriously wrecked on Midway Island, and was afterward charged by the captain with not reporting the fact of there being other starving castaways left on Midway when he was rescued. To us he denied this vehemently, and said he at once delivered a letter written by the captain. Louis tried to get a hint of how and why the vessel was wrecked, but failed. "Mosey," the Chinaman who was in the boat with Cameron, was afterward wrecked again on the **Tiernan**, the

1 Ed. note: John Cameron (see Doc. 18900).



Tom Day, a trader at Nukunau.

schooner we so nearly took passage in ourselves. Louis got this much from Cameron—but I am sure very little, if any, of it is true—that he had written an account of the wreck which, with the log he kept on the boat, had been left on one of the islands we are about to visit, for safe-keeping. Before Cameron left he had given Louis a signed order for the apocryphal manuscript.

Of the two men, we brought one back with us, Captain Smith, who, having lost his schooner on this island, remained as a trader. He seemed a modest, intelligent young man, rather above the South Sea average.

Tom Day, however, is—must be—the “flower of the Pacific.” Tom is fifty years of age, with a strong, alert figure and the mobile face of an actor; his eyes are blue-grey in deep orbits, blazing with energy and drink and high spirits. “Tom Day” is not his real name, he says, and Tom Drunk would do quite as well; he had found it necessary to go to the expense of a shilling to have it changed, as he had three times deserted from men-of-war. “I’ve been in prison for it,” he said cheerfully, “and I got the cat for it, and if you like you can see the stars and stripes on my back yet.” He took pleasure in representing himself as the most desperate of ruffians. Tin Jack asked him to go back to Sydney with him. “I couldn’t leave my old woman behind,” said he; “and, besides, you see, I got into trouble there. The fact is, I’ve got another wife there, and I think I’d do better to keep away.” He then began to tell of a quarrel he’d had with his “old woman” when he took her to Auckland. How she chased him along the street with a knife in one hand and a bag of sovereigns—his entire fortune—in the other; he begged for the bag of sovereigns, trying to lay hold of it and at the same time avoid the knife wielded by the “old woman” (a young native girl, no doubt), who alternately lunged at him with the knife and cracked him over the head with the bag of sovereigns. The bursting of the bag, which scattered the sovereigns in every direction, fortunately ended the quarrel. He mentioned Maraki, on which Louis called to mind a story he had been told many times over.

“You are the Tom Day who had a native’s head cut off,” said he; “now tell me the story,” which Tom presently did. A native had shot at him without provocation. Some one said: “Don’t shoot; it’s a white man.” “A white man can cut a bullet as well as another,” was the native’s reply as he fired. Tom put his hand to his ear, found that the shot had grazed it and his head, and the blood was running from the wound. Infuriated, he rushed into the house for his rifle, but when he got back the man, frightened at what he had done, had disappeared. Tom tried to persuade the people standing about to go after the man, pinion him, and fetch him back to be tried. To this they objected; they could not get him, they said, as he was a chief and had people to protect him. One of the men came close to Tom. “Better we kill him,” he said in a low voice, which Tom imitated. “If you do,” was Tom’s answer, “fetch me the head.” Then turning to us with an apologetic air he explained that “If I had not asked to see the head they’d just have gone and killed some poor, inoffensive fellow and I’d never have known the difference.” That night he was called up by the men who had the head, sure enough. “I made ’em stick it up on the wall,” said Tom, “and then I got a light and looked at it. I jerked it

down and slung it as far as I could; and, by golly, the old woman was in the way, half scared to death, and it took her on the side of the head and knocked her down, and I had to pour three or four pails of water over her, for she had fainted dead away."

"And after that," he continued with an air of virtuous indignation, "they wanted to make trouble about it in Sydney—they said I had killed a man. What did they mean by it, I'd like to know? I never killed no man; I only told them to fetch his head so I could be sure it was him."

It was very cold last night and my bed and tent and things nearly blew away; I could not leave them and go below where it was warmer, but had to stay and hold on to my belongings lest I should lose them entirely; so to-day I lashed everything securely. No-one stayed on the hatch but Lloyd and me. The onions alongside Lloyd's and my beds are decaying, and smell horrid, as do a great lot of sharks' fins drying over our heads.

15th.—Waked to find that we were lying off Tapiteuea, Tin Jack's station. He had packed the day before and was all ready to land, his pig tied up and lying on deck. Tapiteuea looks a large and dreary island, the whole lee side submerged, making it very dangerous. We could not venture inside the lagoon, and even if we did we should have to anchor far away from the landing-place. It was a long time before anyone came on board, but finally a Hawaiian who spoke a little English came out in his canoe. As Tin Jack appeared to be rather depressed with the news from his place, and it was almost impossible to land his stuff, we left Tapiteuea and ran on to Nonouti, where he thought he might prefer to stop. He has a sort of partner at Nonouti, known as "Billy Jones's cousin." The partner was soon on board, a man with a big head and one hand blown off by dynamite. A new arrangement was made with Tin Jack, who said he preferred staying in the ship as long as possible. We are now to carry him on with us, and land him at Nonouti as we return. A pleasant-looking young native came on board with the trader. He wore a rosary round his neck, which reminded me that there were Catholic missionaries on the island;¹ I therefore made a little parcel of four Catholic pictures for them, and Louis put in his card; Tin Jack added a bag of garlic.

We left Nonouti before dinner, had a beautiful golden sunset, and are now steaming on to somewhere else, Apemama, I trust. To-night the evening star is extraordinarily brilliant, with the blue fire of a diamond. Last night, Mr. Hird came to the hatch and called out in a most excited voice: —Osbourne, we are just passing the equator!" Lloyd jumped out of a sound sleep and ran aft, crying: "Where is she? I don't see her!" It was a sorry joke; we were crossing the line, and it was not Captain Reid's schooner, on which we had passed so many delightful months.

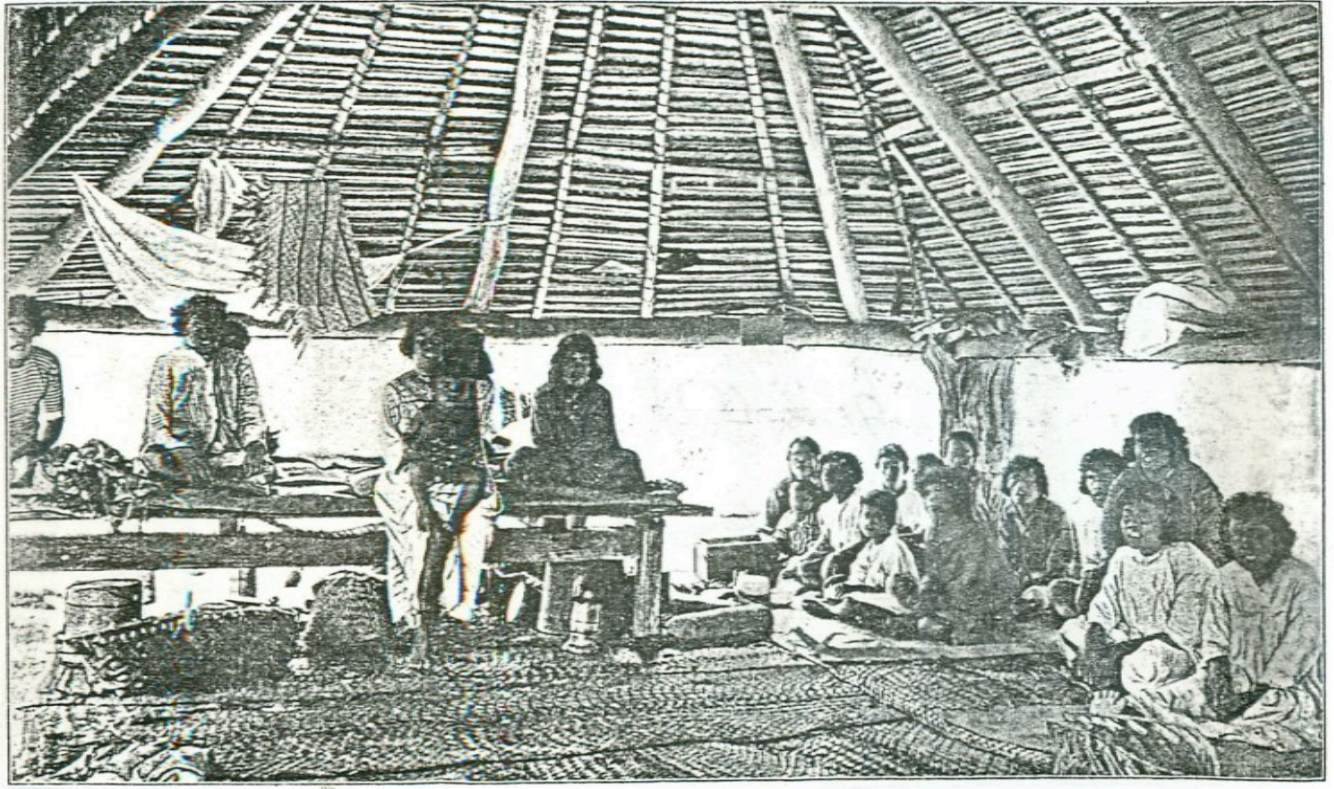
16th.—Early this morning we were lying outside the lagoon of Apemama, just alongside the little island at the entrance. There was no sign of life, so, after waiting awhile,

1 Ed. note: In 1890, Father Leray was on Nonouti.

a boat with Mr. Henderson, Tin Jack, and Louis went to find out the reason. They came back with the news that the King was away visiting his island of Kuria, so off we started to hunt for him. Arrived at Kuria, a boat came out to tell us that the King was ill from the sequelæ of measles; also it brought an insulting letter to Mr. Henderson, signed by the King but written in a white man's hand; Mr. Henderson, very angry, showed the letter to Louis, who proposed that he should be present at the interview with the King. To this Mr. Henderson consented. Of course, we all went on shore; Louis and Lloyd and I took our presents with us; from Louis a chibouk [i.e. pipe], from Lloyd a filled cartridge-belt with a sheathed dagger, mine being the King's own flag after my design. I thought it very generous of Mr. Henderson that he advised me to keep my flag back in case the King came on board, so we might get a better effect by breaking his colours man-of-war fashion—this after the insulting letter and before what promised to be a very unpleasant interview.

Our black fellows pulled us across in splendid style, passing the King's returning messenger, who made a fine though unsuccessful spurt to catch up with us. As we rowed along the beach surprised cries of "Pani! Pani!œ (Fanny! Fanny!) ran through the *maniaps* (native houses) where the King's wives were sitting. The King, looking older and thinner, received us in the native fashion with no apparent astonishment. The presents were given, and then Lloyd and I left the party to get their explanations over, the King smoking his chibouk the while with great enjoyment, while the cartridge-belt hung over his shoulder.

We soon found the *maniap* of the harem and sat down beside the King's mother. The women received us with fervent expressions of welcome and pleasure. We passed through several houses on our way, and in every one our attention was called to a "devil-box" similar to one we bought from the medicine-man at Apemama, then the only one in the three islands. In the centre of the big *maniap* was a circular piece of "devil-work" with a ring of sacred white shells about it. Tin Jack followed after us, and we got him to act as interpreter. It seems they have been suffering here severely with measles, though there were only four deaths. The first question put to us by the women was concerning Louis' health; then what had we done with our devil box? I fear that our accidental reconversion of Butaritari to Christianity\$FButaritari had lapsed into heathenism when we arrived there, but, by showing a magic lantern which included some Bible pictures among the slides, we quite unconsciously reconverted the whole island, King and all. has been offset by our having inadvertently strengthened these Apemamans in their heathen superstitions. A sick foreigner comes, is cured by means of a devil box manipulated by a "dog-star" (doctor), and naturally he desires to possess an article so valuable, going so high in his offers for it as the worth of a ton of copra. The foreigner is a very clever and learned man. "He savee too much," they say. And when measles falls upon the land the first thought is the devil box, and a praying place for devil worship is erected in the very centre of their *maniap*. I wish I could find out if they really worship the spirit of evil or whether, having been enlightened by the missionaries, they have not given their god that name. If the latter, how much better to have accepted their god



Interior of the "maniap" of Tembinoká's harem.

and shown them where they had mistaken his attributes? And that reminds me that when I heard the people with the scaly disease on the other islands erroneously called lepers I wondered if that could have been the leprosy of the Bible that was miraculously cured. The darkest people turn quite white when covered with the scales.

But to return to Tembinoka, the King, Louis, fortunately, was able to clear up the misunderstanding caused, no doubt, by a white man, though the King loyally refused to give the name. Louis proposed that the King should apologise for the insulting letter, at which his Majesty looked very black, indeed; but when Louis told him that under the same circumstances an English gentleman would certainly offer an apology, his countenance cleared, the apology was handsomely made and accepted, and so, all being well, the King proposed to go on board. We wished some of our party to be on the ship to break out the flag at the right moment, so hunted up our black boys who were filling bags with grass for the ship's sheep; Mr. Hird went off with them, and the rest of us begged permission to accompany the King, who invited us to ride out with him to his boat in the royal litter. I was told to get in first, then Lloyd, then Louis and Mr. Henderson together, and then his Majesty. The black boys passed us on the way with Mr. Hird, and afraid that the flag might be forgotten by some mischance, Mr. Henderson shouted: "Hird, elevate the royal bunting." That was because the King would have understood had he said: "Break the flag." The black boys put their elegant backs into it and were in time to send up the flag in fine style. Every one cried out in admiration; it could not have had a better setting than the "long, low, rakish black" steamer. The King, who steered his own boat, and was greatly pleased to learn that the Hawaiian King was a good sailor as well as himself, had been smiling on Louis, and Louis on him, in the most melting way. He now directed his attention to the flag, and there was no doubt but the sight gave him the keenest gratification. We came down to the cabin, where "champagne was opened," and then Mr. Henderson left Louis and me alone with the King.

The moment that Mr. Henderson was gone the apathy that in these islands "doth hedge in a king" broke down. The dear old man clasped Louis in one arm and me in the other and kissed us and wept over us for joy. He told us how, day after day, he looked through his glass out over the sea pretending to himself that he could see us coming back. Sometimes, he said, he deluded himself so far that he beheld our very faces. This day he had been looking out as usual and was not surprised when our boat came near; he had seen it all like that before in his day-dreams. Suddenly he recognised a particular dress I wore that he had given me. "Then I felt like this," he said, making a gasping sound of surprise and emotion—"O-o-oh!"—and pressing his hand on his breast with a dramatic gesture. Often, he said, he made an errand over to his taro pits that he might look upon the palce where our houses had stood. "I too much sorry," he said; "I want see you."

The time came to say good-bye until the **Janet** came back on her return voyage; the flag was hauled down and presented to the King, and he went off in his boat with a very depressed countenance.

Reuben is now called "the governor." As we were sitting at dinner some one said: "The anchor's coming up. There's a man at the port wants to speak to you, Mr. Stevenson." We all looked up, and there, grinning like an ape, was "Uncle Parker!" (Uncle Parker was a servant the King had lent us when we visited him before). He thrust as much of himself through the port-hole as was possible, and we all climbed up and shook hands with him. He told us that there had been further trouble with the impudent cook, and in consequence the King had shot him. Louis gave Uncle Parker a magnificent gift of six sticks of tobacco. The King said he had sent us ten mats by Captain Reid.

On this island is a house of refuge, an octagon to which criminals may run. I am told that the people have a system of palmistry.

17th.—Marakei. We stopped at the wrong settlement, and, as men were seen on the beach, Mr. Henderson sent a boat for them in case they wished to go on with us to the other settlement. One was a stranger, the other an old friend known as the "passenger."¹ We heard his meagre news and he hears ours, and drank stout with Louis and Lloyd. It was pleasant to meet him again. He expects to be in Samoa in a twelvemonth.

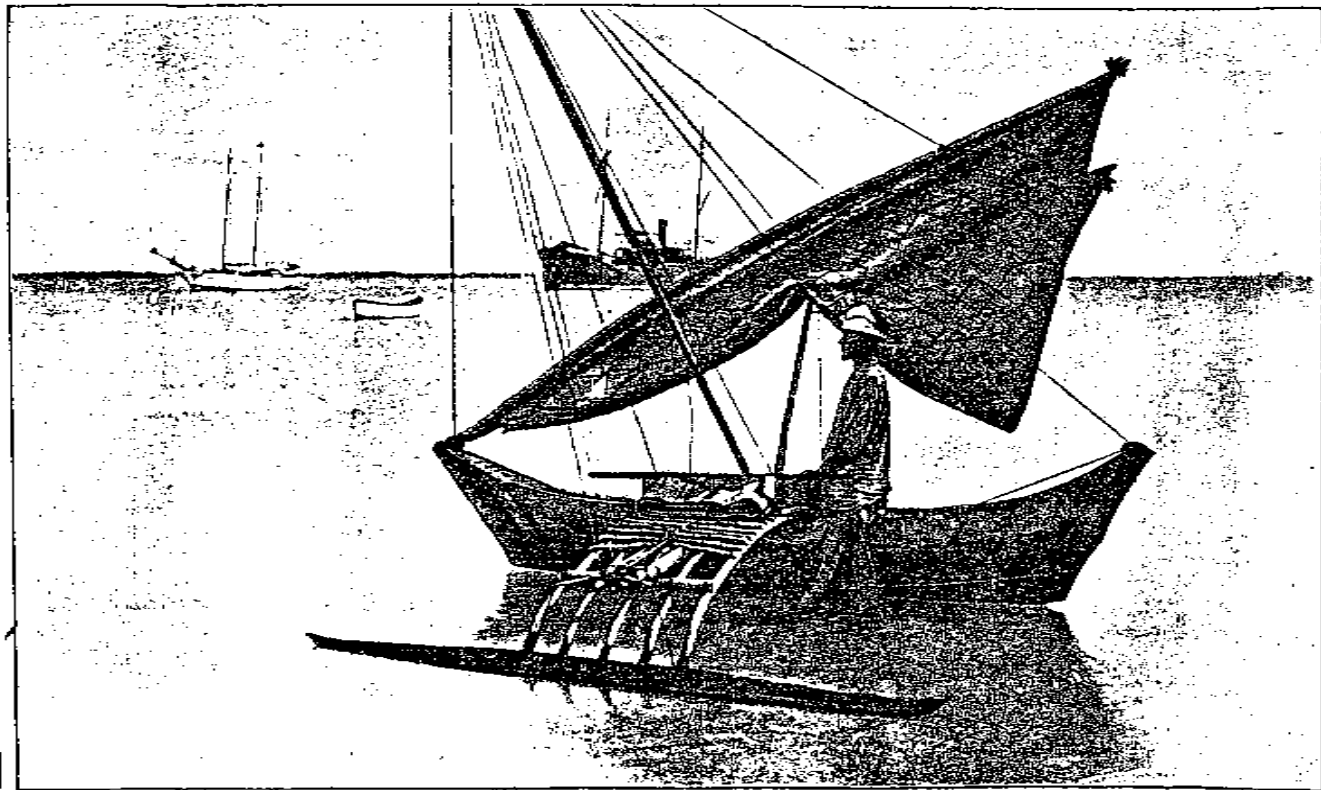
Left the silk dress, "blackee coat," and other presents with him to forward to Maka and the Nan Tocks, and I gave a gold ring to the Hawaiian missionary for his wife. This missionary expects to return to Honolulu on the **Morning Star** in company with Maka, so our presents will fall in at the right moment. Louis also sent one of his photographs to a young Hawaiian I met under peculiar circumstances when we were here before.

We stayed a very short time, and then, with several sails set, took our way toward Jaluit. A sheep and a pig struck attitudes and dared each other to fight—a comical sight. Both were delighted when the strained situation was broken by a chance passerby. The black boys are playing cards in the fore-castle. Mr. Hird and Foo-foo (black boy) sang in the evening.

18th.—Very hot weather. Our sails are still up, and one of the boats hanging over the side has its sail also set. It looks very odd.

19th.—Jaluit, the German seat of government for the Marshalls. We could see the commissioner's house, painted a terra-cotta red, looking very pretty under the green trees. Went on shore, a blazing hot day. We were all dressed up for the occasion, Louis with his best trousers, yellow silk socks of a very odd shape, knitted by his mother for a parting present, dirty white canvas shoes, and a white linen coat from the trade room that could not be buttoned because of its curious fit. It was hoped, however, that a gold watch and chain might cover all deficiencies. I wore a blue linen native dress, entirely concealed by a long black lace cloth, and on my head a black turban with a spotted veil. Our feet were certainly the weak point, my stockings being red and my shoes cut in ribbons by the coral. Not having gloves, I put on all my rings which flashed bravely

1 Paul Hoeflich.



A Marshall Island canoe.

in the sun. On board ship our appearance caused a decided sensation and was considered most respectable, and reflecting great credit on the **Janet**. The commissioner received us at his door, offered us wine, and while we were drinking it in came Captain Brandeis,¹ a slender, sallow man with a small head and the most extraordinary eyes of glittering blackness which seemed to shrink from meeting one's gaze and yet to challenge it with a nervous defiance. He was pale, and I thought he was prepared for an unpleasant meeting with Louis; that wore off very quickly, and the two were soon deep in conversation, I talking twaddle with the commissioner that Louis might have the captain alone. Louis is fascinated by the captain and I do not wonder; but his eye is too wild, he is too nervous, and his nose is not to be depended on—a weak and emotional nose. A man, I should say, capable of the most heroic deeds, sometimes preternaturally wise, and sometimes proportionately foolish; a born adventurer, but never a successful one.

[Marshallese stick charts]

The commissioner showed me the "garden," an acre or so of high-island plants grown in foreign soil brought in vessels. The commissioner's room was decorated with trophies of native arms, armour, etc. He promised to have a native sailing chart made for Louis. These charts are very curious things, indeed, made of sticks, some curved, some straight, caught here and there by a small yellow cowry. The cowries represent islands, the sticks both currents and winds and days' sailing. The distances between the islands have nothing to do with miles, but with hours only. These charts are very little used now, only one old chief knowing how to make them, but the time was when each young chief must pass his examination in the charts, knowing them by heart, as they were never taken to sea but kept at home for reference and continual study.

We lunched with the commissioner and, the steam-whistle calling us soon after, we went on board to start immediately for Majuro.

20th.—At Majuro early in the morning, a pearl of atolls. The lagoon, large and round, but not so large that we cannot distinctly follow the coast-line. At the entrance it is broken into the most enchanting small islets, all very green and soft, the lagoon clear and in colour like a chrysoprase. Mr. Henderson offered us a little house on the windward side, so we took our mats and blankets and a lantern with us in the boat. The house was the old "lookout" consisting of a single room with lattice-work running along two sides of the wall under the roof; this lattice served for windows. The door had a padlock so we could lock it as we came and went.

I had taken my paints with me and made a little portrait of a native girl called "Topsy" by her white husband. She was a very small, very thin creature, greatly given to dress. She seemed to live with several other women in a sort of boat-builders' shed, where I would always find her, her thick hair shining with oil and carefully braided, a different head-dress for a different hour—her keys hanging below her rows of neck-

1 A political refugee from Samoa.



White trader and his wife "Topsy," Majuro Island.

laces, busily employed at something or other; sometimes it was a necklace she was stringing on shreds of pandanus leaves, sometimes a new print gown she was cutting out with a most capable, business-like air; or she might be feeding her monkey (*"monkaia,"* she called it) or her gentle-eyed dog; or, most interesting task of all, sorting her possessions into order. She had two pretty large camphor-wood chests quite filled up with cotton prints, coloured handkerchiefs, and various accessories of the toilet. She dressed for the portrait in a gown of cheese-cloth drawn in at the waist by a white cotton belt edged with blue and white; the yoke of the bodice and the sleeves were trimmed to match, and the hem of the skirt was marked with a black braid. Her hair, smoothly drawn back over her little rabbit head, was ornamented by two hands worked in a design with beads, and her necklaces were innumerable. On one arm she proudly showed me the word *Majuro* tattooed and on the other, *Topsy*. It seems that she was a castaway from another island, every other soul in the canoe being lost. She was absolutely ignorant, and when something was said about her heart, gravely assured us that she had no heart, being solid meat all through.

Topsy sat for her portrait most consciously as though it were a photograph, not moving a hair's breadth, nor hardly winking. After each sitting she returned to exactly the same position. I tried in vain to make her take it more easily; when I talked to her (she knew half a dozen words of English) she responded with stiff lips, trying to speak without moving them. I took her a wreath which delighted her, and just before we left I came across a red silk odice with a smocked yoke and embroidered cuffs; just the thing, I felt, for Topsy. The captain, Louis, and Lloyd were with me when I gave it to her. She instantly slipped off her upper garments, showing a very pretty little figure, and we all together robed her in the bodice. Topsy is quite a great lady with her female attendants, living in her boat-house, sleeping on her mat beside her two chests with her dog, and that rich possession the *"monkaia."* Someone the captain knew took a large monkey to *Savage Island*, but the people would not allow it to remain; it was, they said, derogatory to their dignity.

There are broad, well-kept walks on *Majuro*, and to cross the island to our cabin was like passing through a palm-house. When somebody remembered it, fresh palm toddy was brought to us in the early morning, and once tea. Louis slept on shore with me one or two nights, and then, as it rained a good deal, it was judged better for him to remain on board. The next night I slept alone. At about two in the morning I waked with the consciousness that someone was in the room besides myself. I peered about without moving and saw two native men who moved into the moonlight so I could see them distinctly. I said, "Who's there? What do you want? Get away with you!" in the gruffest voice I could assume, and after a few moments' hesitation, they made off.

One evening, while Louis still slept in the lookout, quite late, the room became filled with a peculiar and pleasant fragrance. For some time we could not make it out, but it finally occurred to us that it was the scent of pandanus nut. Some native, overcome by curiosity, must have crept to the house so softly that we did not hear him, but the pan-

danus he had been chewing betrayed him. As they all seemed to think that I should not stop alone so far away, Lloyd came over and slept on Louis' mat.

Some of the pandanus nuts here I like very much; they are juicy and of fragrant, tart flavour like a good apple.

One day while I was talking to Topsy at her door, the monkey being fastened by a long, light chain to a tree close by, a girl fell down in a fit. Her head struck a woman's lap, but the woman hastily thrust her off so that she lay, half smothering, face down, in the sand. She sniffed, and moaned, and clicked her teeth together, but neither frothed at the mouth, nor protruded her tongue, as I supposed people did in fits. Not a soul moved to help her, but "*monkaia*" leaped on her head like a demon and began biting and plucking at her hair and face. I tore him off with difficulty, the men and women standing by quite helpless with laughter. I had to threaten a woman with physical violence before she would drag the girl away from the monkey while I held the brute. The next morning, while I was painting at Topsy's portrait, the girl who had the fit sat on the floor beside me watching the process. My bottle of oil and a basket of coral just given me were standing between the legs of the easel. Suddenly the girl lurched forward, upsetting the bottle of oil, and had a fit with her face in the basket of coral. The instinct of saving property brought Topsy to my aid this time, however, and together we dragged the girl to a safer position.

One afternoon I asked the name of a particularly bright-looking girl who came to visit the ship. "Neel," was the reply. "How did she get that name?" I asked. "Oh, it came in this way: She was a sharp little child, and some white man said she was sharp as a needle, so thaty called her needle." Neel is the nearest they come to pronouncing it. I was told that Neel was a capital mimic and actress. I made an offering of a wreath and she agreed to give me an example of her skill if all the white men went away. First, she said (Johnny, a half-caste, interpreting), she would represent a well-known native woman, with an impediment in her speech, on a visit to a neighbour; immediately her round, fat face twisted itself into a thousand wrinkles, and her thick, protruding lips became pinched and thin, on one side lifted like a harelip. She spoke like a person with a cleft palate, very garrulously, making polite inquiries about different members of the family she was supposed to visit, but never waiting for an answer. After this impersonation she assumed a prim air and, with a dry, nipping precision of speech, and neat little persuasive gestures, gave us a bit of an English missionary's sermon. The voice was a man's voice, and the English accent in speaking the native words perfect. Had I not been aware that the girl was speaking, I should have felt certain I could pick out the man by his face; I knew it, and his figure, and his umbrella.

I am told they go in for "devil work" here; they call it "*bu-bu*," which reminds one of the negro word. When their old witch women (they are always old) wish to lure a vessel to destruction they run up and down the beach shouting their incantations, waving, as they run, a long stick with a red rag on the end. A man whose vessel was wrecked on these islands told me that as the ship neared the rock where they struck they could distinctly see an old woman rushing along the beach waving her red rag.

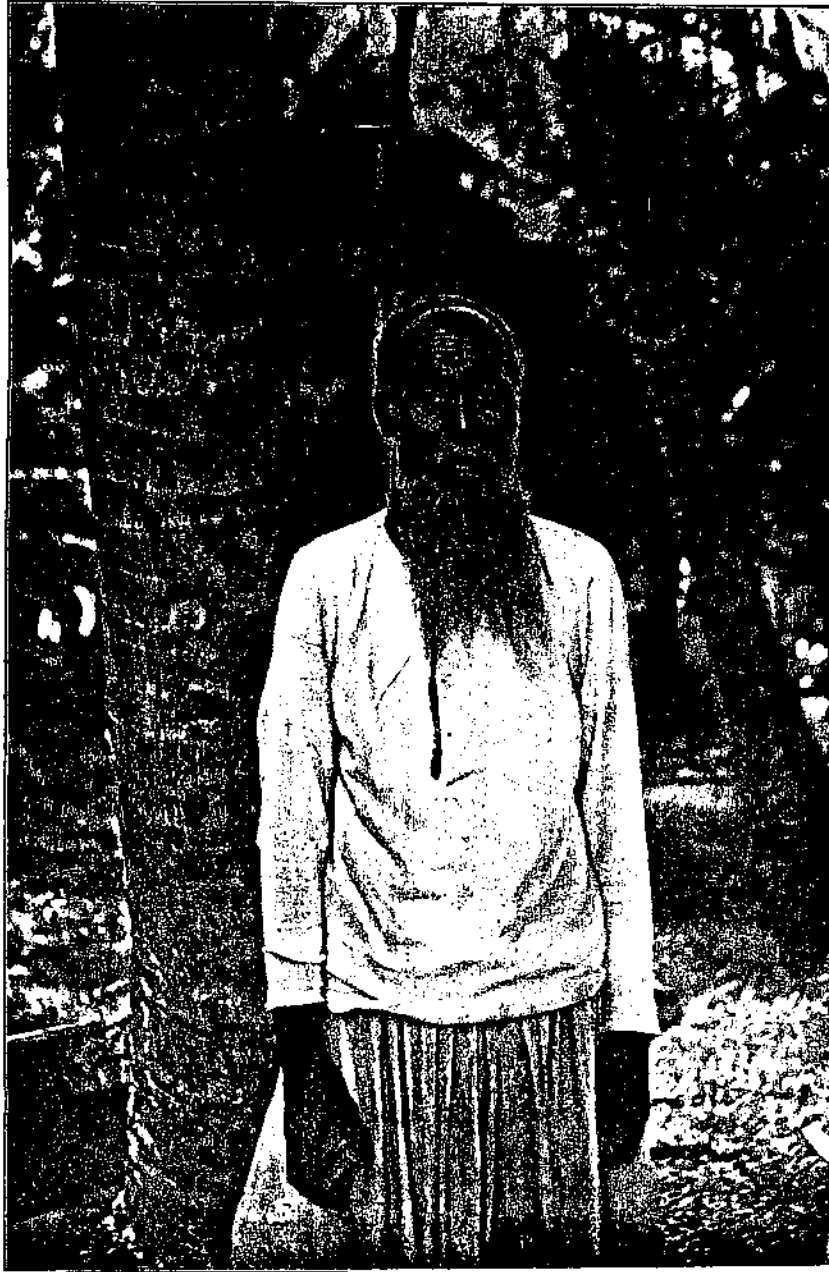
A. Mr. R---- told Lloyd that In New Ireland he had had a similar experience to that of Tom Day. A man had attacked him, and he had said to the bystanders: "I'll give an axe for that ma's head." The next morning he discovered the head stuck on his gatepost. He said he had often bought victims set apart to be eaten for ten sticks of tobacco. If he paid up honourably, the natives were honourable in return, and never after molested his man.

One evening I stopped at Mr. M----'s to wait while someone went on board for my key, which I had forgotten. Tin Jack, who was there, promptly presented me with a fine piece of stag-horn coral belonging to our host, following up the coral with presents of elaborately worked mats, some of which he gave in his own name and some in Mr. M----'s, until he had made me the embarrassed recipient of four. The captain, who dropped in, was also requested to make choice of a pair of the best. POor Mr. M----, feeling that it would be more graceful to give his own presents, then offered me a curious fish preserved in a bottle which Mr. Hird, much to my distress, scornfully refused on my behalf as a present "unfit for a lady."

The Marshalls seem a very damp, rainy group of islands, but, in consequence, breadfruit grows on most of them, and bananas on many. We had expected to fill up with copra at Majuro, but measles has been ravaging the islands. The King himself, whom we had wished greatly to see, old Jebberk [Jibberik], lay dying and tapued to whites. Two other Kings came to visit us on the vessel, both very fine, intelligent-looking men. One was dressed in a mat breech-clout and a comical red shirt or jacket, and had his hair done up on the top of his head Japanese fashion. The other wore a red-and-blue-figured petticoat, very full at the waist, where it was gathered in with native cord. Around his neck he had a pink shell necklace, and his hair was done in the same high knot as affected by the first King. We had finished luncheon when the last king came, so he had his alone spread at onc corner of the table. I gave him a wreath, of the best, for his queen; he admired it greatly, and examined it over and over. Finally he turned to me saying, "What you want?" pointing to the wreath. He meant to ask what would I like for a return present. I said "Nothing," which was a mistake, afterward cleverly rectified by Louis. The King asked through an interpreter how long it would be before the **Janet** sailed, as all his things were at his own village, and he wanted to get some mats for me. Louis replied that we were sailing almost immediately but that when we returned we would be most happy to receive his present. This proved satisfactory, and the King was put at his ease.

24th.—Left Majuro.

26th.—Again at Jaluit. Went to see the commissioner, where we found our island charts awaiting us. Louis and the commissioner and Captain Brandeis tried to make out the names of the islands by comparing the charts with our European map, but failed; a man who had been thirty years in the islands was consulted, and afterward a native, but still they were baffled. it was finally settled that the thirty-year resident should see



Kaibuke — one of the kings of Majuro.

the maker of the charts (now absent) and get a complete key to be sent to Samoa. Lloyd bought some German beer, which is excellent, and I bought two jars of sweeties, a couple of Pleasant [Nauru] Island baskets, several pieces of tortoise-shell, and some abominable sausages. The commissioner gave me two shells and Captain Brandeis gave me a lovely one, also a black mother-of-pearl shell, such as the Gilbert Islanders use for trade.

27th.—Arrived at Namorik. Louis went on shore and met a wicked old man who afterward appeared in the “Beach of Falesa.”¹

28th.—First thing in the morning at Ebon; anchored in the passage nearly opposite the wreck of the **Hazeltine**, American schooner.² Left early in the afternoon.

July 1st.—Arrived Apaiang, lay outside. Louis ill. Captain Tierney³ came off in a canoe. No copra. The missionaries in power and a general tapu. On to Tarawa.

3d.—Aranuka, one of Tembinoka’s islands. Louis still ill. He was lying in his bunk when the King and his people came on board. A pleasant-faced man, who, with the rest, was shaling hands with me, asked for Louis. I said he was ill, whereupon he demanded to be taken at once to the sick man. I guessed that he was a medicine-man. Louis said he stood beside his bed, with the gently soothing, insinuating, professional manner of the European practitioner, asking his symptoms and very anxious to know if there was a “dog-star” in Samoa.

A little later a soft hand tapped me on the shoulder; I turned—it was the King, Tembinoka himself, smiling and hoding out both hands to me. He looked much better and was greatly concerned at Louis being ill. Mr. Henderson is going to take the King’s boat back to Apemama for him with his harem and court.

4th.—Got under way at eight o’clock with about two hundred deck passengers—all the King’s wives and body-guard and retainers generally—and steamed down to Apemama flying the royal ensign at the main truck. The whole ship, every plank of her, covered at night with sleeping natives. Among the rest were babies and three dogs, the latter with strange, glassy, white eyes. The King’s favourite wife had a snub-nosed puppy, which, when it became restless and whined, she put to her breast and suckled. All the head women had their devil boxes, taking the greatest care of them. They consulted me about ours through every interpreter they could find. They always referred to the box indirectly; the interpreter would be told first to ask if I had not carried away from Apemama something very precious. Upon my answering that I had, questions were then put as to its whereabouts, etc. Louis and I were talking to the King on a different mat-

1 Ed. note: A tale of R.L.S.

2 Ed. note: The H. L. Hazeltine, according to MacCallum (Doc. 1889P), was shipwrecked at Marakei instead.

3 Ed. note: He was to take over the command of the Equator in 1892.

ter in which the escape of hissing steam was mentioned. His Majesty jumped to the conclusion that we were speaking of the devil box, and assured us that we need feel no alarm when the shell inside (representing the devil, Tiaporo) made a noise. We had only to give it a very small bit of tobacco and that would settle him. He thought it a good sign, and that the shell was in proper mediumistic order when Tiaporo was noisy, though he confessed it would be better if we had a "dog-star" handy. A quarter of an hour later all the King's women were in a state of ferment concerning our devil box, the news of Tiaporo's behaviour causing the most excited comments.

The getting on board of the people was a wild affair of noise and confusion. Boat after boat was unladen, and piles of the most extraordinary household goods blocked up every space that should have been kept clear; at least twenty-five large zinc pails came from one boat. There were sewing-machines, large rosewood musical boxes, axes and spades, cutlasses, unwieldy bag pillows, every conceivable sort of bag and basket, cocoanut shells of toddy syrup, and shells of water; old nuts, new nuts, every sort of nut; also large packages of the native pudding (giant taro pounded up with pandanus syrup and cocoanut milk, baked underground in taro leaves), and piles of neatly done up sticks of what we call sweet sawdust, made of the beten pandanus nut. There were camphor-wood chests of every size, and mat packages without end. One woman was trying in vain to find a place for her ear piercer, a stick of hard, black seaweed, some two feet long, tapering from the circumference of a couple of inches in the middle to a smooth, sharp point at either end; round each side of the centre, where it was intended the hand should grasp it, was a ring of yellow feathers worked with human hair; these looked just the same as the royal Hawaiian feathers—also those on the peace spears I got at Savage Island—but I have never seen the bird that produces them.

Our black boys are almost insane with excitement and "Tom Sawyered" to such a degree, showing off before the court ladies, that it was a wonder and mercy none were killed. When they were raising the boats to the davits, Louis said they were upside down more often than not, doing herculean feats of strength. The harem ladies were gathered together aft and a tapu placed round them. Ladies of a lower station found what places pleased them best and had a much gayer time than the great ones, for the black boys sang, and danced, and shouted with merriment the whole night through. The very old ladies of high rank—the King's mother, hopelessly drunk on gin, which she carried everywhere with her, the King's aunt, and one or two others—spent the night on the captain's bridge. The people all showed the utmost affection for us, our old friend and servant "Snipe" in particular.¹ She would seize every opportunity to get beside me, when she would smooth my hair, fondle my hands, and alternately put her arm round my waist and poke me in the ribs with her elbows, giggling sentimentally the while.

1 "Snipe" was one of three slave girls lent us by Tembinoka when we lived at Apemama, in Equator Town. The other two we called Stodge and Fatty.

Quite late at night Uncle Parker sneaked down to the saloon and squatted on the floor with a kindly grin. He was not in the least surprised nor offended when Louis hustled him out. I had not had the heart to do it myself, as I should.

Among the rest of the people was a man who had known us in Butaritari; he gave us full news of our Cowtubs¹ there. Tembinoka's governor, whom we had known as Reuben, who now says his name is Raheboam, begged that I would speak to the King and ask that he might go away with us. I assured him that it would be useless; the King could not afford to part with a man of his talents and acquirements, which is quite true. In the forecabin were the unfortunate exiles of Peru, among them our "Boat's crew" looking very pretty and pert but grown no larger. Some years ago, I do not know how many, a large party of the natives of Peru, thinking to see the world, bought return tickets from the Wightman line to one of the other islands. They were warned that they must take their chances of a schooner going back to their own place. No schooner did, but they were carried on from island to island, each trip getting a little nearer home. The boy called "Boat's crew" had been a servant of ours at Apemama, one of their halting places. They are to be taken on to Nonouti, a station so much the nearer home. An old man who was anxious to die on his native soil is still living and looks a hundred years old, his head entirely bald except for a tuft at the nape of his neck.

5th.—At Apemama, landing the court. Tin Jack had to sell a pet canoe he was taking to his station to the King, who insisted on having it. It cost five dollars and the King gave twenty for it; so, as a commercial speculation, it was no loss. When the King came on board this morning he laid a fine mat on my lap.

Later a great wailing arose from the forward deck. A woman who had taken possession of another woman's husband was being sent away with her people of the Peru party, and conceived it her duty to have an attack of nerves. She did not do it so well as they manage in France, but it was of the same order, and reasonably creditable. Her hysterical kicking and choling cries, when held back by her companions from drowning herself, was the most effective part of the performance. She soon gave it up, probably because of the lack of interest shown by the bystanders.

In the evening we had a farewell dinner with Tin Jack, champagne, toasts, speeches, etc. At night a party went on shore with fireworks; Mr. Henderson answered with a display from the ship. As I was watching them I overheard a conversation between a white fireman and our cook about the dangers of the land. "Why, one of my mates," said the fireman, "got lost in the bush once, and it was a whole day before he got a drink of water. I wouldn't take the chance of that for all the money you could give me." I reminded him that wrecked sailors had been known to suffer from thirst; he had never thought of that, he said, but anyhow it didn't seem the same. The fireworks were very successful, and I think pleased our black boys more than any one else. The ship rang with their shouts and musical, girlish laughter. All afternoon they had been scraping

¹ Retainers.

the ship's sides under water; it looked very odd to see them kicking like frogs and working at the same time; yet, after all this, they were ready for more dancing and songs. Louis and I agreed that we would willingly pay a high price for only Sally Day's superfluous energy to use at our discretion. All these men are from cannibal islands, but do not like that fact referred to. When Mr. Hird teases them about it they declare they were mere infants when they were taken away and can remember nothing about the savage customs of their people.

6th.) Off Apemama, our black boys lying in a row under the awning, one reading the Bible (it was Sunday) and another playing hymns on an accordion. The King took breakfast with us, and we bade him good-bye, not so sadly as before, because now we have some hope of seeing him again.

7th.—Nonouti first thing in the morning. Went on shore after breakfast to "Billy Jones' cousin's" place where British colours were flying. Tin Jack wished to be photographed in his new place in the midst of his new surroundings, so we had the camera with us. Lloyd and I wandered about and were astonished at the number of houses we saw piled up with dried cocoanuts not yet made into copra. We were told that a famine was feared and these enuts were stored as provisions. Speaking of provisions, we were struck by the difference in the condition of our Peru friends since we were fellow passengers with them on the schooner *Equator*. Then they were in the most abject poverty, hardly a mat among them, no food, only a few shells of water and a few old nuts. When we took them off Apemama they came as rich people, with bundles of fine mats, stacks of "sawdust" food and dried pandanus fruit (very good, tasting like dried figs) and quantities, generally, of the best food produced in Apemama. The people all have cotton-print clothing as well as fine *ridis* and baskets full of tobacco with plenty of pipes.

While Lloyd and I were walking about in Nonouti, Tin Jack went back to the ship quite oblivious of the fact that we were left prisoners on account of the tide, for the entire day. When we arrived we had to take down part of the wall of a fishing ground to land at the house. We left the ship at ten and were tired, hungry, and very cross at being so deserted. Lloyd finally went off to try and find a canoe, hoping to reach the ship in that way and get something for me to eat. I had got very wet in crossing the surf in our own boat and was dressed in a filthy gown and chemise lent me by a native woman. I asked for a dry gown when I arrived and the woman gave me one she had cast off; I did not know what to do, as it was quite transparent, so I had to stay in the inner room. Tin Jack, hearing of this, demanded a chemise for me. The woman removed the one she was wearing, in a dark corner, folded it up, and then pretended to take it out of a trunk which she opened for the purpose. After this piece of either pride or delicacy I felt bound to put it on. As my head ached, I lay down on a mat, with an indescribably filthy pillow under my head, and tried to sleep. The people of the house, some twenty in number, came in every few moments to look at me; if the children made a noise they were smacked, thereupon bawling loudly enough to raise the roof, and occasionally a

crowd of outside children would be beaten from the house with howls and yells. I never saw so much "discipline" administered before in any of the islands. Outside my window a child was steadily smacked for crying for at least half an hour. I actually did fall asleep once, but was quickly awakened by a savage dog fight just under where I lay, the house standing high on piles. This house, belonging to the trader, was one of the best I had seen, containing four rooms separated by stockades, with a lofty, airy roof, while along the shady side ran a neat verandah. The whole house was tied together with sennit the sides and ends thatched as well as the roof.

Lloyd, having searched for about an hour and a half, had found a canoe, and a native willing to take him off for the high price of ten sticks of tobacco. In the meantime, Tin Jack, awakening to a sense of the enormity of his behaviour, had despatched another canoe from the ship with some sandwiches, a tin of sardines (useless with no tin opener), and a bottle of stout without a corkscrew. When Lloyd discovered this, he would not wait a moment, but tried to get back to me. In spite of all he could do, he was landed in the surf some two miles short of where I was. He struggled along the reef, sometimes knocked down by the surf and most of the time up to his armpits in water. He had on shoes of leather which became water-logged, and the nails, coming loose, tore the soles of his feet, adding to the difficulty of walking. He also cut his ankle on the reef and grazed his leg, both serious things to have happen here.¹ There was also the fear in his mind that, thinking he had landed, I might have given my leavings to the natives. I really cannot imagine why I did not; I several times made a movement to do so and then something distracted my attention. It was quite dark before the ship's boat could get in for us, and very chill. Tin Jack, most eager in his apologies, had a bad quarter of an hour.

A cat, I hear, has been added to our ship's company. At Majuro a man who had been shipwrecked there, and was taken on board the **Janet** for Sydney, had a pet cat. One of the sailors found her swimming round the ship trying to climb up the steep sides. An oar was put out for her and she climbed in, almost drowned.

I begged a fish from one of the black boys, and with a nut, a pinch of cayenne pepper, an old dried lemon, and some sea water, I made "miti" sauce and gave Louis a nice dish of raw fish for his dinner. He relished it very much, and ate all I prepared.²

8th.—Remained all day and left at night. A long reef, and much trouble in getting Tin Jack's things clear of the ship. Heard the labour brig **Cito** had been landing rifles and cartridges. Tin Jack gone; he left late in the afternoon, the boat taking him to the reef, where we could see him being carried over it on a native's back. There were still

-
- 1 A scratch from dead coral is apt to cause blood-poisoning and is greatly feared. The captain of a man-of-war was said to have lost his leg in this way.
 - 2 Miti [a Tahitian word] sauce is made of milk pressed from cocoanut meats... mixed with about one-third the quantity of lime-juice, a few tiny bits of the wild red pepper, and a little sea water. This sauce seems to cook the fish, which takes on a curdled look, and curls up a little at the edges as though it had just been boiled.

fifty bags of copra to come on board; these were packed out to the boat on the backs of natives and our black boys. Mr. Henderson gave Tin Jack two black pigs and a very fine, handsome mat; I gave him a supply of medicines carefully labelled, and a pillow with an extra case. When we left we blew the steam-whistle in farewell, burned a blue light, and let off two rockets, to which he responded with a rocket from the shore. One of our rockets was let off by the captain (who is quite ill) on the bridge. It shot at us and fire was sputtering all about the bridge, to our terror.

A woman has been following me about all day trying to get me to adopt her little half-caste boy. She tried to bribe me with a mat, which in the end she gave me as a present. I gave her a bottle of scent. Everybody bargaining for shells, even the black boys and Mr. Stoddard, the engineer. When the boat returned from landing Tin Jack it brought me from him an immense spear, very old and curious.

Tin Jack came to a sad end. He possessed a certain fixed income, which, however, was not large enough for Jack's ideas, so he spent most of the year as a South Sea trader, using the whole of his year's income in one wild burst of dissipation in the town of Sydney. One of his favourite amusements was to hire a hansom cab for the day, put the driver inside, and drive the vehicle himself, calling upon various passers-by to join him at the nearest public house. Some years ago when Jack was at his station he received word that his trustee, who was in charge of his property, had levanted with it all. Whereupon poor Jack put a pistol to his head and blew out what brains he possessed. He was a beautiful creature, terribly annoying at times, but with something child-like and appealing—I think he was close to what the Scotch call a natural—that made once forgive pranks in him that would be unforgivable in others. He was very proud of being the original of "Tommy Hadden" in the "Wrecker," and carried the book wherever he went.

9th.—Peru. I am disgusted by the apathy of our exiles. Except one woman, they did not even raise their heads to look on their native land. There was no excitement, no appearance of interest. The Samoan missionary and friends of his, all well-dressed, superior-looking people, came on board. The missionary demanded, in a high and mighty way, that paper, and envelopes, and pen and ink be brought him. Lloyd was working the typewriter to my dictation, which amused them all extremely.

Mr. Clark, the missionary from Samoa, has just been here. To our disappointment we have missed him by only twenty-four hours. He has gone, they say, to Apemama, to try and persuade the King to allow them to land a missionary. I think he will not succeed. The King fears the power missionaries get over the people.

The traders have also been on board, the braggart Briggs and a Mr. Villiero from the Argentine Republic. Mr. Villiero's father was Italian, his mother Tyrolese. He seems an intelligent, pleasant fellow, and I talked a long time with him. A few years ago, he tells me, a man died on this island who was once secretary to Rajah Brooke. He asked

to bring his wife and his adopted daughter, a half-caste Tahitian named Prout, to see me.

I was talking to the two traders to-day when Briggs said that he used to carry the lepers from Honolulu to Molokai. "Did he know Father Damien?" I asked. After much searching in his memory, at last he said he did. "A Catholic priest he was, who seemed to be all right when I knew him, but some pretty ugly stories have come out about him since in Honolulu, I understand." I gave them Louis' pamphlet without a word more.

The tides very low; there is a good deal of copra here, and our black boys worked last night until two in the morning, and to-night they expect to be up still later. One of the balck boys is ill with a sore throat, headache, and diarrhæa. We gave him some castor-oil and laudanum, not knowing what else to do. The captain very weak, indeed, with intense headache, sickness, and an intolerable burning in his stomach. There is an odd dryness of his skin, not like fever. He has taken no nourishment but barley-water for days. Louis is better, the hæmorrhage having stopped.

10th.—Still lying off Peru. Mr. Hird came back yesterday with a sickening account of the man Blanchard who was supposed to be implicated in what was called "the Jim Byron poisoning case." Blanchard has contracted some terrible disease which makes it necessary for him to lift up his eyelids with his fingers when he wishes to look at one, and has swelled his nose to a monstrous size. Blanchard is, he says, an American, and when he first met the man, some years ago, had some pretensions of being a gentleman, but has now fallen to a state of degradation that is horrible. Blanchard spoke of the murder and confessed that he knew it was to be done and that he was there when it was done.

11th.—Still at Peru at ten o'clock P.M. Mr. Villiero has come on board with his wife, a handsome young woman, to whom I gave a wreath, some lollies for the children (all adopted, her own being dead), and a piece of lace. A little later Mr. Hird brought in several traders and gave them luncheon.

Lifting anchor.

12th.—Left Peru last night, arriving at Nukunau this morning. We carry with us a native man, as an exile, to this island. The Samoan native missionaries told their people that for certain crimes it was allowable to kill the offender. Such a case occurred, and the guilty person, who richly deserved his fate, was put to death. Then the native missionaries said that the taking of life called for capital punishment. Fortunately, at this juncture, a white missionary from Samoa appeared in the missionary ship, and it was arranged that the avenger be exiled for an indefinite period. As this man has large poseessions in Nukunau, it is to be hoped that he may not experience much discomfort. He is a fine-looking, respectable man of early middle age and had his family with him.

The ship all morning has been filled with crowds of natives (among them the inevitable leper with elephantiasis), all chattering like monkeys. I have bought from them

three-pronged shark's-tooth spears, one for a striped undershirt, the other two for a couple of patterns apiece of cotton print. I also bought a mat with rows of openwork running through it, just like hemstitching, and for a florin I got an immense necklace of human teeth. A little while ago, in some of these islands, especially Mrakei, a good set of teeth was a dangerous possession, as many people were murdered for them. I trust mine were honestly come by—at least taken in open warfare.

Last evening our pigs fought like dogs, biting each other and rushing about the deck like mad. The noise they made was more like barking than grunting or squealing.

The cook has cut his leg; Mr. Hird has a bad cold; the engineer, Mr. Stoddard, is sneezing, and Louis feels as though he had caught the cold also; the captain still very bad; he caught more cold last night. Lloyd's wounds, from the reef on Tin Jack's island much better. I bound them with soap and sugar first and then covered them with iodoform.

We have been to two settlements to-day and are now returning to the first. At the second Tom Day came on board and had a meal; also Captain Smith.

Our coal is very low; hardly any left, in fact, and we are all burning with curiosity as to where we are going next—to the Hebrides, Fiji—or perhaps to Brisbane. Spent the evening talking to Tom Day. He told many tales of Bishop Patterson and of hunts for necklace teeth. A father who has good teeth often leaves them as a heritage to his children. They are worth a great deal—or were. He has known many murders for teeth. My necklace seems a gruesome possession.

13th.—Left Nukunau in the morning; arrived at Peru at eleven o'clock; left at one, Monday morning, for Onotoa. Louis had a long talk there with Frank Villiero. Land here is divided into large and small lots; the large, one and a half acres, the small, half an acre. There are never any smaller divisions. A large lot is quite enough for a family to live on. Some great families own many lots and have picked as many as fifteen hundred nuts in one month. Pieces of land are confiscated for theft, or murder, by those who suffer loss through the crime. A piece of land so taken from a murderer can be regained by the criminal pouring a bottle of oil over the body of the man he has murdered. But this is never done if the person fined bears malice or enmity toward the dead man. The island was formerly in a far more prosperous state owing to the fact that a large proportion of the inhabitants were then kept as slaves.

The duties of the "old men" (the democratic islands are supposed to be ruled by the "old men," who meet in a body to make laws) are really the demarcation and recording of lands; they can go back for generations in the division of island lands. The population of Peru is about twenty-five hundred; the police, at present, number about one thousand men uniformed in blue jumpers, jean trousers, and a wisp of red on the arm. There are three districts, each being patrolled at night by the police, who call the roll of every grown person, and must be answered. The fines go one-half to the teacher (for his private benefit), one-fourth to the old men, one-fourth to the police. Villiero has seen a policeman receive no more than ten cocoanuts for a whole year's work, and he must

find his own uniform of which he is not proud. Every portion of the island is owned and the demarcations owned. They are a mean lot here; their fights mere broils, and very little feeling is shown for each other. A canoe drifted away, or a man dead, is almost instantly forgotten. Little or no sour toddy is drunk since the missionaries came. Mr. Clark, the missionary from Samoa, told them that on Sundays when a ship came up to the island they must allow a couple of men to take the trader off; formerly these boatmen were always fined.

Mr. Villiero brought his wife and adopted daughter, Miss Prout, to see me in the afternoon. It was very embarrassing, for they came laden with gifts, and I had nothing suitable to offer in return. We had an adoption ceremony by which I became either mother, or daughter, to Mrs. Villiero, no one quite knew which, not even her husband. Miss Mary Prout was quite the "young person," shy and silent. Both were well dressed and wore European rings. Mrs. Villiero makes all her husband's clothes. The presents consisted of a little full-rigged ship inside a bottle, the mouth of which it could not pass. Mr. Villiero was three weeks in making it, working all the time, a regular sailor's present; also a large, fine mat with a deep fringe of red wool, in very bad taste, a couple of plaited mats, a pair of shells, and an immense packet of pandanus sweetmeat. When we met Mrs. Villiero she threw round my neck a string of porpoise teeth, thick and long, the preliminary to adoption. With Louis' help, Mr. Villiero made his will¹ He has a feeling that his life is not safe here with some of the other traders, the poisoners, in fact. He told Louis of an unfortunate affair that happened on the fourth of July. Villiero, Briggs, and the Chinese trader made a signed bargain that they would all buy copra at a certain fixed price, with a fine of two hundred dollars to be paid by the one breaking the bargain. Soon all the custom had fallen into the hands of the Chinaman. On inquiry it came out that while the Chinaman ostensibly bought at the agreed price, he gave a present of tobacco besides, thereby evading the letter of the bargain. Following Briggs' foolish advice, the other traders armed themselves to the teeth and went at night to the Chinaman's house. Briggs and Blanchard guarded the door, while Villiero, holding a pistol to the Chinaman's head, demanded the two hundred dollars fine. Of course, it was paid. When the missionary ship came in Villiero told this tale to the white missionary who advised immediate restitution of the money, and said he was bound to report the traders' conduct. I wonder that a man of Villiero's intelligence should have been led by a person like Briggs.

The captain is very weak, but Louis better.

14th.—Onotoa Island.

15th.—At Tamana early in the morning. One of our passengers taken on at Tom Day's island and introduced by Tom as "Captain Thomas, this old Cinderella," went

¹ He was afterward lost in a labour vessel—virtually a slaver—that sank with many unfortunate natives on board as well. It was on the way to South America.

on shore with all his belongings. Another passenger whom we are taking to Sydney made me a native drill which will cut through the most delicate shell, or through the iron of a boiler, or a dish, or a glass tumbler. I made holes through some red and white bone whist counters and strung them into necklaces, really very pretty. Since we were at Tamana before there has been a murder and an execution. A man from another island, indignant at being worsted in a wrestling match, watched at the church and struck a spear into his victim, who soon died. The execution was by hanging. They dragged the man up by the neck, then let him down to see if he was dead, then pulled him up again only to lower him for another look, continuing this barbarity until they were satisfied no life was left in the wretch.

16th.—Arorai in the morning. The first thing we hear is that poor McKenzie, the man who was starving, is dead, supposedly from a surfeit on the soups we left him. He ate ravenously; said in reply to a question of how he felt, "I feel full," immediately became insensible, and so remained for three days, when he died. It did not occur to me to warn him against overeating; soup seemed such an innocent thing; I was afraid to let him have solid food at first.

"Cockroach," one of our black boys, has got his fingers badly crushed. He has been crying like a child ever since. The captain still very ill; he and I went through two medical books and both came to the conclusion that he must be suffering from inflammation of the stomach. He says he has been worse ever since one day when three black boys refused to work on a Sunday. Sally Day, he says, was very impudent, and he was too weak to knock Sally down, which fact preys on his spirits.

To-day one of the boats steered by Mr. Hird suddenly disappeared in the surf, and Mr. Henderson at once put out for her. She had capsized and stove a small hole in one end. Mr. Hird came dripping from his involuntary bath. Fortunately, no-one was injured but the engineer and Mr. B---- (a passenger from Jaluit) and they only in their feelings. They were waiting a long way down the reef when the accident happened, and could not get another boat in time for dinner.

We killed a pig to-day, the first, our sheep being now done. Charley, passenger from Jaluit, working his way, gave me a belt of human hair. Some natives brought off a shark they had just killed, hoping to sell it to us for food. Mr. Hird told a story of a shark he had seen chasing a fish. The shark could easily catch the fish, swimming in a straight line, but could not turn quickly, so the fish knowingly swam round and round him. They were very near the ship when the fish jumped out of the water. With the quickness of lightning the shark struck it with his tail straight into his mouth. There is a swordfish here with a snout like a spear, long and sharp, which follows the flying-fish. When the natives are fishing they have to be on the lookout, as he jumps at them and tries to stab them with his sword. One of our passengers knew a man who was killed by such a stab.

I forgot to mention that Tom Day told me that during this present epidemic of measles he saw a woman buried alive. "She was too weak to resist, so her husband just buried her;" the same sort of tale as Mr. Hird's of Penrhyn.

17th.—Had a sharp squall in the night. Lloyd slept through it all, his things swimming in the water. I put my head out of the port and watched the rain-drops strike the sea, each producing a spark like a star. It looked as though the heavens were reversed. I often find my bath, when I take it after dark, blazing like liquid fireworks. The weather continues bad, and we are rolling a good deal. Louis much better; the captain very weak and ill. Lloyd's leg, hurt on the reef at Tin Jack's island, shows uncomfortable symptoms. I suppose I should burn it out, but it requires courage to perform that operation.

18th.—Arrived at Vanumea at ten o'clock. Left at nightfall under sealed orders, steering S.S.W.

24th.—Frst thing in the morning sighted Erromanga about fifteen miles away, and a little later, Tanna...

25th.—Mare Island, Loyalty group; lay off the Sarcelle passage all night, about forty-five miles from Noumea, our first civilised port and the last we shall make until we reach the end of our cruise at Sydney.

...

Document 18890

**R. L. S.—The narrative of Captain John
Cameron**

Source: John Cameron's Odyssey (New York, 1928).

Note: For previous stories by him, see Doc. 1882C and 1888B.

...

Chapter Thirteen.**Visitors of Different Sorts and Conditions Beguile the Tedium of the Line Atolls.**

Tedium is the great enemy of happiness... Now and then I yawned unabashed in the face of Micronesia. Small wonder. One coral island was much like another; the copra of the Gilberts had the same musty odor as that of the Marshalls; and the faces of our small foreign population grew painfully familiar. Yet I was more fortunate than some: what if I had been a trader, doomed, as I might put it, to remain indefinitely on one narrow atoll? I could at least have such little experiences as my brush with the Spaniards,¹ which became, once it had passed and left me unscathed, a not unpleasant break in the monotony of things.

Ho, hum! What next? How few deep-sea vessels we had! Into our microcosm of the islands the roar of the great world penetrated only as a dim and broken echo. An event it was when a schooner or bark arrived from Sydney, San Francisco, or Hamburg to discharge a new stock of trade goods and to load our accumulations of produce. More momentous was the coming of a stray American warship for coal. Then I had a rare opportunity to see scores of new white faces, to swap yarns with the officers, and to hear months-old news of the States and Europe. Or the **Janet Nicoll**, a trading steamer operated by the Australian [rather New Zealand] firm of Henderson & McFarlane, would make one of her infrequent appearances and for a day or two the atolls would stir from their slumber under the palms.

To that steamer I am greatly indebted. Into my sleepy life she brought no less a personage than my distinguished fellow countryman Robert Louis Stevenson. He and Mrs. Stevenson were making a long cruise through the archipelagoes on the **Janet Nicoll**, and I happened to be at Tarawa in the Gilberts, when the steamer arrived. I had boarded

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1888B.

the vessel to see Clark, the purser, an old friend, and make sure whether his liquor was better or worse than mine,—something of exceeding consequence in such a doughty climate. R. L. S. was on deck, engrossed in a game of chess with the chief engineer, when I caught a glimpse of him and immediately recognized him from portraits I had seen. His eyes were his most conspicuous feature, seemingly brown-black in color, quite extraordinary in the impression they gave of penetrating to great and uncanny distances. His costume, decidedly a light marching order, was sufficient in itself to attract attention: a thin singlet; blue serge trousers of light texture supported by a red sash; feet bare; altogether a comfortable rig there on the equator. "Introduce me," said I to Clark. "That I will," said he. "For a Scotchman," continued the Englishman Clark, "he's the most delightful person I ever met. His wife is with him; a handsome woman and kindly: she actually mothers Stevenson, who's much of an invalid."

At the conclusion of the game of chess I was introduced. Shaking hands cordially, Stevenson remarked, "A Cameron! A Cameron! A genuine Highlander from Lochaber! Right, am I not?" "Quite correct," I confessed. "I'm proud to meet you, Mr. Stevenson. You and I are far frae hame." He took my arm and urged me forward: "Come along, Captain. You'll be prouder still when I introduce you to my wife. The Camerons always were a proud race, eh? By the bye, you are trading, are you not?" "For Crawford & Co., of San Francisco," I replied. "Ah!" he exclaimed; "that is a country, is California." "Only last night," said I, "I finished reading one of your books. 'Prince Otto,' it was." "Indeed? And were you pleased with it?" I made a blunt reply: "I was not; I thought it was the poorest thing you have done." A burst of hearty laughter was his response. This attracted the attention of Mrs. Stevenson, who approached and desired to know the cause of his mirth. I was introduced to her, after which R. L. S. continued, "Now that we are acquainted, we'll go below and celebrate meeting a fellow countryman—a genuine Highlander, my dear Fanny." So below we went and had some stout.

Both Stevensons were delightful and different: he with his canny, pawky remarks; she with her broad-minded views. They were greatly interested in my story of the loss of the **Wandering Minstrel**, and before I parted I gave him a note to Mr. Anderson, who had succeeded Morgan as manager at Jaluit, requesting that R. L. S. be granted access to my notes on the wreck, which were in the company's safe. Stevenson already had heard Captain Walker's story in Honolulu, and from the two accounts derived much material for "The Wrecker." I must say, however, that I know nothing of a shipmaster demanding payment for the transportation of castaways from Midway Island, which in the romance leads to wholesale murder. In the epilogue to the novel, Stevenson says that that portion of the plot is founded on fact, although it does not necessarily follow, of course, that he had the **Wandering Minstrel** affair in mind.

While the Stevensons and I were yarning, the **Janet Nicoll** moved to another an-

chorage. On landing at the village off which she now lay I was surprised to find Moses, the Chinese boy who had accompanied Jorgensen and me on our voyage from Midway.¹ He had reached maturity and was in possession of a trading station.² Coming to Tarawa on a German vessel, he said, he had got employment with another Chinese, an elderly trader, who had treated him kindly and had bequeathed him all his property. So here I say farewell to Moses.

My other companion on that momentous trip, Jorgensen, made his way from the Marshalls to the Gilberts, where he became a trader, but he incurred the enmity of his competitors, a drunken, unscrupulous lot who envied the Dane's success in dealing with the natives. By means of lying representations they prevailed upon Captain Davies [rather Davis], R.N. (of whom more later), to order Jorgensen deported. He found a place as overseer of Gilbertese laborers on the steamship **Montserrat**, the last blackbirder to take natives from the Gilberts before the British established a protectorate over the group in 1892. According to a report brought back to the islands by another trader who had gone on the **Montserrat** as an overseer, Jorgensen died of a fever in Mexico. Peace to him!³

Not all the men who drifted into the islands left so bright a memory as Stevenson did. Consider a young man named Jones,⁴ whom I once took as a passenger to Ponape, where he hoped to obtain a concession from the Spaniards. He was the son of an American Admiral; himself had been an officer in both the United States Army and Navy and had won distinction in the Indian wars. Trouble with his wife led to his being horse-whipped by her own brothers; then followed a shooting affray, in which one of the brothers was killed and Jones himself was wounded. After being tried for murder and acquitted, the young fellow left Virginia, his native state, never to return. He had a weakness for alcohol and so little self-control that he was intoxicated, even when he interviewed the governor-general at Ponape, and naturally he failed to get the concession he desired. Liquor alone, however, would not account for his behavior. At times he was morose, keeping close to his bunk; again he was as bright as a new dollar, the life of the ship. His actions ceased to be a puzzle when some opium was found in his bunk. Out of the islands he drifted, and years afterward committed suicide by jumping overboard from a steamer on which he was bound to British Columbia.⁵

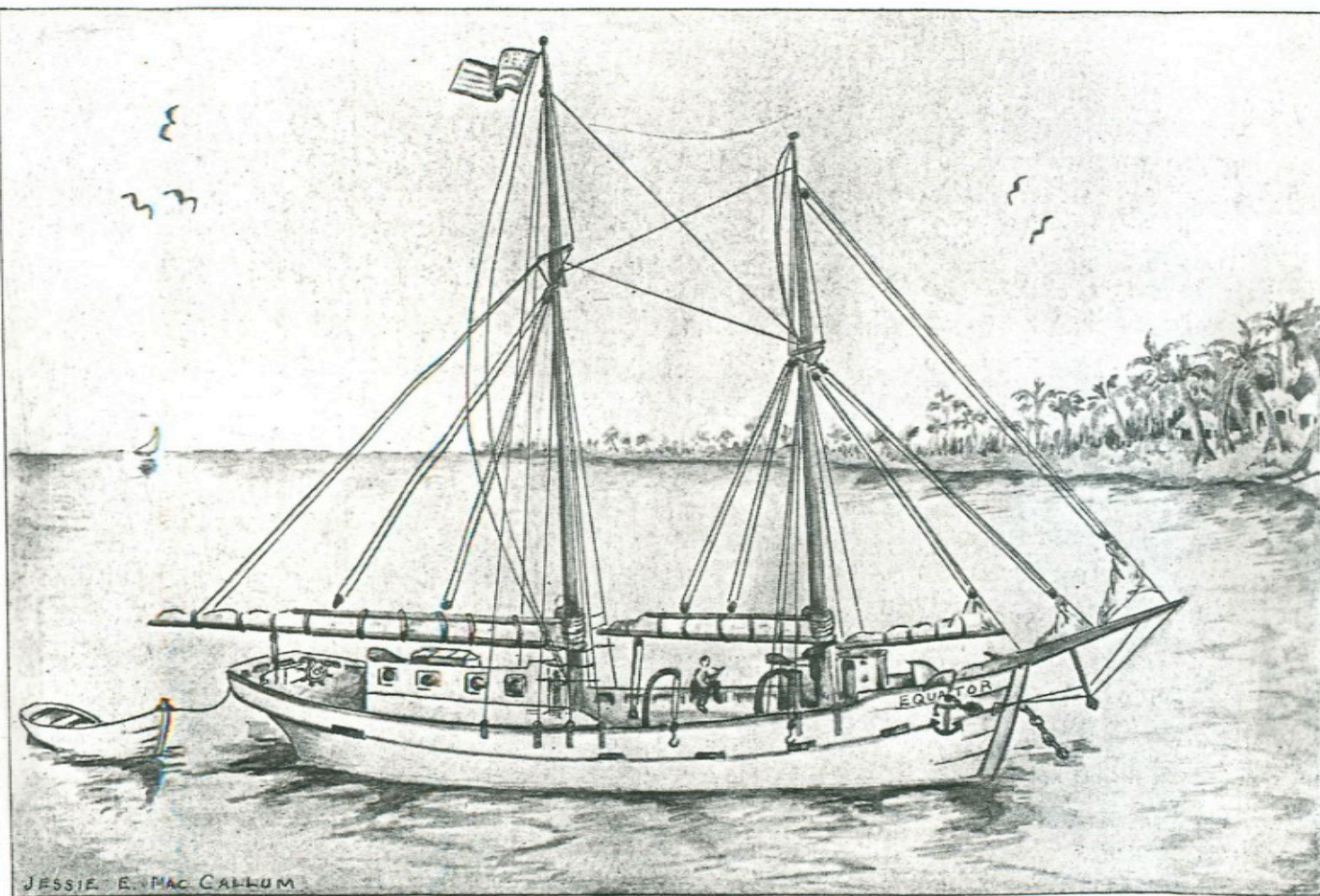
1 Ed. note: See Document 1888B.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, his name may have been Ah Chong, who later set up his own trading company out of New Zealand.

3 Ed. note: His editor, Farrell, has found out that he died in a brawl, in Guatemala, which was, in fact, the destination of the blackbirder.

4 Ed. note: Not his true name, as Farrell says in the preface.

5 Ed. note: For a continuation of Cameron's odyssey, see Doc. 1892A.



Schooner Equator in Butariari Lagoon, 1889. "A tiny schooner... dear to myself from the memories of a six months' cruise." R.L.S.

Document 1889P

Adrift in the South Seas, with R.L.S., etc., 1889-91

Source: Thomson Murray MacCallum. Adrift in the South Seas—Including Adventures with Robert Louis Stevenson (Los Angeles, Wetzel, ca. 1939).

Notes: The Equator was a 69-ton schooner, about 70 feet long, built at Benicia. Captain Reid was a Scot of 23 years of age. MacCallum, also born in Scotland, was 18 years old at the beginning of this story.

Chapter XX I Say Good-bye to Samoa

The mail steamer was due to pass Tutuila in a week, but the German cutter that usually carried the mail was among the lost vessels.¹

On board the **Trenton** were about fifteen or twenty cadets, besides her regular complement of officers and men. Admitral Kimberley decided to send them home on the mail steamer.

The **Equator** was bound for San Francisco, so Mr. Wightman offered to take the mail to the steamer, and also carry the young officers to Tutuila. As he was headed for home, he decided to leave the schooner and finish his trip on the mail steamer also.

I had reached the decision that, if possible, I would like to go to America; but was not able to raise the price for a passage on the steamer. Talking to Captain Reid one day in the store, I asked him if I could work my passage to San Francisco on his schooner. He replied that there was no chance, but suggested that I take passage with him, as it would be very much cheaper than the fare on the **Alameda**. I thanked him, but said that it was more than I could scrape up.

Next morning Mr. Fletcher called me into the office and asked me if it was true that I wanted to go to the States. When he found that I wanted to go, he said that he thought it was the wisest thing I could do; because, no matter how well I was getting along, Apia was no place for a boy of my age. He told me he would have a talk with Mr. Wightman and maybe it could be arranged so that I could go up in the schooner, and repay him after I got on my feet in San Francisco.

1 Ed. note: Lost at Apia during a hurricane.

Mr. Wightman came into the store a little later, and after a few questions, told me it was O.K., and that my boss had told him all about me.

Mr. Fletcher sent for me, and when I went into the office, he gave me a letter of recommendation written by his own hand, which he said would help me in getting a job when I arrived in San Francisco. He also gave me American gold for what silver I had, without charging me the regular rate of exchange, which was really equal to giving me a bonus of twenty-five dollars.

The letter of recommendation, written in Mr. Fletcher's still round handwriting, on the office stationery of McArthur & Company, bearing the date of March 27th, 1889, is still one of my treasured possessions.

The **Equator** was leaving in the morning, so I was kept pretty busy getting my things together and saying good-bye to my friends in Apia.

By noon everything was ready and sail was made on the schooner. With the twenty passengers, the little schooner was pretty well crowded; but as it was only for a day or two, it was more like a picnic than a sea voyage.

We arrived off Tutuila the day before the **Alameda** was due, and lay hove to all night.

A little before ten o'clock next morning, a smudge of smoke appeared on the southern horizon, and soon the steamer stopped a few hundred yards from where we lay. Mr. Wightman and the young naval cadets piled into the schooner's boat, together with their hand luggage and the mail sacks, and with Captain Reid in charge, she pulled for the steamer.

Of course, they on board had heard nothing of the disaster at Apia. Hearing the news from Captain Reid, the captain of the steamer made the seventy-mile run down to Apia to offer what aid he could to Admiral Kimberly.

When Captain Reid returned to the schooner, the boat was hauled aboard and lashed amidship, and as soon as everything was snug, we stood away, close hauled on the port tack, for the long trip to San Francisco.

...
It was a long monotonous voyage for a sailing ship; and until the northwest trades are picked up, well to the north of Hawaii, it is a continuous beat to windward. Sometimes for days at a time we would stand on the same tack, but advantage of every point of shifting was taken, maybe going about half a dozen times in the same watch.

As we were to be shipmates for close on two years, a word of introduction to the **Equator's** crew will not be out of place.

Captain Denny Reid was a Scotchman of twenty-three. He had been a deep-water sailor since boyhood, and had been in the island-trading service for a number of years. He was one of the best sailors I ever met, and certainly knew how to handle his ship. I never knew him to get rattled, and I have seen him in situations that would test the fiber of any man. We came to be very close friends during the years that followed.

The young captain was popular with his crew, and also with the island traders, as he was a good mixer, and, being quite a student of human nature, he had the happy knack

of adapting himself to his surroundings. His hobby was to be considered good company, and he loved to sing. He had a fairly good voice, but his repertoire was rather limited, being confined to two songs. When called on to sing, he always gave us "In The Gloaming" and if an encore was demanded, "Annie Laurie" was the invariable response.

The first-named he considered his personal property, and once, on the occasion of hilarious celebration of the "Glorious Fourth," I so far forgot myself as to respond, when called on to sing, with "In the Gloaming," I was called down by the irate Scotchman, and given to understand that in the future I confine my vocal efforts to sailor's chanties.

The mate was a tall Norwegian [named Anderson] from Stavanger, and came from a family of sailors. He was a good deal older than the captain and knew the trade of a sailor from the ground up Except for the fact that he had never learned navigation, he might have been walking the quarterdeck of his own ship years ago.

A young boy of sixteen, named Charlie Selth, who was a kind of adopted son or protégé of the captain, and with whom, on account of our nearness of ages, I later had many lively pranks and bloody fights; a tall Hawaiian sailor named Tatoma and a wizened little rat of a Chinese cook made up the **Equator's** crew.

As there were only two men in a watch, all hands had to be called when it was necessary to shorten sail.

As we got farther north, we began to feel the cold quite a little. Two years in the Tropics had thinned out my blood, and then again, I had no heavy clothes.

Outside of a good supply of salt junk (barrel salt beef) and hard tack, there was not much variety to our fare. Lobsouse, made from ships biscuits and salt meat, with navy beans while they lasted, was almost a daily dish. However, we had plenty of coffee, which the cook roasted and ground fresh every day.

...

When I came aboard the schooner, Captain Reid told me that he did not like the name of Mac. There were too darned many of them, he noted, and said that he would call me Murray, which was my middle name; and to the end of my life at sea, I was never called anything else.

Our run to San Francisco was quite uneventful. We had the usual run of squalls and calms till we picked up the northwest trades to the north of the Hawaiian Islands, and from there we made a quick run to the coast.

...

When I landed, I tried to find work in the city but received only vague promises. The sixty dollars I owed Mr. Wightman had to be paid, and I worried quite a bit as to where they were coming from.

Captain Reid had a great surprise awaiting him when he arrived.

Instead of his expected trip back to the Gilbert Islands as an ordinary trader, Mr. Wightman told him that he had chartered the **Equator** to a writer, Robert Louis Stevenson, and his party, for an extended cruise through the South Sea Islands; and that the

schooner was to be used and sailed as a private yacht during the period of the charter party.

Quite a few changes were made in the cabin and trade room for the accommodation of the passengers. The captain's cabin was fitted with an extra bunk and other conveniences added to make a stateroom for Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson. Then two bunks were built in the trade room for Lloyd Osbourne, Stevenson's stepson, and J. D. Strong, Osbourne's brother-in-law, who was going along.

The **Equator** was to proceed to Honolulu, where the Stevenson party were then staying; and then on to the Gilberts; and eventually to finish up the cruise at Samoa.

Captain Reid wanted me to go along as a member of his crew, as it was decided to carry four men forward. But the life of a sailor before the mast did not appeal to me, to say nothing of sharing the fo'c'sle with kanaka sailors.

The day arrived for the **Equator** to sail and all was ready. The newspapers wrote up the schooner and the proposed trip. Captain Reid had signed on two extra hands; one a husky lad from Boston, whose name was Tom, and who had never been at sea before; and the other a young Hawaiian named La, who turned out to be a good sailor.

About three in the afternoon I went down to the dock to say good-bye to the captain when he came ashore in great excitement, saying the Chinaman had run away.

Stores for the voyage were on the deck, and a hind quarter of beef hung from the boom.

Meeting me on the wharf, the captain exclaimed: "Murray, can you cook?" He then explained the trouble, and begged me to help him out, as the tug was already alongside. He pointed out that it would be the easiest way to repay Mr. Wightman's loan, and at the same time return a favour by not having the schooner held up. The upshot was that I made what is called by sailors, a "pierhead jump."

The captain sent a sailor for my trunk while I went aboard and struggled with the hind quarter of beef that was already furnishing about two thousand flies with the feast of their lives.

...

The **Equator** was towed down the bay, and with a good breeze blowing, cast off the tug opposite Fort Point and headed through the Golden Gate.

...

[MacCallum had to learn how to cook fast. He learned how to make bread, but first how to make yeast, from sugar and rice.]

...

It was a bright June morning, about ten o'clock, when we first saw the lofty peak of **Mauna Loa** on the northwest end of Molokai. The wind was blowing fresh from the northeast and we were logging about nine knots. By two in the afternoon we raised the island of Oahu, overhauling and passing one of the island steamers, greatly to their disgust. About five o'clock we arrived off the harbour of Honolulu...

...

Mr. Stevenson and his family, accompanied by several friends, came aboard immediately and examined the schooner. The captain had been uncertain as to whether the boat would come up to their expectations or not, but his mind was soon put at ease by the enthusiasm shown by the entire party.

Work was started at once in making ready for our passengers.

...

Captain Reid explained to Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson about his cook having deserted, and that I was not much of an expert yet but was coming along fine, and he hoped they would be able to stand my cooking. Mr. Stevenson spoke up at once and said:

"Why Captain, that won't make any difference at all, as our own cook, Ah Fu, is going with us, and he can do the cooking while Murray gives all his time to the cabin."

...

[Before they departed Honolulu, King Kalakaua was entertained on board by the Stevensons.]

...

The lines were cast off, and as the head sail filled the **Equator** slipped away, followed by the farewell cheers of the crowds on the dock, and the soft tones of "Aloha Oe," played by the king's musicians...

After clearing the entrance the **Equator** was headed to the southwest, and with a stiff breeze well abaft the beam, logged an easy nine knots, to the great delight of the Stevenson party, who soon demonstrated that they were real sailors.

I can still see Mrs. Stevenson, or as her husband always called her, "Fanny," standing on the afterdeck house, hat off and hair streaming in the wind while she clung to the weather backstay, laughing with delight as the stout schooner buried her lee-head in the foam.

Chapter XXII

Reminiscences of Robert Louis Stevenson

...

Captain Reid wanted to get a shark's jaw with a good showing of teeth, as a souvenir for Mrs. Stevenson; so when we caught an extra large one, he told us to kill it and save the head. Running the rope through a block in the main rigging, the shark was hoisted clear of the water and killed with the mate's revolver.

...

One of the first things that won my admiration for Stevenson was his happy faculty of always seeing the bright side of everything. No matter how disappointing things were, he never seemed to get blue or discouraged. He possessed, to a marvelous degree, the ability to make people like and admire him; whether it was the king of Hawaii or the kanaka sailors, he had a personal magnetism that drew them all.

...

Stevenson was greatly interested in Captain Reid's description of South Sea trading, and as he had just about made up this mind that in the Islands was the only place he could expect to enjoy reasonable health, the idea of adopting the life of an independent trader began to interest him more and more. Mrs. Stevenson and Osbourne entered into the scheme enthusiastically, and days were spent building air castles about their new plans.

The idea was to have a kind of dual headquarters; one on shore, i one of the Islands; and the other on a schooner, something like the **Equator**, only larger. Captain Reid, whose proven seamanship, together with his genial personality, had quite won R. L. S., was to be master of the schooner, as well as marine architect and supervisor of her construction.

Days were spent in animated and happy planning. I remember that the selection of a name for hte schooner, and also for the trading company, took days to consider. After many rejections, they decided on the "Norther Light" for the vessel's name... The selection of a name for the trading company never was settled...

When the Stevensons first landed at Butaritari, the "Northern Light" and the trading company was accepted as an assured fact; but after six months observation of the ways of South Sea trading, R. L. S. found it would be utterly impossible for him to go on with the plan. The amount of trickery and deception that was daily practiced by the traders, and which he began to believe was necessary to their success, so jarred on his innate love of honesty and square dealing that the whole idea went into the discard.

...
While on the schooner, Stevenson was engaged in writing "The Wrecker," on which he and Osbourne collaborated. Most of his writing was done while lying in his bunk, opening onto the main deck, and two portholes at the back, with an unobstructed view of sky and sea.

The familiar sight of the "Frail Warrior," as Carré calls him, propped in his bunk with a writing pad against his knees, either with a pensive far-away look in his eyes, or else, feverishly covering paga a\fter page with his manuscript, will always linger in my memory.

...
On our last voyage with the Stevenson party we celebrated the thirty-ninth birthday of R. L. S. It came just about a week after we had lost our fore topmast in teh squall... Mrs. Stevenson and Lloyd planned a surprise for R. L. S., and together wrote a song, congratulating him on his birthday and also kidding the captain about his lost spar...

A few weeks later we arrived at Apia, where Stevenson pallned to make his home. As we approached the passage, R. L. S. stood in the bow and surveyed the beautiful background of Apia, The beach was still looking desolate from the hurricane. The wrecks of the **Trenton** and **Vandalia** still littered the beach in front; while to the west, the iron hull of the **Adler** lay stark and rusted on the reef.

The time had come for the happy wanderers to say good-bye to the little schooner that had been a home to them so long. We on the **Equator** were very sorry to see them

go, as they had endeared themselves to each one of us, from the captain to little Muggeree, the cabin boy. I have never forgotten Stevenson's last words to me, as he said goodbye the day before we sailed for Butaritari: "Remember, Murray; there is always a sunny side, if you look for it. And another thing, don't worry. It does not matter much, what you accomplish. The only thing that really counts is, that you tried."

...
Next morning we got under way, and again the **Equator** headed out through the narrow passage for the blue Pacific.

...

Chapter XXIII

The Gilbert Islands—Butaritari, the Capital of King Tebureimoa

Returning now to Honolulu to pick up the tale of the **Equator's** voyages among the Islands, we had a fairly good passage from Honolulu to the Gilbert Islands, and except for several days of calms, enjoyed ideal weather for sailing.

The Fourth of July was duly celebrated by both passengers and crew... We were becalmed about ten days later.

...
About four in the afternoon, after the captain had taken a shot at the sun for his longitude and worked out his position, he came on deck, and told me to go aloft and report if anything was in sight. As there was not even a cloud to be seen, I thought the old man just wanted to make a little diversion for his passengers' benefit, so started to strap on a spy glass before swarming up the mast. The **Equator** had no ratlines on her shrouds, so the only way to go aloft was by the hoops of the main or fore sail.

Seeing me putting on the spy glass, he said:

"You won't need that glass, if there is anything to see, you'll see it plain enough."

Certain now that he only wanted to give me a little workout, I scrambled up the luff of the mainsail and straddled on the crossrees. Then I got the surprise of my life.

There, right on our bow, and a few points to leeward, lay the most beautiful sight I ever saw. Stretching for miles was a line of waving green, and along the shore a strand of glistening white beach, so close aboard that I could distinguish people awalking on the sand. The island appeared to be only about ten or fifteen feet above the ocean, and the top, or horizon, was as even and straight as the shore line.

Hailing the deck, I reported the land; and pointing with my arm, gave the captain the bearing of each point, who then marked our exact position on the chart.

Sliding down the weather backstay, I turned to look at the island, but there was nothing but blue sea and sky. I thought I must have been dreaming or had seen a mirage, but the skipper explained that we were about fifteen miles from the island, and that the natural curve of the ocean's surface hid it from view.

Captain Reid said it was "Big Muggin," or Makin Island, on which the town of Butaritari was located.

It was too late in the day to enter the lagoon, so he said we would stand "off and on" till morning, when we would take advantage of the tide and go up to the anchorage.

Captain Reid's skill as a navigator was given unstinted praise by R. L. S. when our position, as verified by the bearing of the east and west points of land, corresponded to our marked position on the chart to within a quarter of a mile, and his job as master of the projected "Norther Light" was an assured fact.

It was an exciting night for our passengers, and I don't think many of them slept. At daylight the land was plainly visible from the deck. The Wind Gods had been good to us, as there was a fresh trade wind blowing, with which to beat up the lagoon to our anchorage.

With Anderson sitting astride the fore crossstrees, and the writer heaving the lead at the lee rail, we tacked around the shoals and horse-heads of the lagoon; and came to anchor about a mile from the shore, the water crystal clear, and about three fathoms deep.

The schooner was soon surrounded by canoes, not unlike those of Samoa. The natives seemed darker in color, but nothing like the black labour boys from Noumea. For clothing they wore nothing but the smallest kind of *ridi*, and the tattooing so universal in Samoa was lacking.

I missed the soft tones of the Samoan language, as the Gilbert Islanders speak with a harsh guttural tone. As for example, instead of the soft "Talofa papalagi" of Samoa, we were greeted with "Konamouri demidong."

It was a long time before I could talk enough to make myself understood, and even after two years in the Gilberts I could not read their language.

When the Stevenson party went ashore they took their cook, Ah Fu, along, so I was again installed in the galley as cook. The hands forward welcomed the change. Boston Tom told me that he had not had a square meal since leaving Honolulu. He said that the samples tasted fine, but that they never got enough to fill up on.

...
The town of Butaritari was not much to get enthused over, and except for the fact that the only two saloons in the group were located here, was not different from the other atolls of the low archipelago.

Wightman Bros. had their headquarters here, as also had the Crawford Company.

These, and the two saloons, comprised the entire white population of the town; and even that was not all white, as the barkeeper of Crawford's saloon, "The Lan We Live In," was a negro, badly afflicted with a disease known in the islands as "Running off at the mouth." Anderson said, "He could pay out more cable without coming to an anchor than any man in the Islands." Which fittingly described the loquacious nigger.

Near the store and house of Mr. Ricks, who was our agent, was situated the abode of old king Tebureimoa, whose palace and court savours more of a movie lot than an island kingdom.

The "Sans Souci" saloon, run by a Norwegian who had been mate of a schooner, was located between the store and a large stone church, not unlike those seen in every Samoan village.

There was no white missionary in Butaritari, but a Hawaiian native preacher named Maka, held forth in the stone church. I often wondered if the location of the saloon had been determined as a means of quick relief after an extra dry sermon.

The town was all stirred up when we arrived. There had been a big blow-out on the Fourth of July, when it was customary for the lid to be lifted and the sale of gin allowed. This year the spree had lasted longer than usual, and the old king was still drunk, and for a while, it looked as though hell was going to beak loose on the island.

One day Captain Reid gave Anderson orders to keep a double anchor watch, and not to allow any canoes to approach the schooner; and for him and me to keep our revolvers handy. The captain went ashore to spend the night with the Stevenson party, whom he thought in danger, as there had been a free for all fight among the natives during the day. However, everything passed off quietly; and we later learned that the fight had just been between two women, one of whom had been caught by the other with her husband.

Tebureimoa was the last of four brothers who had each in turn been king of Makin. He was a pot-bellied, slovenly-looking man, and looked as though he was a dope fiend. He made a trip with us at one time over to Little Makin, the farthest extent of his kingdom.

We had just returned from Apemama, and he was very anxious to learn about the methods used by old Tembinoka, who ruled that island and was known throughout the group for his cruelty and prowess. Patting himself on his fat belly, he said:

"Me, I got power, me plenty Tembinoka, I think I like fight him."

He was sitting on the windlass at the time, talking to Boston Tom and me. He got very much peeved when we kidded him about only having one wife, while Tembinoka had three dozen. It was a very sore spot with him, as he used to have nine wives to work for him, but Maka had induced him to discard them all but one. The result had been disastrous, for while gaining the approval of the missionary, he had earned the contempt of the court of old men; to say nothing of losing the copra from his wives' coconut trees.

With the exception of the parrot-like nose and flabby belly, he was the very opposite from Tembinoka, and this was shown by the fact that he was there sitting forward, talking to Tom and me. Old Tembinoka would never dream of parking himself anywhere but on the quarterdeck, and would not even acknowledge the mate, let alone a common sailor; reserving his conversation for the captain only.

The Gilbert Islands had been entirely heathen in religion up to about ten years previous to my first visit, but since that time, the missionaries had been labouring among the natives, with more or less success.

A man named Walkup, who was located on the island of Apaiang, had a missionary school that was very well attended; but the ocean side of every one of the islands

was dotted with altars to the God "Chench," who was supposed to have control of the winds. Even among the members of Maka's church, devil work was as common as fleas on a dog.

Until after the advent of the missionaries, women went naked till marriage, when they donned a *ridi* and cut their hair. All the children were still naked, and even those of adolescent age wore little more than a G-string. One could not but admire the fine physique of the natives, both men and women; while many of the young men would have made acceptable models for a sculptor. As a whole, the Gilbert women were not as pretty as the Samoans, but you frequently meet one of striking beauty, far surpassing anything I ever saw in Upolu.

Almost without exception, the bodies of the mature men were covered with the scars of ragged wounds. Maka informed me that these were made by slashing with native knives while fighting with each other; almost invariably, he added, over women.

The knives and weapons of the natives were all edged with shark's teeth, set on edge and fastened to the hard-wood handle or blade with native sennit. They certainly were villainous-looking tools; and as the knives were always used for slashing, and not for stabbing; hence the ragged ugly scars that were left as lasting evidence of the fight. The backs and shoulders of the younger men were largely free from scars, a point that Maka proudly called to my attention; attributing it solely to the beneficent teachings of Christianity.

[Gilbertese custom of tooth swapping]

One day while sitting on deck enjoying a smoke, I picked up a small piece of copra from the deck and flipped it at a native, who was sitting on the hatch. The little missile missed his face, but struck the bowl of his pipe.

Looking up, his face seemed to be distorted with rage; while he slowly put his hand to his mouth and removed two front teeth.

To say that I was scared would be putting it mildly; and I guess my face showed it, for presently the old heathen started laughing, and putting back his teeth, resumed his smoke.

That was a new one on me, and of course, I became interested at once.

It seemed that it was a common practice in the Gilberts when a very dear friend died, or was killed while he was still a young man, to extract some of his teeth, then pulling out the corresponding teeth in one's own jaw, to plant the dead man's teeth in the holes, while the wound was still fresh. He told me that they generally would take hold and become strong and rigid, but that in his case, his friend was too old when he died.

I afterwards learned that the practice was quite common in the islands, and that cases were known where the entire set of teeth had been exchanged by a woman for those of her daughter, who had been killed. I, myself, saw a man with an entire set for the lower jaw, that had been extracted from a friend after death. When I tested their strength, the whole set wobbled a little, but none were loose enough to come out.

Wightman Bros., who operated the **Equator**, did not own any stations in the group outside of Butartari; but the schooner was run as an independent trader, buying copra and selling merchandise to the various traders throughout the group; which consisted of twelve islands of considerable size, not counting the small reef islands. These were each ruled by their own king during the time I lived there, and fighting was often indulged in between the islands.

One of the brothers of Tebureimoa had made his name dreaded by his neighbors, but the real Napoleon of the group was old Tembinoka, the king of Apemama. However, his claws had been clipped by the captain of a warship, who had seized his arsenal and dumped it into the lagoon. At the time of my visit, relations between the different islands were very friendly, and on each trip of the **Equator** we would have a number of "deck passengers," natives going from one island to the other, either to visit or to locate there.

The dangers to be encountered by captains navigating these waters at that time can be realized when we consider that the charts available were far from accurate, and many of the lagoons had never even been surveyed.

...

The hazard of island navigation was forcibly brought to our attention on our first visit to Marakei, one of the smaller islands, that did not have a navigable passage into the lagoon. The only way a ship could transact business with the traders who lived there, was either to stand "on and off" while the boats went ashore; or to saul right up to the shore, on the lee side, and anchor on the side of the reef.

The ocean side of an atoll slopes very quickly into deep water, so that in order to reach bottom with the anchor it is almost necessary to poke the jib-boom among the coconut trees. The wind, which of course must be off shore, holds the ship away from the beach, to which she is head on; and as it is always calm under the lee side of the island, boats can be made a landing easily.

When we ran under the lee of Marakei, we were surprised to see a large schooner there ahead of us; but soon discovered that instead of being at anchor, she was fast on the rocks, and it must have happened some time before, because she was stripped of everything removable. It proved to be one of the **Equator's** old rivals, the **H. L. Hazeltine**.

A month or two later we came very near sharing her hard bed. Not realizing how much way the schooner had when he luffed up under the island, the captain delayed just a moment too long in dropping the anchor, and before she was snubbed by the anchor, our jib-boom was over the beach. Fortunately, the cable stood the strain of the jerk, or the **Hazeltine** would have had company.

Our trade-room resembled an ordinary store, with shelves and counter. Captain Reid always attended to the selling. The traders would come aboard as soon as the hook was down, and open house was held all the time the **Equator** lay at their island. The work of taking on the copra was in charge of Anderson, while the captain did the trading. By the time we left, he always tried to see that the trader had bought more than he had

copra to pay for, thus getting the edge on any other schooner that might be there before we returned. Everyone's credit was good, and I don't remember ever hearing of the captain getting beat out of a bill.

I noticed that in buying copra Captain Reid always had it weighed on board, so as to make sure that the loss from shrinkage in handling was absorbed by the trader. During our stop at the various islands, there was always a bottle of square-face [gin] on the cabin table, and the more the traders drank, the easier was the captain's job, and the bigger the profits.

Of course, the traders always had dinner (at noon) aboard, but usually put on a party for the captain and crew on shore at night. As a rule, these parties left nothing to be desired as regards the chronic thirst of a sailor, or the lonesomeness engendered by a long sea voyage.

The question of morals among the Gilbert Islands was always a puzzling one for me. As I mentioned before, girls used to go naked till marriage, and in the lesser-visited islands of the group, still did. The boys and girls mingled freely and the favours of unattached girls were the cause of frequent and bloody fights; but after marriage, whether according to their primitive customs, or sanctioned by the missionary, infidelity was rare. Divorce, however, seemed to be simply a matter of either party getting tired of the other.

One custom that prevailed was that when a girl got married, her husband had the call on her younger sisters; and if he tired of the elder's waning beauty, it followed as a matter of course that he appropriated to himself the budding charms of the next in line, greatly to the despair of the faithful missionary.

Polygamy was common in the group, but was usually confined to the kings and more influential chiefs. Not that it was forbidden the commoners, but with them poverty demanded the more economical practice of easy divorce.

King Tebureimoa of Makin was held up to scorn by all his contemporary kings, who still were heathen, because he had listened to the teachings of Maka, and had discarded eight of his wives.

All the islands of the Gilbert group are coral atolls. Many people have the idea that a coral atoll is a perfect circle of land inclosing a lagoon, as pictured in the old-fashioned geographies that I studied at school. This is far from being the case.

A glance at the map of the Gilbert Islands will show that very few islands are circular, and that, with the exception of Marakei, none of them have land all around the reef. In every instance the weather, or northeast side of the atoll is where the land or inhabited part, is located. This is easily accounted for if one studies the formation of these coral reefs. The coral insects, working from the bottom, will naturally reach the surface of the entire reef at approximately the same time.

What forms the island is the accumulation of driftage during the ages; and as the windward side, or that edge exposed to the prevailing winds, arrests the flotsam first, and with the accumulation aided by guano deposited by sea birds, gradually builds up land enough for the drifting cocoanuts, or other seeds, to take root; with the ultimate

result of a cocoanut-shaded ribbon of land, while the lee side of the lagoon remains a coral reef, covered at high tide, but awash at low weater.

In all lagoons of any size, there is always a "passage," or entrance; not however, always navigable for boats. The apparent reason for this is that the strong currents, caused by the flowing and ebbing tides, makes it impossible for the coral insects to maintain a footing. The passage is almost invariably at the lee side of the lagoon, and sometimes a ship reaches the entrance into the lagoon while still out of sight of land, as in the case of Nonouti and Apemama, greatly adding to the hazards of navigation.

Chapter XXIV

Apemama—The Kingdom of Tembinoka, the Terrible

During the two years that I spent in the Gilberts, the *Equator* made ten trips throught he group. Some of the larger islands were called on nearly every thip, while the small outlying atolls were only visited once a year.

Apaiang, or as it was sometimes called, Apaia, was the most civilized of the entire group. Here was located a prosperous Mission school, and while Butaritari was the trade center, the natives of Apaiang responded to the civilizing influences of Christianity to a much greater degree.

Of all the little kingdoms in the group, Apemama alone remained one hundred percent heathen. This island, together with its two small neighbors, Kuria and Nanouki, were ruled over by King Tembinoka, one of the most extraordinary characters in all the South Seas.

In appearance he was a large flabby man, not unlike his brother kings of most of the islands, but his face was a thing apart. He wore his hair long and shaggy. His nose was hooked almost like a parrot's; while his eyes always maintained a haughty arrogant look which matched the half sneer of his lips, contrasting sharply with his heavy double chin and flabby chest.

It is hard to describe his clothes, as one seldom saw him twice in the same attire. When he had distinguishedf visitors, he used to don the most gorgeous outfits his savage heart could conceive; often a red or green short jacket of silk plush overr his singlet, while his fat legs were covered with a pair of cotton pants, or just a native *ridi*, as his fancy chose. At one time on the occasion of Stevenson's farewell, he appeared dressed in the coat of a navy captain.

He was a man of many wives, boasting of a harem of thirty-six. These were of all ages, but mostly fine-looking women, and many of them quite young and pretty. The king, being absolute monarch, had the call, not only of his good-looking sisters-in-law, but of every charming virgin that graced the island; and, as Captain Reid once remarked when Tembinoka brought his latest bride on board the schooner, "The old boy was some picker."

The king held absolute sway in his island empire. In earlier days he had planned to conquer the entire group, as he had Kuria and Nanouki; but the arrival of a man-of-war whose commander had other views, put a stop to the intended conquest. Most of his arms were seized and consigned to the deep, greatly to the peace of mind of the other Gilbert kinglets.

Tembinoka was always seeking information, and never tired of hearing about the affairs of the outside world, of which he had formed a vague idea in his own head.

His ideal of kingly power and majesty was "Victoreea," as he called England's queen. Sitting in his house one night he told me, "Me got plenty powa, just like Victoreea," and as far as the limits of his islands extended, he certainly had.

The king spoke English, but a variety entirely his own. It was quite different from the Beche-de-Mer of the wild islands, or the pidgin English spoken by the Asiatic Polynesians.

Apemama was the only island in the group that did not have any white traders. The king was sole owner of the copra crop, except for a small district that was given to his brother, Prince Paul's father, who was the next ranking chief, and the only other who enjoyed the privilege of maintaining a harem. But the brother's household consisted of only nine wives, which seemed to be the limit of most of the island kings.

Each of the royal wives was given a little copra for herself, which she took a childish delight in spending in the ship's trade room. If she took it in cash, she was sure to lose it to her royal lover the first time they indulged in a game of cards, which formed the principal pastime of the king's household.

There have been many efforts made by the Missionary Society to plant a mission on Apemama, but without avail. Tembinoka had allowed one white missionary to locate on the island, and pretended to change his religion; but it was only a ruse to cover his purpose. The wily king merely wanted a private tutor to teach him English. When he had mastered enough for his purpose, the missionary was bundled aboard a schooner; his Bible teachings forgotten, and the island returned peacefully to the worship of Chench and the other gods who had been sufficient for "My fatha." Relating his experience with the missionary to Captain Reid one day, between liberal drinks of his favorite brand of imitation brandy, he patted his belly and said, "I think, Capan, mo betta."

The old heathen showed some results of the good missionary's work, however; for had it happened in his father, Tembaitake's time, the man would have disappeared; while his head would probably have joined thirty or forty more in adorning his "speak house" at Tebanga.

The first trip we made through the group after leaving Stevenson and his party at Butaritari, we went directly to Apemama; as a long time had elapsed since our last trip, and the old man did not want the Crawford crowd to beat us to it, because there would be quite a lot of copra ready.

We were still out of sight of land when the captain told me to start heaving the lead. It was about five thirty in the afternoon and I had been casting steadily for half an hour,

with the monotonous reply "No bottom," when the lead line stopped running out, and I called "Fifteen fathoms." The schooner was immediately luffed into the wind and the head sails lowered, as the order was given to "let go," and our anchor was dropped in ten fathoms.

It was a funny experience to be out there in the ocean, out of sight of land, yet lying at anchor in comparatively smooth water. We were lying just off the western rim of the lagoon, about ten miles across from the anchorage.

At daylight the anchor was hove up and sail made, when, with the mate aloft, we entered the passage and headed across to our anchorage in front of Binoinano, the village of Tembinoka.

When the mainsail was furled, the mate brought out an awning and stretched it over the after-deck. This surprised me, as we had not even used it for our passengers; but the captain said this was a special occasion, and unless the king enjoyed himself while aboard, we were liable to leave the lagoon empty.

Captain Reid was one of the very few white men who enjoyed the confidence of the irascible old monarch; and it was only because the captain vouched for him so unreservedly, that Stevenson and his party were at a later time, allowed to stay at Apemama.

As soon as the hook was down and the sail furled, we could see several native canoes, with their large outriggers, heading out to the schooner; and the decks were soon swarming with natives offering various island fruits and curiosities for trade, the medium of exchange always being plugs of "Niggerhead" twist tobacco. But Captain Reid was not interested, as the only thing he was looking for was copra, and here at Apemama the king owned everything, and no-one was allowed to sell any copra except himself.

I noticed several of the natives whispering to the captain, but did not know till later that night what it was all about.

Presently we saw a man-of-war's gig leave the beach, propelled by a dozen husky islanders using native paddles, and keeping time to a native boat song. In the stern sheets of the boat sat a big fat native, dressed in a red velvet shirt and a pair of dungaree pants, with a large green umbrella held over him by a young woman. Lying around him, dressed in *ridis* and bright-colored *kepuks*, were ten or twelve fine-looking native women; while next to him, half lying in his lap and fanning his fat face and body, was a beautiful girl who could not be more than fourteen or fifteen years old. She wore a loose dress of light flowered material and had a wreath of bright red flowers on her head. This boat proved to be the royal barge of King Tembinoka, and he was accompanied by a dozen of his wives. The young woman fanning him was the latest addition to his harem, and the present favourite.

As soon as Captain Reid saw the boat approaching, he ordered the Jacob's ladder rigged over the side, and was on hand to greet His Majesty with proper pomp and ceremony, as much depended on the first impression made on the savage old king for the success of our trip.

But the Jacob's ladder was only a gesture to flatter the royal vanity, for Tembinoka would not trust his majesty's person to any such insecure devices of the white man. His

bodyguard had preceded him with a queer-looking contraption, something between a landing stage and a fireman's life net. This they rigged to the schooner's side by means of which the pot-bellied monarch reached the deck.

The reason for this precaution was that on an ill-fated occasion, several years before, while boarding the trading schooner **Hazeltine**, the ladder lashings carried away under the strain of three hundred odd pounds of Imperial avoirdupois, plunging Tembinoka into the lagoon.

When fished out by his wives, he ordered the boat back to shore and refused to speak to the captain, or accept any apologies or explanation, so that trip of the schooner was a dead loss as far as Apemama was concerned.

As soon as the gig was alongside the king came aboard, accompanied by the favourite wife. Then the boat's crew followed, but the remaining wives were left in the gig, which was dropped astern of the schooner, where she rode at the end of her painter for the entire time the king was aboard. Each day of our stay in the lagoon, he came off in the morning and stayed aboard till sundown, while these women lay in the hot boat without any shade or covering, under the burning tropical sun; yet they were the envy of the less fortunate wives who had to remain ashore.

All the wealth of the islands belonged to the king, so all bartering was attended to by himself personally, and I don't think I ever saw a shrewder trader in my life.

The captain took him down into the cabin, where a bottle of Hennessy's (?) Brandy, or "Hennettii," as the king called it, was opened, and he was made to feel at home. As it was late, there was no business talked that day, but the king accepted the captain's invitation to stay for dinner.

The first thing to do was to get the old boy in a complacent frame of mind. So Captain Reid called me aft and gave instructions for the Royal entertainment.

I'll never forget his first meal aboard the **Equator**. The skipper told me to cook a lot of flapjacks, for the king was very fond of them. Well sir, hot flapjacks for dinner, with the thermometer standing 110 degrees under the awning, was a new one to me.

I had prepared a pretty good dinner, consisting of bean soup, curry and rice, baked beans, bobsouse and canned peas, followed by plum-duff and coffee royal. But, of course, I obeyed orders, and stirred up a bowl of pancake batter.

The King enjoyed his dinner immensely, and when the captain told him that the cook had made him some American pancakes, he smiled all over himself and said, "Good, I likum," and he surely did. I brought in a dish of flapjacks, good big ones the size of a salad plate, and was leaving the cabin when the captain called me aside and said "Keep on frying them till I send you the word to stop."

It was lucky the skipper tipped me off, because the king kept putting flapjacks under his belt till he had eaten thirty-seven. Right then and there I was taken to Tembinoka's heart. He told the captain, "I likum mo' betta, my cook no savee how, bimby cook he come my outche, get good boone (wife)."

After the king had gone ashore, and the lagoon was all quiet, I asked the captain if I could take the jolly boat and go ashore, but he said, "Not tonight, you'll have plenty

of chances later to get acquainted with the island belles, but there is work for you this time!" And so it turned out.

The mate told the anchor watch to keep a sharp lookout and report at once if he saw any canoes approaching, and told the crew to be ready to jump when called.

About midnight the lookout reported a canoe coming in from the outside, and soon it drew alongside the schooner. I was surprised to see that it was loaded with copra. This was what the whispered conferences were about.

These natives had "held out" on the king, and had hidden part of the copra they had cut and were "boot-legging" it. Of course, the captain could get it away below the market price that he would have to pay the king. A bottle of the forbidden trade gin and a few sticks of tobacco usually bought an entire canoe load. Well, the first two nights of our stay were occupied in taking on the contraband merchandise. We had over ten tons safely stowed away under the hatches before we had started to load the king's own copra.

By evening of the second day the king had completed his buying, and the work of taking on the cargo of copra started in earnest. This was brought out to the schooner deck, and then dumped into the hold.

Chapter XXV

An Island Romeo—A Savage's Revenge

During one of our calls at Apemama about a year later, we had a thrilling experience that showed up the savage side of Tembinoka's nature.

All activity had ceased on the lagoon and even with the aid of his glasses the captain could not see any signs of life around the copra house and landing place; so after waiting quite a while, the old man ordered the boat manned, and he went ashore to see what was the matter.

All was excitement around the king's house. The natives were collected in groups, whispering together in a frightened manner, as though some terrible calamity had befallen them.

The king was sitting in his speak house surrounded by the chief men of the island, and seemed worked up into a terrible rage. None of his wives were with him, which showed that some thing of tremendous import had happened.

Over in the women's house the wives were gathered, and were shispering together in an awed and scared manner; that is all but one. A beautiful young girl named Falii, from the village of Tabian, who was one of the newest and youngest members of the Royal harem, was lying on a mat in an adjoining house, surrounded by six or eight old hags. Falii, dressed only in a native *ridi*, was lying face down, sobbing and screaming. Several times she jumped up and tried to leave, only to be pulled down again by the old crones who guarded her.

About two hundred yards back from the beach there was a mob of several hundred natives, surrounding some object that the captain could not see, so he went over to find out what the trouble was all about.

In the center of the crowd was a fine, strapping young native crucified to a coconut tree, head down, just clear of the ground. The hands and feet were bound to the tree with coconut fiber sinnet. Two of the king's soldiers, armed with rifles, stood guard beside the tree, keeping the excited natives back.

The captain thought the boy was dead, but when he examined him more closely, found he was still breathing; though he had been strung up there, head down, for over ten hours. Captain Reid demanded the reason for the outrage, but the natives only shook their heads and pointed to the king's house.

Going at once to the royal "palace," the captain asked to see Tembinoka. He was told that the king would not speak to him till after two P.M. Realizing at once that something most unusual had happened, and that dire tragedy was to follow, the skipper broke all rules of etiquette, and went into the king's speak house uninvited.

Tembinoka was mad at the intrusion, but as he always had a very high regard for Captain Reid, he swallowed his rage and told him to sit down.

The captain immediately asked to know the reason for the torture of the young native. The angry king would not condescend to answer him direct, but ordered one of his chiefs to tell the *demidong* (white man) what had happened to so upset the usual quiet of his little kingdom.

When the king referred to him as "the white man" instead of the usual title of "Cap-pan," the skipper realized how mightily the old king was stirred up.

Well sir, there followed a "human interest" story that was almost unbelievable.

It appears that before the royal eyes of Tembinoka had fallen on the seductive charms of Falii, the daughter of the chief of Tabian, that she and a handsome young buck of the same village named Taroa, had fallen in love, and planned marriage. When the king saw the girl's beauty, all desire for the thirty odd wives in his harem was forgotten; and nothing would satisfy the sensuous old savage, but to enjoy the charms of the voluptuous Falii; so in accordance with the royal command, she was added to the already overflowing harem. But the hearts of young men and maidens are the same the world over, and Taroa and Falii still yearned for each other.

There was no restraint put on the king's wives talking to, and visiting with, their friends; and I don't think it ever entered Tembinoka's head to be suspicious, or jealous. He had such a wonderful idea of his own importance and majesty, that the mere thought of any woman thinking of another man when she had the honor of sharing the royal couch was, to him, unthinkable.

Falii and her former sweetheart often saw each other, and the more she saw of the handsome young Taroa, who stood six feet and was a perfect specimen of young manhood, the more she tired of the fat old king, and the hungrier she became for her lover. Well, the upshot of it all was the craziest thing that I ever heard of. During the night, the young wife had slipped out of the women's house and met her lover. They had in-

tended to steal a canoe and leave the island. Heaven only knows for where. But they could not find one, so decided to run away together on the island. Apemama is less than forty miles long and the king's village is located about the middle, so they had less than twenty miles to run till they arrived at the jumping off place. The natives were sympathetic, but much too scared of Tembinoka to offer any aid; and there was no place to go; so, after enjoying a few hours of bliss, the king's soldiers captured them; when the run-aways were returned to Binoiano, and the scenes witnessed by the captain were the tragic result.

When the chief had concluded his narrative, the king told Captain Reid that at two o'clock the boy would be shot, and his body thrown to the sharks outside the lagoon; while the girl would be condemned to the life of a slave prostitute, kept for the entertainment of visiting sailors.

Captain Reid told the king that he must give up his mad desire for revenge, or that Queen "Victoreea" would send a man-of-war and blow Apemama out of the water, and there would be no more Tembinoka.

The king would not listen, and declared nothing would stop his revenge. However, after half an hour of arguing the two arrived at a compromise. Captain Reid agreed to take the boy Taroa away on the **Equator**, and he was never to set foot on Apemama again; and the king was to have a present of a new repeating rifle, and a case of "Hen-nettii" brandy.

The boy was immediately cut down from the tree, but had to be carried to the boat. However, he regained consciousness by the time they arrived at the schooner; and as soon as he was aboard, he slipped down into the foc's'le and hid for the rest of the day. I never saw any one so badly scared in my life.

Taroa turned out to be a fine worker, and an A-1 sailor. He sailed with Captain Reid for years; but every time the **Equator** entered the lagoon at Apemama he would experience the old dread, and hide away in the hold whenever King Tembinoka came aboard the schooner.

Arriving at Apemama on another trip, we were surprised to note that the king's flag which always flew at the high mast in front of the royal palace, was not hoisted. Soon his brother arrived on board and told us that Tembinoka was over at the island of Nanouki, about twenty miles south, where he had gone to superintend the cutting and curing of his copra, and that Captain Reid was to follow him there.

Before going to the other island, he told us he had quite a lot of copra of his own for us, and that it would be much easier if we sailed down to his village to load it. The anchor was lifted, and we sailed up the lagoon and anchored off the village of Tebanga, which was the old capital of the king's father. On previous occasions when the king's brother had sold us his copra, we had stayed at the anchorage of Binoiano; and the prince had brought his copra down there, a matter of twenty miles or so.

Arriving at Tebanga the first thing that greeted our eyes was a fleet of war canoes that were hauled up under the cocoanut trees. These were the finest and largest canoes I

had seen in the group, and the captain declared that in all the years he had been trading in the Gilberts he had never seen any as large, or in as fine condition.

The war canoes, however, was not the only surprise; for here was located the royal burial ground, where were located the graves of Tembinoka's father and uncle, Tembaitake and Tembinatake, and his savage old grand-father, King Temkorouti, the most hated and feared king ever to rule in the Gilberts.

Close by the royal graves stood the "speak house" of old Tenkorouti, which was adorned with a string of human skulls, arranged around the walls. Originally there had been between forty and fifty skulls, but quite a few were now missing. These were the heads of the old savage's enemies, and it was rumored that quite a number had belonged to white men. All attempts to get the natives to talk about them were met with a silent shake of the head. The king's brother, who was celebrating Tembinoka's absence with a case of square-face gin, was pretty well stewed all the time we were at Tabanga. He got scared half to death when the captain asked him about the speak-house, and said that it was "tapu"; and that the king would be awful mad if he heard that we had been there and had seen it. The skipper eased his mind with a promise of silence. Prince Paul, the adopted son of Tembinoka, had accompanied the king to the other island. I don't believe that Tembinoka ever allowed a white man to visit Tabanga, or to know about the war canoes or the house of skulls. He later told Captain Reid about them himself, while talking about Stevenson, to whom he had grown much attached, and who was always the subject of the king's first inquiry when the *Equator* visited Apemama. Captain Reid had won the king's permission for the Stevenson party's landing and visit, by representing R. L. S. as a special envoy of Queen Victoria, sent to report on the Islands and their king. Tembinoka gave Stevenson a wonderful welcome and lots of information about his kingdom; but maintained a discrete silence regarding the string of heads and the war canoes at Tabanga, as he was afraid it would count against him if included in his report to England's queen.

Each time we called at Apemama, I was more intrigued and interested in studying Tembinoka. As I mentioned before, he did all his own trading, and was as shrewd a bargainer as ever I met. He had one failing, however, that cost him many a pound of copra when the trading captains found it out.

In his childish arrogance, the king never could stand being thwarted in anything; and when he saw something that took his fancy, nothing would satisfy him till it was his. As a result, his store-house was crowded with things that were absolutely useless to him, but for which he had paid a fancy price. What these worthless gadgets represented in the royal inventory may be guessed at from the following incident that happened on one of our trips.

We had taken on a small distilling kettle and coil, for making fresh water from the sea. This was consigned to the trader at the island of Marakei, where all the water was brackish; but owing to bad weather and a heavy sea, we had not been able to make a landing, and so the kettle lay in a corner of the trade-room. The eagle eye of Tembinoka lit on the contraption, while sitting in the trade-room. He was interested at once,

and asked what it was and how it worked. When Captain Reid had explained the process of distilling fresh water from salt, his answer was "I likm, how much?" The captain told him that it had been ordered from San Francisco for the white man at Marakei and he could not sell it. The king's answer was ".I likum, how much?" The explanations went on for an hour, only to receive the patient answer, "I likum, how much?"

The distilling kettle, complete with its copper coil, was maybe worth five dollars, but by the time the king took his leave, it was his; and incidentally, the **Equator's** cargo was increased by five tons of copra.

There was something tragic about the way Tembinoka was cheated and imposed upon. It was not as though he was being fooled; I think he always realized that trading with the white men was a case of dog eat dog, and the devil take the hindmost. At one time he had even tried to eliminate the middle man and to trade direct with the big markets. He had even bought a schooner and shipped his copra direct to Sydney and Auckland, but the venture was disastrous, as his captain and supercargo both double-crossed him, and he not only lost a ship-load of copra, but his schooner as well. His classification of captains showed that at least he knew what they were doing to him. Some, he said, only cheated a little, others cheate "mo' plenny," while those who had been dropped from his trading list and were no longer welcome in Apemama, were catalogues as "Cheat too much mo'planny."

The **Equator** nearly always got a full load at Apemama and needless to say, it was always profitable.

The last time we left this strange island will ever remain fresh in my memory. We had taken on a full cargo, with two hundred sacks of copra piled on hatches as a deck load. I was standing at the galley door watching the green fringe of cocoanut trees dipping under the horizon, when I heard a deep sigh above me. Looking up I saw, on top of the galley, the boy Taroa, whom the captain had saved from the vengeance of Tembinoka, wistfully gazing back at the land where his sweetheart Falli was doubtless watching the white sails of the **Equator**, as they dipped below the sea, carrying away her lover.

The only fresh vegetables that we were able to get in the Gilberts were taro and yams. Many efforts had been made by the traders to raise potatoes and onions, but for some reason it had been a failure. So, except for canned vegetables which were expensive, we only had yams and taro to vary the regular routine of rice and navy beans.

Returning to Butaritari, we found the missionary schooner **Morning Star** at anchor in the lagoon, and when Captain Reid returned from a friendly call on her captain, my heart was gladdened by the sight of two sacks of onions and a sack of potatoes in the boat.

For fresh meat we always had lots of fish, as the waters of the lagoons swarmed with food fishes, and many kinds of game fish were taken in the deep water surrounding the islands.

It was a beautiful sight to see fifteen or twenty canoes out on the smooth water to leeward of the island, fishing for flying-fish, which abound there. These are fished for at night, and are dipped up in hand nets, fastened to the ends of long bamboo poles.

Each canoe carries a flaming torch. One man stands up in the bow and dips up the fish, which rise to the light and swim on the surface in great schools, sometimes so thick that they actually push each other out of the water. Many are eaten raw, while quantities are cooked in the native ovens. A great many are cleaned and dried by hanging in the sun, for future use.

In addition to fish, we sometimes got young pigs, while on some of the islands chickens were plentiful, and made a dainty change from the inevitable "salt horse."

Chapter XXVI

Blackbirding—I Qualify as a Midwife

Life on a trading schooner in the islands was never monotonous, or humdrum, and the unexpected was always happening.

Looking back over our experiences during this cruise, I can well understand the urge that Stevenson had for the business, and which so nearly found expression in the building of the "Northern Light." A few years after his voyages in the *Equator*,¹ R. L. S. tried to relive his happy experiences by taking an extended trip through the islands in a steamer, and strangely enough, it was the old tramp *Janet Nicoll*, on which I left Auckland, and dear to my memory.

On this voyage he visited thirty or forty islands, but except for a pleasant visit with his old friend Tembinoka at Apemama, he found it uninteresting and tiresome, and utterly devoid of the element of adventure and exciting uncertainty of the wind-jammer.

We were all ready to start on another of our regular trips through the group when the unexpected happened, and we were destined for an entirely different experience.

The anchor was short, and everything ready to put to sea. The trade goods were all packed away in the trade-room, hatches battened down, and we were waiting only for the old man to come aboard, when we would be away.

The ship's stores were snugly stowed away in the lazaret, and we had rolled up our shore-going clothes in camphor balls, to save them from the cockroaches, which were plentiful, and often as big as humming birds, when I heard one of the kanaka sailors shout "Kaibuki! Kaibuki!" (Sail ho!) Sure enough, the head sails of a schooner were seen rounding the point to leeward of the lagoon passage.

Anderson was down in the fore-peak, taking a final look to see that all was shipshape below. I called to him to come up and take a look at the queer-looking hooker that was coming into the lagoon.

After signaling the skipper that we were going to have company, we took a good look at the stranger. She was a fore and aft schooner of about one hundred tons burden, her hull a dirty black, and she was lying very low in the water. Her fore topmast was missing, and she was under double-reefed mainsail, though there was scarcely enough

1 Ed. note: It was only one year later, in 1890.

breeze to keep steerage way on her. But the strangest thing was that her decks swarmed with naked blacks.

Captain Reid came right aboard, but after studying the schooner for some minutes, gave orders to pay out more cable, as we would wait until morning before sailing.

In these lonely islands, white men don't meet strangers often, and the old man was anxious to get some news from the outside world, to say nothing of putting on a party with the newcomers. This hankering after news and excitement on the part of our skipper changed the whole plans for our next voyage, and instead of the usual trading trip, we were to have the most exciting and novel time of our young lives.

The visitor turned out to be the schooner **Sonora** of Mazatlan, Captain José Sepulveda, master. She was under charter to Craig & Sons, of Fanning Island, for a black-birding trip through the low archipelago, to recruit black labour for work in their guano beds on Washington and Fanning Islands.

They had finished recruiting their cargo and had started the long beat to windward. Fanning Island lies two thousand miles almost due east of the Gilberts, and as the trade winds blow steadily from the east for ten months of the year, one must sail close-hauled on the wind for the entire trip. They had made about half the distance and were lying becalmed one night, when a while squall caught them with all standing. At the first rush of wind, the fore topmast went by the board, her light sails were blown out of the bolt ropes, and the mainsail ripped from the boom, with the lower part torn to shreds. As they did not carry a spare mainsail, this accounted for the double-reefed sail that puzzled us so much. After the squall was past, and what repairs possible made, it was found that the old tub had sprung a leak, and could only be kept afloat by working the pumps night and day.

Young Mr. Craig, who was aboard and in charge of the blacks, decided that it was useless to try to make Fanning, so he ordered the captain to run for the Gilberts, which lay one thousand miles to leeward. Hence her unexpected appearance at Butaritari. The upshot of it was that before morning Captain Reid and our agent, Mr. Ricks, had chartered the **Equator** to the Craigs, to transport their cargo of "live ebony" to Fanning Island.

Captain Reid sent a native boy out to the **Equator** with orders to the mate to send the cook ashore at once.

Anderson routed me out of my bunk, saying:

"The Old Man wants you in a hurry. You better take some dope with you. Sounds like he's got a belly ache. Too much of that rotten trade gin, I guess."

You know, on all sailing vessels, the cook is the "áDoctor," and has charge of the medicine chest and the "doctor book," as we termed the book of first-aid instructions which is a part of every deep-water sailing vessel's equipment.

Knowing the captain's weakness, I put a bottle of Mother Siegel's Syrup and a bottle of castor oil in my pocket and accompanied the kanaka boy ashore, expecting to find the old man laid out in Tom's saloon. Judge my surprise when he met me at the landing, quite sober, but very much excited.

"Murray," he said, "make a list of stores and provisions for a four months cruise and have it ready for the agent by eight bells, and we will have an extra cabin passenger."

It was two thirty A.M. then, so I had to hustle. But by noon we had our stores on board, and a big storage tank rigged in the forward hold for fresh water, and final arrangements made for our live cargo. Then the work of taking on our strange cargo commenced.

For those who do not know what "Blackbirding" means, a word of explanation will be helpful.

In the old slave days, planters and guano companies could buy all the black labour they required. But in the late Eighties and early Nineties, when these events took place, slavery, even in such out-of-the-way places as the South Seas, was taboo. However, no white man could stand the hard grind of working the guano beds under a tropical sun, and the natives of the half-civilized islands, like Samoa, Fiji or the Tongas, were too independent and lazy, thus, it was necessary to get black labour, the same as in the old slave days, that could be depended on to work. Black labour was recruited in the South Seas for a term of three years, at so much per month, the employer contracting to return them to their native island at the end of their term. This trade was soon found to be almost as lucrative, and often as dangerous, as the old slave trade. Planters would offer a big premium to the captain of a schooner for a cargo of labourers, and the means of recruiting the blacks often savoured of the old slave raiding days.

Most of the blackbirding was done among the "Wild Islands," as they were known, which included the Solomons, New Britain, New Hebrides and other islands of the Western Pacific.

A few decoys were sent ashore, who told the natives about the wonderful life on the plantations, where tobacco and gin were plentiful.

Presents of knives, cloth, trade gin, tobacco, beads and trinkets of all kinds were used as bait, to get them aboard the schooner. Once signed up, they were never allowed on shore again. A present of a case of trade gin or an old rifle to the chief, would sometimes bring off a whole canoe load. Men, women and children were all welcome.

After the effects of the gin and the excitement began to wear off, many of them would try to get home again, and a sharp lookout had to be kept to prevent them from jumping overboard and swimming ashore. However, an armed sentry, pacing the deck all day, generally held them back, and every night the skipper would put to sea, thus giving them no chance to reconsider and jump their contract. As soon as the ship's capacity was reached, she would bear away for her destination. These blacks rarely ever saw their native island again, because it was easy for their employers to see to it that, when their time expired, they were so far in debt to the company for trade goods supplied to them, they had to sign up for another three years to pay off their debts.

Differing from most of the recruiters of black labour at that time, the Craigs confined their efforts to the Kingsmill, or Gilbert Islands, and they had the reputation of treating their help so well that very few ever wanted to return to their native islands, and in 1890, the entire population of Fanning Island consisted of Gilbert Islanders,

with the exception of Mr. Craig's family. They had their own church, and to a large extent, were allowed self-government.

Labour troubles on Fanning Island were almost unknown, and they seldom had difficulty in recruiting a full cargo.

Such a motley crowd you never saw, men, women, young girls, some with their folks, and others entirely alone. We had all classes represented. There were handsome young girls, whose beautiful curves and firm outstanding breasts sharply contrasted with the wrinkled old hags, whose toothless mouths and long-broken ear lobes presented a hideous appearance. Anything on two legs makes grist for the blackbirder's mill.

There was a native missionary and his family from Apaiang. He was the only one who had a shirt on, all the rest, men or women, wore only a short grass *ridi*.

By noon the next day we were ready for sea with our strange cargo, and, with a fresh tradewind blowing down the lagoon, the order was given to get under way. As soon as the anchor was tripped, the captain ordered the head sails hoisted, and the good old **Equator** gathering steerageway, headed for the passage, heeling over to the breeze with a bone in her teth.

The feeling I had, as I surveyed the motley crowd from my seat on the galley roof, realizing that for months we were to be cooped up with them in our little boat, was anything but reassuring.

When we had cleared the passage, the schooner was close-hauled to the wind, and we were off on our long beat to Fanning Island.

As soon as every thing was made ship-shape, Captain Reid called all hands aft and gave us a lecture on how to handle the black cargo. Mr. Craig, their employoer, was to be the final authority in all disputes that might arise between any of themselves, but where any members of the crew were involved, the captain would handle the matter himself. We were given especial orders to "mind our own business," particularly with regard to the fifteen or twenty single, unattached young girls among the cargo. As we had been eighteen months out of San Francisco, and the Old Man was a deep-water sailor himself, he knew that the situation was full of dynamite.

We rigged a big rendering kettle on the main deck, where the natives did their own cooking. Their daily rations consisted of four mats of Japan rice and fifty pounds of salt meat, either beef or pork, and twice a week they had a ration of dried salt salmon. This was helped out by whatever fresh fish or meat was caught, and no matter whether it was shark, skip-jack, porpoise or booby-bird, it all found its way into the big kettle, and was hailed as a great treat by the blacks.

Each one of the natives was allotted a small space on the deck or in the hold, and that was their "home" for the entire voyage. At night, everyone had to keep to his, or her, own allotted spot, rain or shine, but during the day they were allowed to roam all over the schooner, except on the after deck, in the cabin, fo'c'sle, or galley, where I held sway.

We soon discovered that stealing was a second nature with these semi-savages, especially if it was something good to eat. After the first few nights at sea, I missed so

many things from the galley, in spite of locks, that for the remainder of the voyage I spread my blankets on the galley floor, and with my head to windward, slept among my pots and pans. This arrangement worked fine, except when, during the night watches, the wind veered a few points and the schooner was put on the other tack, in order to make all the "Easting" possible, then, as she filled away on the other tack, I would find my feet elevated away above my head.

Life aboard the **Equator** was a most interesting and complex experience during these eventful and hectic days, with a burning sun overhead, as we breasted the long ocean swells, close-hauled to the steady trade winds, which, in these latitudes, hold with little variation for ten months of the year.

The native missionary used to collect a group of listeners under the leach of the fore-sail and preach to them by the hour. The fact that he never made any converts did not seem to discourage him in the least, and I often thought that he would have chucked the whole business except for the fact that he was the only one in the bunch who sported a shirt like the white men. On another part of the deck, a wild-looking lot of savages from Peru and Nukunau were gambling their earthly possessions away at poker, which they had learned from the sailors. Your old Western strip poker was tame alongside of that game. One savage old warrior, when, after a run of bad luck, he held a queen full, offered to wager his young wife on the hand, as that was all he had left.

There was quite a lot of love making between the single girls and the young bucks of our cargo; and many a fight was pulled off. However, as their weapons were all confiscated when they came aboard, they had to rely on their hands and feet, and last but not least, their teeth.

Then days after leaving Butaritari the wind began to fail; and one morning we woke up to find the schooner wallowing in a dead calm. Our position was now pretty close to the line, and we were in what is known to navigators as the doldrums. The sails were flapping against the spars as the vessel rolled in the swell; and the surface of the water was as smooth as a sheet of glass as far as the eye could reach. We were all trying to find a shady spot in order to escape the burning sun; when the cry of "Maku" was raised by the natives, and sure enough, just off the starboard quarter we saw the black dorsal fin of the hated tiger of the sea. As he came nearer, we could see the cold cruel eyes watching the ship and looking for any morsel that might be thrown overboard.

The natives got tremendously excited, and preparations were at once made for his capture.

All sailors hate a shark, and enjoy nothing better than to witness his death struggle, no matter how horribly he suffers. A favourite way was to rig a dynamite bomb with a slow fuse and wrap it up in a piece of salt pork. The shark would bolt the salt pork as soon as it was thrown to him, bomb, fuse and all; and then it was only a matter of minutes until Mr. Shark suffered from an "internal combustion," to the general satisfaction of all hands.

As soon as the shark was sighted, the second mate came to the galley for a piece of pork to bait the infernal machine; but Captain Reid immediately stopped the show.

With over a hundred hungry bellies to be filled, fifteen or twenty feet of shark was not to be thrown away.

We went to work then to catch the brute, which was not so much fun as seeing him blown up, but the thought of his finish in the big rendering kettle somewhat appeased our desire for revenge. We tied a piece of smelly salt pork to the end of a stout fishing line without any hook. Then we made a slip bowline on the loose end of a rope. Passing the baited line through the loop, we dropped it over the side of the schooner. Mr. Shark made a bee line for the bait; but as often as he reached it and tried to grab it, we hauled in on the line and kept it just out of his reach. As the bait was floating on the smooth water, it was easy to watch his every move.

The brute seemed to know no fear, and followed the bait right up under our counter, where the line led through the slip noose. The rope did not seem to scare him a bit, not even when he had to push it aside to follow the high smelling pork. As soon as the dorsal fin was clear of the loop, we jerked the noose tight; and the monster was neatly lassoed by the tail with a stout inch-and-a-half Manila rope. To run the line through a tackle on the main boom was only the work of a minute; when twenty willing hands hauled away, and the shark was hoisted clear of the water, well out board, where his snapping teeth could do us no harm.

It proved to be a man-eater, a little over fifteen feet long. After we had enjoyed his struggles for a while, a forty-five bullet through his nose finished him; and the work of cutting up the meat furnished the natives with fun for the rest of the day.

Toward evening a breeze sprung up, and we were glad to get away from that shark-infested region.

For several days there had been an uneasy feeling that everything was not well on board. It was hard to describe; but we all felt there was trouble in the air. Things came to a head one morning with a rush.

It appeared that two of the young Peru Islanders had both taken a fancy to a handsome young savage belle from Tapiteuea, and they were getting pretty jealous of each other. While doing a little spying on his rival's movements during the night, along about four bells, in the middle watch, one young buck was rewarded by seeing a dark form slipping along the forward deck near the windlass, where the girl's sleeping space was. As he reached her side, she quietly raised the edge of her blanket to make room for him; but just then things began to happen. Mr. Peru Islander was on him in one jump, and then he got the surprise of his young life; for, instead of his rival countryman, the girl's visitor turned out to be "Boston Tom," the white sailor.

It then seemed as though all hell had broken loose.

The young buck wanted to take Tom's life right then and there; but others of the natives, older and cooler headed, grabbed hold of him; while the mate came forward on the run, m gun in hand.

My galley was just abaft the windlass; so, of course, I was awake with the first shout.

Mr. Anderson's authority, backed up by the forty-five Smith and Wesson in his hand, finally brought calm. Tom was ordered aft to relieve the wheel, while the mate tried to get to the bottom of the affair.

After breakfast, Captain Reid held an inquiry into the whole business. Seated on the quarter deck with Mr. Craig as associate judge, and myself as clerk of the court, we held our first sea trial. The native missionary acted as counsel in general for the natives; and I must say he showed no partiality for either of the bucks or the girl.

Well, it finally developed under the old man's cross-examination that Tom and the girl had been on friendly terms for quite a while; and on the night that he had been "forward lookout" during the middle watch, had been a regular and welcome visitor.

Well sir, things certainly began to get interesting then. It seemed this time, as though hell had broken loose for keeps.

The bucks started to dance a devil-dance, right on the cabin roof. The missionary lost his religion all at once, and tearing off his shirt, threw it overboard and joined in the mad war-dance. Nothing would satisfy them but Tom's blood right on the spot.

Seeing that the situation was fast getting out of control, the captain called all the crew around the companion-way, and told me to go below and bring up guns for all the whites. As soon as I had passed out the revolvers, the captain jumped on the deck house and ordered the quarter deck cleared.

Although half the savages were crowded on the after deck, the look on the old man's face, backed up by a forty-five in each hand, had the desired effect. Order was restored, and then the trial proceeded. Tom was fined one month's pay, and condemned to be turned over to the police and hanged the day we arrived in San Francisco. This sentence was solemnly entered in the ship's

log, before them all; and the turmoil cooled down.

But the way the missionary handled his end would have done credit to King Solomon himself. He told the two bucks to stand up together on the main deck, and ordered the girl to pick out her future mate.

The two blacks called a halt, and after some excited speeches, of which I could make nothing, they both ran to their home, or sleeping place, where each kept his personal belongings. In about twenty minutes both re-appeared, dolled up in all their savage finery; hideous white paint on their faces, bodies all freshly oiled, their tattoo marks standing out like fresh paint. Long polished bodkins were stuck through their noses, and with the exception of bracelets on their arms, and anklets around their lower limbs, they were as naked as the day they were born.

Those two bucks put on a cake-walk that would have made a southern darky green with envy. To take the place of their confiscated spears, each had grabbed an oar from the dory; and they certainly cut some figure.

However, the show could not last forever; so the girl finally went up to one of them, and rubbing noses with him, the choice was made, and the excitement ended.

The missionary had, in the meantime, got another shirt on; and the wedding took place immediately, to the satisfaction of all concerned, except the defeated candidate.

Still, I don't think he worried very much; because, a little later I saw him sitting on the lee cat-head, with one of the prettiest girls from Tarawa, which island had the prettiest maidens in the whole South Seas.

Mr. Craig passed out an extra sack of rice for the wedding feast, and Captain Reid added a case of tinned salmon, which the natives consider a rare treat. So the day, that had started so ominously, ended with everybody happy.

The lucky groom even gave Tom a beautifully carved bracelet made of polished shell, with a large pearl mounted in the center.

As I mentioned before, on all sailing vessels in the old windjammer days, the cook has charge of the medicine chest. When any of the crew get sick, or have a stomach ache it is the cook's job to diagnose the case to the best of his ability; and then dope him up according to the "doctor book," which is included in all ships' medicine chests.

Ninety-five per cent of the ailments claimed by sailors are only excuses to get out of duty and enjoy a "weatch below." So the safest course to take, and what is always done first, is to give the patient a big dose of epsom salts, or two ounces of castor oil. I had a two-gallon keg (not a bottle) of each in my locker. After the first sick spell, deep-water sailors seldom get sick again.

But on a Blackbirder it is different. Nearly every day, some of the natives would go aft to Mr. Craig complaining of some sickness or other; and of course he would send them to me for treatment, much to the disgust of old Nautaka, who, before shipping, was a Devil-doctor in his home island, and who thought I was "crabbing his act."

As the salt-sea air is God's own health giver, and their daily diet consisted of boiled rice and other healthful foods, the general condition of the black cargo's health was very good. So I looked wise, felt their pulse, and then had them stick out their tongue, while I examined their mouth. I had a big reading glass about six inches in diameter that I always used for this purpose, because it impressed the natives. Then after a solemn reference to the Medical Guide, I would administer two ounces of castor oil or an ounce of pain-killer, and soon everything would be jake.

One day, though, I had a different case on my hands. One of the natives from the low islands was taken sick, and I saw at once that it was serious. I had seen quite a lot of dysentery among the Kanakas, during my stay in Samoa; and recognized the same symptoms here.

I called the captain and Mr. Craig, and the three of us studied the case and what the book had to say regarding its treatment.

The poor fellow was in a bad way, and nothing we gave him seemed to stop the ravages of the disease.

A little after midnight of the fifth day of his sickness, two of the natives came to the galley and awakened me, saying: "Him fella along hole flenny sick, catchem die."

I went down into the main hold where his "space" was located, and indeed it did look as though he were going to pass out; but he was still breathing, although lock-jaw had set in.

I looked in the medicine book for help, but it said that in such cases, there was very little hope; but as a last resort to administer sixty drops of laudanum. As that seemed enough to kill a horse, I hesitated to follow the directions, but went aft and called the captain.

When I told him of the man's condition, and what the book said, he agreed that it was a drastic dose. So we called Mr. Craig, as he was the one responsible. He was in a quandary, but said it was my duty to do my best and follow the book's directions. Captain Reid made him sign a release for the ship's owners and myself in case the native died; then he told me to go ahead and give him the laudanum.

I did my best; but the poor fellow was beyond medical—or should I say "culinary" aid, and he died a little after sunup.

There was a decided air of sadness all over the schooner. This was the first death to take place on the *Equator*, not only on this trip, but since Captain Reid had taken command of her on the day she slid down the ways at the ship-building yards in Benicia.

As ship's steward, it fell my lot to prepare the body for consignment to the deep. We had no round shot aboard to use as siners, so I got a number of bricks from the ballast locker. We sewed him in native tapa in place of canvas, with the bricks at his feet, to carry the body to the bottom.

In the tropics, mortification sets in very rapidly after death; so burial always takes place the same day. The captain gave orders for all hands to stand by for burial at eleven o'clock; so there was no more work done that morning. The sailors shaved and washed up, as if it were Sunday.

I went down in the hold at ten thirty to make sure that all was in readiness; but was amazed at the sight that met my eyes.

The corpse had increased in size about three times. Instead of the thin, wasted form that I had helped to sew up, it was puffed up like a balloon, because of gas forming inside. I saw at once that the body would float if it were launched over like that; but what to do, beat me; because we could never add enough bricks to ballast it.

I explained to one of the natives what the trouble was, and he came to my aid manfully. Without batting an eye, he asked the mate for his sheath knife; and before we had any idea of what was happening, he stuck it into the swollen belly of the corpse. There was a sickening sound, like a punctured tire, and the body settled down to its former size.

We carried it up on deck; a plank was laid from the main hatch comb to the lee rail and the body laid on the plank, with the ship's flag spread over it.

The native missionary, dressed in a white shirt and lava-lava, Bible in hand, stood ready for the burial; while the natives sat around the decks, keeping up a continuous chant or howl, each group according to their own custom.

It was a bright, clear day, with a fresh breeze that carried us along about eight knots, which heartened us a lot, as there was not much chance of sharks following the ship, as they would during a calm.

At six bells, Captain Reid gave orders to "Heave to." As soon as the men were at their stations, the signal was given to the man at the helm to "PUt down your helm." As the schooner came up in the wind, and the fore and staysail sheets were hauled to windward, the **Equator** came to a full stop, her nose pointing right into the wind's eye.

The missionary read teh burial service, and then some of the women in his crowd sang a hymn in the Gilbert Island language, to the tune of "Nearer My God to Thee." At the end of the hymn, the mate raised the inboard end of the plank, and the body slipped overboard, feet first, and sank immediately.

For about ten minutes Captain Reid, who was standing at the break of the poop, gazed at the empty plank. Then turning to the mate said, "PUt her on her course, Mr. Anderson, and send the watch below." And the first tragedy of our eventful trip was history.

The next interesting event of this strange voyage happened about a week after we had consigned the poor devil to the sea. Mr. Craig came to the galley door one day and asked me if I knew anything about "obstetrics." I told him no, but I guessed there would be directons in the cook book, and I would try and prepare it for him.

"No, no, that is not something to eat," he said. "That is a medical term, that means taking care of a woman when she is ahving a baby."

"Well," I replied, "I guess I'll have to pass, because deep-water sailors are not supposed to have children. at least not at sea."

Then he told me that one of the black women was going to have a baby, and that it was up to me, as ship's doctor, to do my stuff. I got out the Medical Guide and read what little there was on the subject; but I did not get much knowledge, as the author n4ever dreamed of a sea cook aboard a little old windjammer ever having to play mid-wife. However, the missionary's wife came to my aid and between us everything went lovely, and the Tarawa woman gave birth to a fine big girl.

In memory of the attending "doctor" and the place of birth, the little lady was christened áKoketata," the nearest the natives could come to "cook" and áEquator." I often wonder if she is still living.

The days passed rapidly, and, the tradewind holding, we made good time. The distance from Butaritari to Fanning is about two thousand miles; and as it was a dead beat to windward, we had to sail about six thousand miles, or in rough figures, about three miles for one.

We had been about six weeks out of port when one afternoon I was aroused from my nap by the cry "Kaibuki! Kabuki!" and there, about four points on our weather bow, the skysails of a square-rigged vessel were just showing above the horizon.

The cry of "Sail ho!" soon brought upu the old man, who sent the mate aloft with a spy glass. He made her out to be a bark, running close-hauled, and deep in the water. The schooner ws put about, so as to throw our courses across each other, as the skipper wanted to "speak" the stranger. We carried no signal bunting, so the captain ran up the ensign, the house flag, or burgee, and an old homeward-bound pennant I found in the flag locker. Of course, the captain of the other ship could make nothing of our

signals, but understood that we wanted something, and changed his course in order to run past our stern.

It proved to be the American bark **Emma Crawford**, from Sydney, bound to San Francisco with a cargo of wool. Captain Reid wanted to inform his owners where we were, so asked the Yankee skipper if he would take a letter. The captain's answer was "Sure, if you have anything to drink aboard, I haven't tasted a drop of liquor for two weeks." We lowered a boat, and the old man went aboard the bark, with a case of square-face gin, which was joyfully received by the crew of the **Crawford**.

Before the ships came near each other, Captain Reid had made all the natives go below, as he had no wish to have it reported in the San Francisco papers that the **Equator** was in the tabooed "blackbirding" trade.

We were now getting near our destination, and on the morning of December 15th, just fifty-two days out of Butaritari, we made a land-fall. It proved to be Washington Island, one hundred sixty degrees west, and five degrees north of the line.

Washington is a barren, low island with no harbour or anchorage. It has been the home of countless millions of sea birds for untold ages, and the guano deposits there are among the richest in the world. As about half of our cargo was destined for this God-forsaken spot, preparations were made for putting them ashore. This proved quite an undertaking, as the schooner "stood off and on" while the live cargo was loaded into surf boats. There being no landing place, they were run through the surf and beached on the one small splot of sand on the lee side of the island. This was slow work and the job took three days. Several of the boats were swamped, and one poor woman who had been under my care, following the second case of child-birth on the **Equator**, was so weak from her sickness that the ordeal was too much for her, and died a few minutes after being dragged through the surf.

On the evening of the third day at Washington Island we put to sea and headed for Fanning Island, which lies about one hundred miles east-southeast of Washington, and where the headquarters of Craig & Sons was located.

At that date Fanning was one of the loneliest spots in the Pacific, only being visited about once or twice a year by the guano carriers, and was inhabited only by Mr Craig's family and the imported contract labourers.

At the present time [ca. 1939] there is a relay station of the trans-Pacific cable at Fanning Island, so it is in daily touch with the outside world.

Fanning has a lagoon with a good anchorage and a wharf where small vessels can be moored. We raised the island about noon the day after leaving Washington, and before night were safely tied up at the little dock, for the first time since leaving Honolulu, nearly a year and a half before.

Here we landed the balance of our "live ebony," and take it from me, that was my 1st trip as cook of a blackbirder.

Old Mr. Craig, who owned Fanning and Washington Islands, had a family of four children. The eldest son, who had been with us on the trip, and the second, a daughter, were now at home on Fanning with their father. Coming on board late that night, Cap-

tain Reid was much excited and started pacing the deck. I asked him if he wasn't going to work on his story. Stopping in his walk, he said: "Murray, what is the good of thinking about a story girl, when you can look at and talk to a girl with the loveliest pair of eyes in the South Seas?"

Well, the fiery little Scotchman had met his fate, and before we left Fanning on our return to the Gilberts, he told me that it was settled, and that Mr. Craig and his daughter were to make connection with the mail steamer and come up to San Francisco, where they were going to be married.

Nothing happened to spoil their plans, and a few months later, when the **Equator** left San Francisco on her next trip to the Islands, the happy captain was accompanied by his beautiful young bride.

After discharging our cargo of natives we had no freight for the return trip, and so we sailed in ballast. The distance that had taken fifty-two days to make against the wind and currents was completed in eleven days, before a fine breeze. The strain that we had been under had been hard on all hands, and except for the necessary working of the ship, no work was done by the crew. The captain was still in a happy mood, and we were treated to "In the Gloaming" every night in the cabin, while "splicing the main brace" took place on the main deck.

When we arrived at our anchorage, we learned that a bark, sent down from San Francisco to load our stock of copra for Europe, had arrived and departed during our long trip, and so there was mail for most of us. I was glad to receive letters from home, though my folks thought that I was in California, and had written in care of Wightman's office. But what was the best news of all, was that after one more swing through the group, we were to go to San Francisco, that, and a letter from Mary.

We visited five islands on that last trip, but we hardly noticed the days slip by, we felt so good over the thought of getting back to civilization again.

While we were at Apaiang, the white missionary came aboard to take passage for Butaritari. When he heard that we were going home after the trip, he immediately applied for a passage to San Francisco, as he was going home for a much needed rest. We had good luck on our last trading trip, and were back in Butaritari with a full load of copra at the end of three weeks.

Chapter XXVII

Homeward-bound—A Sea Tragedy and a Sky Pilot

As we were to go directly to San Francisco, our cargo of copra was not unloaded at Butaritari, so the crew had time to put everything in good shape for the long passage to the Pacific Coast.

The **Equator** was given a fresh coat of white paint, and the running gear overhauled.

The morning after our arrival in the lagoon, we got out the homeward-bound pennant, a strip of bunting twenty-five feet long, and ran it up to the fore topmast head, where we left it flying, day and night, until we put to sea.

It is hard for a modern sailor to understand the feeling of the old-timers, who, after being two years on one trip, realize that they are once more headed for a home port and loved ones. Nowadays, the average seafaring man is seldom away from home for a month, and many trips are of only a few days duration.

My time was pretty well taken up with getting my pantry list made up for the long trip. Preparation was made for a six months voyage, which was three times as long as we hoped it would take us. When you had nothing but your sails to depend on, one had to be prepared for anything.

It caused quite a lot of anxiety to us of the after guard when the skipper told me to prepara for a cabin apssenger as mr. Walkup, the missionary, was going with us.

Every night, as soon as the first watch was set and the weather permitted it, a game of poker was played in the little cabin. The captain, mate, Charlie Selph¹ and I, with any trader or visitor who might be aboard, made up the party. Except when at anchor, the game always broke up at ten o'clock. For counters, we used small round shells, which take the place of poker chips everywhere in the islands.

When there were no prospective "angels" present, we always confined ourselves to a friendly game of penny ante, with a two-bit limit. Howeevr, we knew that the "sky pilot" would look on it as gambling; hence, our concern regarding his presence on the long voyage, which, deprived of our pastime, would seem long indeed.

As ther would not be any cargo to handle, Captain Reid left the boy Taroa, from Apemama, with our agent at Butaritari.

The work of taking on stores and overhauling completed, we got ready for sea. Along with what fresh fruit and fish we could handle, I had a dozen live chickens and two suckling pigs.

On February 5th [1891], we were all ready to leave. The night before had been a hilarious one. Tom, the proprietor of the "Sans Souci" bar, had kept open house, and the fun ran fast and furious. I remember the sad look on Mr. Walkup's face as he passed the saloon in the early evening.

During the time we were in Butaritari he stayed with Maka, the native missionary. The scene of revelry was too much for him, so he had Maka take him out to the schooner, where he would not be shocked by the sight of the happy revelers. I really think the good man had the surprise of his life, when he saw everybody sober and attending to his business in the morning.

There was a fresh trawind blowing, and the day was perfect. We had the mainsail hoisted, and the anchor was short, when we heard a splash, and looking over the side, we saw one of our precious young pigs floundering in the water. Anderson was going to lower the jolly boat, which was still hanging from the davits, but the captain hol-

1 Ed. note: I guess he had replaced Boston Tom.

lered: "Belay there, Mister, we can't take a chance on missing the tide for a pig; heave away there, men, and stand by your halyards."

I had been making great plans for Sunday dinner, and there it was, dropping astern, and out of reach. Figuring that I could easily get back aboard before we got under way, I jumped overboard after the little pig. Somehow, my plans did not turn out right, for after reaching the struggling pig, I could not make it back to the schooner.

Seeing my fix, Captain Reid immediately ordered the boat lowered, to pick me up. While trying to keep the pig afloat I heard a shout from the deck, and pointing to a black fin, Mr. Walkup called, "Shark! Shark!" And there, between me and the ship, the ugly dorsal fin was cutting the water.

Sharks, while not unknown, were very rare in the shallower parts of the lagoon, and I had never given them a thought.

Everyone was shouting to the boat's crew to hurry, but there was not a chance for them to get around the schooner in time.

I saw a brown streak flashing through the air between me and the shark, followed by a splash, and the black fin disappeared. Tatoma, the Hawaiian sailor, had dived from the roof of the deck house, knife in hand, and coming up under the shark, had ripped his belly open. Except for a streak of blood, that was the last we saw of the shark.

Reaching my side, Anderson hauled me into the boat, still hanging on to the pig. On gaining the deck, of course, I got a good bawling out from the skipper, but we had the pig.

As soon as the excitement cooled down, the anchor was tripped, and gathering headway, the **Equator** headed for the passage, and we waved good-bye to Butaritari.

Clearing the entrance, the schooner was hauled close to the wind, the sails sheeted home, and the long beat to the coast started.

Before sundown we were out of sight of land and settled down to our regular sea routine.

Mr. Walkup had the upper berth on the port side of the cabin and was lying down enjoying a book, when we started a game of poker after supper. As the game progressed, I glanced up at his berth and was both surprised and relieved to see that he was watching the game with interest, and I believe that he enjoyed it as much as the players.

As the days went by and we got better acquainted with him, we found him a real good sport, and except taking a hand in the poker games, he entered into all activities wholeheartedly, and often entertained us with interesting stories of the natives, or read aloud from some of his books.

The first Sunday out, we had one of our young pigs for dinner, and it certainly made a nice-looking dish, roasted whole.

Mr. Walkup asked the captain if he might hold a service on the ship's deck. The skipper said he would be glad to have him, but that he did not have to hold it on deck, because the cabin would be entirely at his disposal.

At half past seven that evening, Captain Reid stopped the poker game and invited the sky pilot to take charge. The cards and counters were pushed to one side but left on

the table. The captain told all hands except the man at the wheel to come aft. Mr. Wal-kup, taking the captain's chair at the end of the table, said that we would open the service with singing. He had a copy of the old Gospel Hymns number one, and turning to "Shall We Gather at the River," handed me the book and asked me to start it. That was followed by two or three others; when he read a passage from the Bible, and made us a short talk, using seafaring terms we all understood, and closed with the Lord's prayer.

The picture of the schooner's cabin that night still lingers in my memory. The earnest face of the missionary, with its bristling red moustache and beard, contrasting with the kindly expression of his mouth and eyes, sitting at the end of the table, surrounded by the captain and crew, whose faces expressed thoughts all the way from sincere sympathy to scornful disbelief; while the kanaka sailors looked on with open-eyed wonder at a scene they had never dreamed possible. The piles of poker counters and cards formed an incongruous background, while overhead, the little oil lamp, swaying to the motion of the ship, alternately threw shadows and highlights over the whole.

Before quitting the doldrums we experienced the regular routine of calms and squalls, with varying winds, at times rolling on a glassy sea for days at a stretch, and again taking advantage of a tropical squall from the west to gain miles of easting.

We had been out four weeks from Butaritari, and were well to the north, when it came on to blow pretty hard from the northwest. Captain Reid thought that we had been lucky and picked up the northwest trades earlier than expected, but the wind kept getting stronger, while the falling glass told us all was not well. All the light sail were taken in, and under only the lower sails the schooner was making better than ten knots, as the wind was well abaft the beam.

When the watches were changed at eight bells, the captain ordered double reefs in the main and fore sails, but even under that amount of canvas she leaped over the waves and stormed into the night like a frightened horse.

When I came on deck at four in the morning, we were scudding before a howling gale, under nothing but a double-reefed foresail and storm staysail.

During the night the sea had risen, and tremendous waves were chasing the schooner, and it looked as though we would be pooped each time an onrushing wave overtook us. Had it been a larger vessel, the decks would have been swept, but the tough little schooner gallantly rose to each swell, the very size of the waves proving our salvation.

By noon the wind had reached hurricane force. The captain decided that even the close-reefed foresail was too much and was causing the schooner to bury her nose; so he told the mate to call all hands and take it in, while he himself took the wheel. The men were just taking a hold of the halyards, when with a report like a cannon, the sail was ripped from the bolt ropes, and fluttered like a rag from the boom. The work of securing the flapping canvas, which was made easier on account of being close-reefed, was finally completed, and the fore gaff secured and lashed. Except for the storm staysail, we were now under bare poles, and an idea of the force of the wind can be im-

aged, when the patent log still showed us to be doing better than seven and a half knots.

The gale held all night, and the next morning, which was Sunday, there seemed very little letup. However, the fact that there was plenty of sea-room and we were being driven in the direction we wanted to go, made up for the discomfort of the storm.

The sun came out before noon, and the force of the wind seemed to ease a little, but as the storm abated, the sea rose even higher, till it seemed as though we would be engulfed.

Captain Reid, who had been on duty for thirty hours, went below for a little rest, while the mate took charge of the deck. The boy La was at the wheel, and at four bells the mate, who relieved him, told me to give the boy a cup of hot coffee, as he was chilled through with two hours at the wheel, exposed to the full force of the gale.

Our after companion-way was closed and battened down, to prevent flooding the cabin if a wave came over the poop, so I made my way forward on the weather side of the deck house, hanging on to the life lines that had been rigged. At the same time the boy La started forward along the lee side of the cabin. Just as I reached the break of the poop, a wave like a young mountain broke over our counter and swept the after deck. The mate clung to the wheel and saved himself, while I was washed against the weather side of the cabin and on to the main deck. La, who was on the lee side, was washed overboard, and his grip on the life line torn loose.

A shout of "Man overboard, call the captain," from Anderson, reached me above the noise of the wind.

Rushing below, I burst into the captain's stateroom, only to find him piling out of his berth, as the mate's cry had reached him.

"Call all hands," he ordered as he reached the deck.

TAKING the wheel himself, he told the mate to set the aminsail, and we would beat back and save the boy.

"My God, Captain, it is certain death to broach her to in this wind and sea," replied the mate.

"I know the danger, Mr. Anderson, but it is certain death for La if we don't. As long as he's afloat, we must try and save him" was the old man's response.

Then to me he said, "Climb aloft, Murray, and keep your eye on the boy. Watch where the birds are circling and you'll locate him."

Sarming into the main rigging, I was able to olocate La's position by the circling sea birds, and once or twice, when he was lifted to the top of a great wave, I caught sight of his form.

For two hours the captain tried bravely to beat his ship back against the gale and mountainous waves, at the peril of our lives, but in the end, he had to give up.

The boy must have sunk beneath the waves, as the birds gave up their curious circling, an we had nothing to guide our search by.

With a heavy heart, Captain Reid ordered the mainsail lowered, and the schooner again put before the wind.

The feeling of sadness that pervaded the little schooner that night was very real. When for two years, people have been penned up together in a boat less than seventy feet long, they get pretty well attached to each other, and a little thing like the color of your skin doesn't seem to make much difference. La, by his sunny disposition and capable seamanship, had endeared himself to us all.

That night there was no poker game in the cabin. As it was Sunday, Mr. Walkup held his regular service in the cabin, which seemed extra close and stuffy, as the after companion was still battened down.

I remember we sung "Sweet Bye and Bye," then he read a passage describing the unexpectedness of death. After reading the verses he paused, and added, "Two boys shall be on the deck, the one taken, and the other left." The service in the cabin that night was La's funeral, and the plea made by the kind-hearted missionary was not lost on at least one of his hearers.

The wind held strong from the northwest for another twenty-four hours before the storm had blown itself out. As a result of the blow, we had gained about five degrees of easting, when we again headed for the coast with the easterly tradewind.

As we got further north we began to feel the cold, which seemed strange after the uniform heat of the tropics.

The remaining pig we had brought from the Islands had now grown into a good-sized hog, and when killed and dressed, it furnished us with a welcome supply of fresh meat, which with the cooler weather, kept in good condition till used.

We were well to the north of Honolulu when the wind hauled to the northwest and gave us a fair wind for home, which held steady till, on the morning of March 30th [1891], we sighted the Farallone light-house, just fifty-three days from Butaritari.

By the middle of the afternoon we entered the Golden Gate, and as the sun sank into the Pacific, the **Equator** again dropped her anchor off Meigg's wharf, and after an absence of nearly two years, we were once more returned to civilization.

Document 1889Q

The shipwreck of the John M. Clerk at Ujelang

Source: PNA.

Letter from Navy HQ to General General, dated Manila 22 March 1890

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[From] Naval Headquarters in the Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, in letters dated 27 and 29 October of last year [1889] tells me the following:

“Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir:

“The Commander of the Naval Division of the Eastern Carolines tells me, with yesterday’s date, the following:

*“This afternoon, there arrived at this port one boat belonging to the Bark **John M. Clerk** that was lost on Providence Island on the 15 September last.*

*“Her captain, Mr. E. N. Pendleton, tells the Governor in a private letter that he remains with 8 crewmen of the Bark, safe, and out of danger, with some food and protected by the trader established there, Mr. Gordon, so that it is not urgent for now to receive the help that will be needed in due course to get transportation to where there exists an American Consul. Meanwhile, the Mate and sailors are lodged aboard the **Dofia María de Molina**; after I talked with her Commander, he told me that the Mate will bunk with the mates and that he needs European rations which he has not got aboard because his crew is native.*

“Which I have the honor to notify you about, so that you may order that the ship under your worthy command pass on to the Hulk the necessary rations until there be an occasion for a ship going to Jaluit or Manila, as the shipwrecked sailors want to go to either of these places.”

“In turn, I replied to the said Head of the Division, as follows: “Made aware by your communications of yesterday about the arrival at this port of the shipwrecked crew of the ship **John M. Clerk**, today 120 rations for European naval personnel have been

transferred to the Hulk **Dofia María de Molina**. Which I have the honor to bring to your superior attention and in compliance with my duty.”

“Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir:

“The Commander of the Naval Division of the Eastern Carolines, with yesterday’s date, tells me what follows:

*“I have the honor to notify you that the Mate of the Bark **John M. Clerk** has come to thank me for the assistance offered and that they did not accept for now because they ahve arranged with Mr. Narruhn¹ to go with his ipacket boat to Providence Island to pick up the Captain and the rest of the shipwrecked crew. The said packet boat was made ready today and will go out tomorrow manned by the four shipwrecked crewmen for the purpose mentioned. Which I have the honor to pass on to Y.E. for your superior attention and in compliance with my duty.”*

Which I have the honor to forward to Y.E. for your superior attention.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 22 March 1890.

[Signature undecipherable]

1 Ed. note: A trader established in Chuuk.

Documents 1889R

Transfer of Carolinians from Tinian to Saipan

Source: PNA, Marianas 1889, Bundle No. 113, No. 7.

R1. Recommendation made to the Governor General

Secretariat, Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1889.

File regarding the transfer of residence requested by the Carolinians of Tinian to the island of Saipan, Marianas.

Your Excellency:

The Governor of the Marianas, in his Letter N° 366 of last 2nd January last, says to Y.E. that in the same mail he forwards to your Superior Authority the request of the Carolinians of Tinian asking to move their residence to the island of Saipan; he also brings to your attention those who are now on the island of Guajan, numbering 187, who occupy the suburb named María Cristina, a distance of 4 kilometers from Agaña.¹

That, notwithstanding their having been there since 1866, their moral and material progress is very little and that all remain pagan and stubborn against civilization, and that such lack of progress is due to the lack of priests in that capital [i.e. Agaña].

That, given our system of conceptual colonization causing great damage in that territory, races antipathetic to Catholicism establish themselves in it and may one day produce religious dissidents, so that he believes proper to have the said Carolinians of María Cristina move to the island of Saipan where all the Carolinian people existing in those islands would be established and, under the supervision of the missionary [in Saipan], be introduced to the principles of the Catholic religion.

That, if Y.E. would think proper on account of the reasons exposed would authorize the move from the said suburb to Saipan as the said Carolinians wish it, it would be necessary to give them land sites for their agriculture as substitutes for those left behind and one ship to transport them overthere.

Note: The Secretariat, while having the honor to inform Y.E., takes the liberty to made the following points:

1) That the said Carolinians of Guajan were brought to that place in the year 1868

¹ Ed. note: María Cristina is the former name of Tamuning.

in order for them to practice agriculture and little by little to convert to our religion.

2) If, after the time elapsed, the objective has not been fulfilled, it has been either for lack of care or lack of time on the part of the Agañamissionaries to comply with their mission.

3) That if the intention of the Governor in moving them to Saipan is only for the purpose of having them closer to the missionary of that island for them to be "reduced" to our religion, the undersigned believes that this objective can be achieved by recommending to the Missionary of the capital that either he or some of his co-adjutors attend to the civilization and evangelization of the said Carolinians, thus saving the Treasury the expenses of transporting those individuals to the island of Saipan where the said Governor wants to take them.

As mentioned above, the Secrateriat is of the opinion that the Governor of the Marianas should be told not to change the residence of the Guajan Carolinians for now and that Y.E. should encourage the zeal of the Agaña Missionary through the Provincial of his order in this Capital so that with their characteristic zeal they attend to the civilization of the said Carolinians.

Y.E. will nevertheless decide waht you think best.

R2. Actual petition of the Carolinians of Tinian

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines:

Mr. Felipe Fánama, absolute Lieutenant, and Mr. Alfonso Aluput, Head of Barangay of this newly-created village of San Luís de Medina on the island of Tinian, on behalf of all the people we come forward and declare: That despite the attachment that we have for this island whose soil we have cultivated for the past 19 years, considering that we were over 400 individuals when we were brought from our islands to this one, and that the number is now almost reduced by half, and seeing by experience that when the dry season comes we can hardly gather the fruit of our labor as the birds and the wild animals belonging to the Leper Department, specially the pigs, not having anything to eat in the bush throw themselves upon our plantations and destroy them; and that when the dry spell is prolonged as it is this year almost all the plantations are exhausted, we therefore agree unanimously to appeal to Y.E. humbly requesting that you may be pleased to grant us the transfer of this village to the site called TAnapag in the neighboring island of Saipan that has the port of the same name in front of it and some running water which we absolutely lack in this island, awarding for free, as we are poor Carolinians, Crown lands there, in place of those we leave here; a favor which we expect from the kindness of Y.E., whose life may God save for many years.

San Luís de Medina, 1 NOvember 18881

Felipe Fánama
Alfonso Aluput¹

1 Ed. note: This petition was endorsed by the Government Secretary, Infantry Lieutenant Enrique de Soto y Martín, who recommended its approval to Governor Enrique Solano.

R3. The move is approved by the Governor General

[To] Governor of the Marianas, 10 September 1889

His Excellency the Governor General, taking into account the reasons advanced by the CARolinians of the village of San Luis de Medina in the island of Tinian in their petition forwarded by that Government, and bring informed by you about the matter, has agreed on the 6th instant to authorize them a change of residence from the island of Tinian to that of Saipan in that Archipelago.

I pass it on to you by order of the said Authority, for your knowledge and corresponding purposes.

May God, etc.

Documents 1889S

Quarrel between two German residents of Yap

Source: PNA.

S1. First letter of Governor Gonzalez about the case

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1890.

File opened by the P.M. Government of the Western Carolines at the request of Mr. Robert Friedlander for damages caused to him by another German subject, Mr. Johan Cunsen.

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

[From] the Politico-Military Government of the Western Region of the Carolines and Palau, N° 226.

Your Excellency:

In view of a written report dated today by the German subject, Mr. Robert Friedlander, a trader on this island, against Johan Cunsen, another German subject, for having failed to his word, I have directed that a case file be opened to check the facts of the denunciation, appointing as investigator First Lieutenant Enrique Mendoza from the 4th Company of Infantry REgiment N° 1, and to assist him as Secretary, Corporal os the same company and REgiment, Buenaventura Caballo.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

The acting Governor,
Manuel Gonzalez

S2. Opinion of the Governor General's staff

YOur Excellency:

The P.M Governor of the Western CArolines, in a letter dated 23 December last, transmits a file opened in that Government against the German subject Johan Cunsen as a result of the request and complaint formulated by another subject of the same nationality, Mr. Robert Friedlander.

The accompanying file has been processed by Lieutenant Enrique Mandoza of the 4th Company of Infantry Spain N° 1, acting asd investigator, and in his judgment at

the end of the report, he declares to have found proven that Mr. Johan Cunsen offended and provoked the subject of the same nationality Mr. Friedlander in a serious manner but considering that he later asked for forgiveness for his offences, the investigating officer requests that the file be superseded with Mr. Cunsen remaining under surveillance by the authority.

Note: It is not the first time, our Excellency, that the said German subject provokes in that faraway region of the CAROLINES some conflicts of that nature. There is still pending another claim formulated by the German Government and caused by the same Cunsen when he fired some shots at the crewmen of the boat of other foreigners. There is no doubt that he tries to create conflicts to force some strong measures against his person, so that he may later come and claim pecuniary indemnities, and thus live there without any other job or income, insulting the other traders and preventing them from peacefully trading with the natives.

In this case, the Secretariat is of opinion that, firstly, the file should be returned to the Governor of the Carolines so that he may proceed with it according to law; and with respect to the German subject Mr. Cunsen, that an administrative file be opened to substantiate the scandals and conflicts that he frequently provokes by his conduct and to remit him to this Capital to be placed at the disposition of Y.E. so that in accordance with the Law Regarding Foreigners in effect, a place of residence be pointed out to him or he be expatriated from the territory of these Islands, as appropriate.

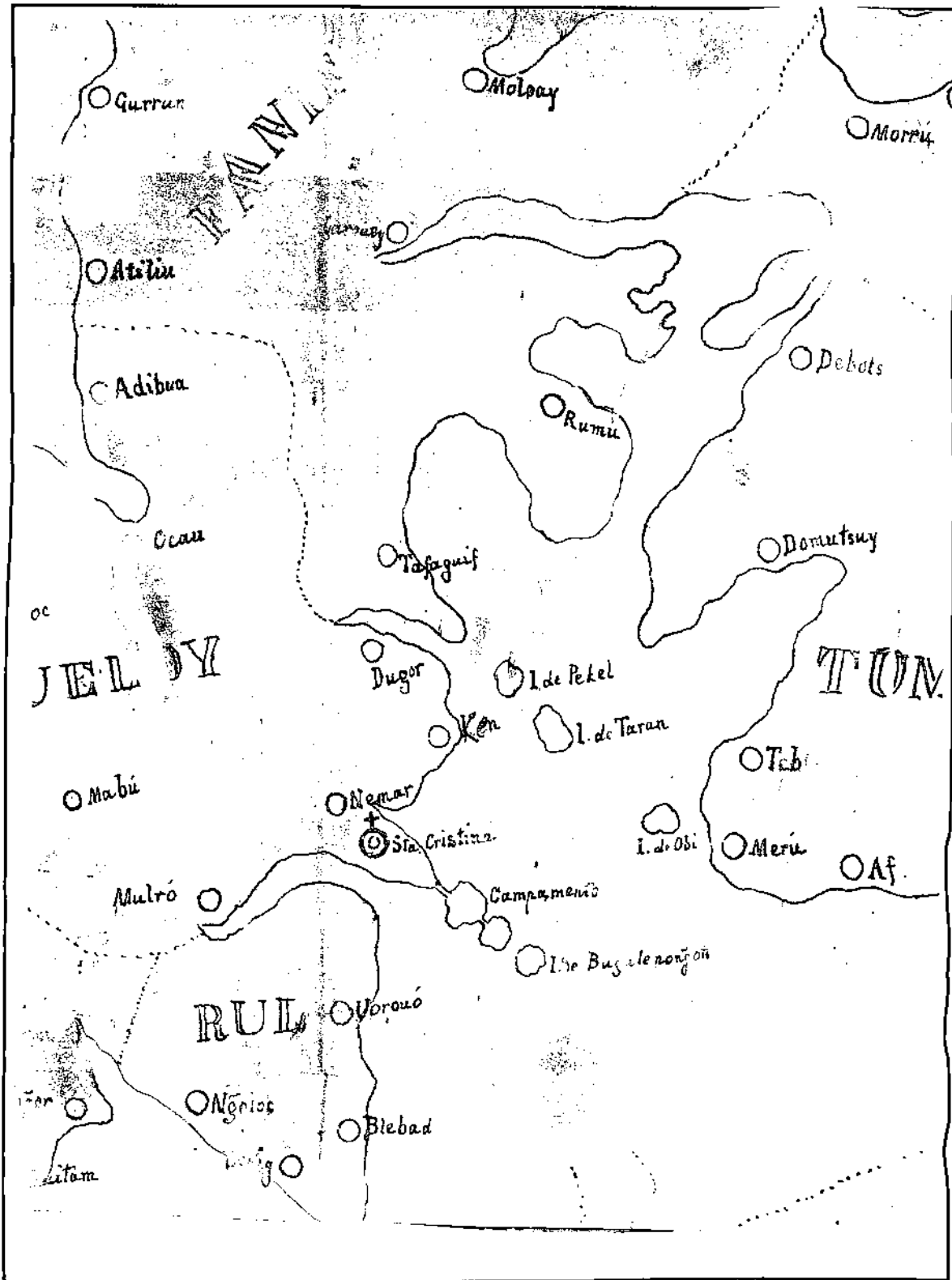
Y.E. will nevertheless decide what is most convenient.

Manila, 15 February 1890.

...

[Minute]

Agreed.



Tomil Bay, Yap (based on a Spanish ms. chart)

Document 1890A

Dr. John Rabe's diary of his visit to Palau and Yap in 1890—Part 1

The voyage in the schooner Jenny, Captain O'Keefe, from Manila to Yap

Source: University of Hawaii, Pacific Collection, DU4.R33—Log N° 24 for the period from January to April 1890.

Note: Although the collection index says that this first logbook dealing with Micronesia is supposed to contain the story about Dr. Rabe meeting Captain O'Keefe in Manila, it does not mention it at all. This is an edited version of the original log which is itself missing in the collection.

Introductory note.

Dr. Rabe was an American dentist who visited Micronesia for health reasons in 1890. The logs of Dr. Rabe's cruise and sojourn in the Carolines, mainly at Yap and Palau, are interesting source documents that reveal unpublished material about local customs which he personally observed. Dr. Rabe became friend with the famous trader Captain Dean O'Keefe in Manila. O'Keefe invited him to accompany him as a non-paying guest aboard his schooner **Jenny** bound for Yap. It flew the U.S. flag and was of 48-ton registry (but 100 tons gross). Dr. John Rabe said that even then O'Keefe was a name to be reckoned with in that part of Micronesia. He had by that time been 20 years in the area. By 1890, O'Keefe owned many plantations, notably the whole of Mapia Island, and three trading schooners. On Palau he owned and operated the money mint, where he kept some Yap natives busy cutting out the massive stone rings used there for money.

The endpapers of the first log about Yap proper (N° 25) have some manuscript maps of Yap Island and of Tomil Harbor. The latter sketch identifies Terang I. in the harbor as being "Capt. O'Keefe's main station" and Pekel I. as "Capt. O'Keefe's garden". As far as the colony is concerned, the following remarks are made: "The Government House and Fort on a small island connected by a causeway." A cross symbol points at the "settlement of Manila people & Catholic Mission & Hospital on hillside." Another interesting note points at the general area of the modern-day airport and says: "A volcanic opening made in April 1889—about 10 ft. diameter."

After his return to the United States, Dr. Rabe seems to have written a press release that summarizes his experience in Yap very well. The text of this press release is as fol-

lows:

“Special Correspondence of the Press: O’Keefe’s Canteen, Yap Islands, South [sic] Pacific Ocean, April 3, 1892 [sic].—These islands are the paradise of the uncivilized. Everything which man in a state of nature may need is found here in lavish profusion: lemons, oranges, breadfruit, coconut trees to say nothing of yams, rice, and fish. All the lowlands are covered with coconut trees, and one of the greatest sights I have ever beheld is the interminable forests of these tall, limbless and umbrella-capped trees forming an endless leafy roof which tempers the hot sun’s rays to a most comfortable degree, which, more than this, furnishes you with food and drink, if you wish it, will make a fire to warm you and cook your food, supply clothes to cover your nakedness and dwellings for your shelter. What more can a man wish for? The majority of these simple people are a thousand per cent better off than the poorer classes of civilization and great cities.”

“I arrived here from Manila in the schooner **Jenny**, 100 tons burden, flying the Stars and Stripes and owned and officered by Captain O’Keefe. The name of Captain O’Keefe is one to conjure by in these islands of the South [sic] Pacific. He is a thoroughgoing American, has spent the last 20 years of his life among the islands and has accumulated a fortune as a trader with the natives. He owns an island in the Yap group, three or four islands—a small archipelago—in the Carolines and is the sole proprietor of three fine schooners which touch quarterly at half a dozen of his trading stations among the various archipelagos. I met him in Manila, and within a few hours after our introduction he had extended me an invitation to accompany him on the **Jenny** to his island kingdom.”

“It won’t cost you anything”, he said with characteristic American frankness. “I’ll feel repaid a hundred-fold by your company, for I get fully lonesome sometimes for a sight of a Yankee face and the sound of a Yankee voice.”

“This invitation was irresistible. I packed my traps, stuffed a two months collection of *concha logreal* [shell] specimens to Hong Kong and two nights later was beyond the mouth of the Pasig [River] bound for the Yap Islands. So here I am.”

“What a queer corner of the world this is anyhow, where they use grindstones for money, slaves are plentiful, and a man can change his wife as he would a suit of clothes.”

“This Yap stone money is made in the Pellew Islands when there are quarries of it. It is a white quartz, much of it is crystallized and these people value it very highly as money. Captain O’Keefe has a monopoly of it. He operates the mint, or quarry, with the assistance of six Yap natives. The stone after it is quarried is shaped after the manner of a grindstone with a hole in the center through which the natives run a pole and carry it between them. One of these grindstones, four feet in diameter, is valued at 100 bags of copra, each bag averaging 90 lbs and worth \$1.35, making the stone worth \$135.00. The copra sells in England or Bremen at from 14 to 18 pounds sterling a ton.”

On the first day of our arrival we had two native chiefs to dinner. One of them invited me to visit his house and I accepted promptly. I found the dwelling large, well built of bamboo with thatched roof on a stone foundations set down on the most of a

grove of nut trees. The house was full of native treasures: mother of pearl, camphor wood chests full of stuff, and pieces of stone money from 18 inches to five feet in diameter.”

The full diary of Dr. Rabe in Yap

Source: His manuscript logbooks, diaries, and journals (50 items) kept at UH Pacific Collection, under #DU4.R33. N° 25—22nd holographic journal of Dr. John Rabe's California and Pacific regions. Notes on the Yap culture. 8 May 1890-16 July 1890.¹

Yap, Caroline Is., May 8th 1890

Dear Bro. Benj.

'Frisco, Cal., U.S.A.

It is just 11 days since we finally succeeded in getting the slow **Jenny Sch.** to land us here on the morning of April 28th after a tedious but pleasant 47 days out from Manila, a trip that the occasional steamer makes in 5 days. This was one of the slowest trip I have ever made and hope it will be the last of that kind.

I have been playing off sick in the handsome young Spanish doctor's hands. He says I am not strong enough to knock around over this island; must rest and keep quiet. Consequently, I have seen little or nothing of the place or natives. Only lay around growling and grunting, when not fighting the mosquitos or taking my warm water baths, etc. But am glad to report good progress & myself much better & getting very impatient to get around the island.

Last night O'K sent me in one of the sail boats, down to one of the biggest Chiefs' place, about 3 mi. away, to witness a dance & singing. We started as soon as it had supper & it was so cool & pleasant on the water that I had dropped off asleep before we got there & was awakened by voices singing a sort of sing-song chant & clapping or striking sticks. Our boat was alongside of a high stone wharf, with regular landing steps. I had taken my camp chair & bed, also fan & umbrella in order to stop all night in case of rain, & I found them very comfortable in the boat for my nap. As I sat up and realized where I was I could hardly believe my eyes that we were alongside of such a high wall of stone & it was too dark to see plainly. The boatmen never offered to awaken me. The singing & dancing soon brought me to my feet & scrambling up the wall I found myself on a wide substantial coral stone formation some 3 feet higher than flood tide, with one of these characteristic[ally]-large Yap houses that every town & village build & where all the unmarried men & their occasional concubines sleep & work at rope making, etc.

This house was very strongly built & much better than any Fiji or Samoa big houses; it was fully 70 feet long & 30 wide, very high sharp roof, well supported by large clean posts in the center 8 feet apart & along each side 2 ft. from wall another row of strong

¹ Ed. note: The diary catalogued as N° 25 is the full original text of Rabe's diary. He later made a shorter and neater version, catalogued as N° 26, which is not followed here.

posts; flooring solid heavy planking very smooth; 6 fireplaces in middle of room & every 8 feet the sides or doors 4 ft. wide open or raised up and inside the room, all around the building & being built always out into the water & away from the town gives plenty breeze & air & less mosquitos.

I could not half see this building nor the people during my short stop. When we landed the singing & dancing was by 8-10 small girls, practising. I present, my guide conducted me across to the main land, passing along a narrow stone track with the quiet water glistening on each side of me 5 feet below & half hidden by the gloom from the overhanging coconut trees. We had about 100 yds. of this, with one open spot of some 30 feet crossed by a log & a shaky bamboo hand railing—rather a spooky looking place if the natives wished to be ugly.

On the land, I met more wonders in finding myself seated on a regular stone-paved yard & walk in front of another good-size house. I could make out only the outlines of this house under the trees & also a few naked natives squatting about smoking & switching away mosquitos with a dry rattling piece of coconut leaf. These people don't seem to have the regular fly switch in use like the Samoan—and for a wonder to, as this chief (who speak fair English) tells me he has been in Samoa.

I had been seated in my chair for some little time, when a voice half startled me with: "Doctor? You come to see dance?" & here it was the chief himself at my left hand. O'K had made the arrangement for me & also told me that this chief was one of the best ones & trying to make his place & town the leading one. I soon realized I could not get much information out of him, about this dance, the nature of it, what for, etc. We all sat there in the dark for about an hour, until the moon came up. Then I could see a little better. People had been passing along the stone path below us towards the dance house for some time. Inland was one mass of open clean coconut tree trunks, with the frequent glimmer of fire light in different directions, showing them up plainly, with no undergrowth, nor houses. All I saw being these two, for at the rising of moon, the chief says: "Now we go to the dance at Big House" and there again we had half an hour before it commenced with 10 young girls, from 7 to 11 years of age, all dressed in gay-colored leaf petticoats from the hip to below the knees. They gave several styles of dancing, motioning with the hands in one, in another using a 2-foot bamboo stick to strike each other's stick with their rapped changes of position in line, in 2's and in 4's, all keeping time to a constant sing-song by themselves. Two of the largest girls had straight hair & very pleasant features & good plump figures. They all seemed to enjoy the dance & kept it up for half an hour.

Then, after a long interval, 28 women & 4 of these same girls stood up in line facing us & the 6 bright fires—Ugh! What a skinny set of old faces, arms & breasts, were facing us, shoulder to shoulder, all dressed alike with the large leaf petticoat 4 or 5 black ring bracelets on the left wrist & a long black plaited cord around the neck, hanging down in front, hair all grades from woolly to straight, short & long but always coal black. Figures short & long, spindly hands & arms to match & only 4 or 5 all told passably good-looking.

At a signal from an old dance master in the center of line, all eyes were closed & a supplicating attitude & expression was gradually taken by the whole column & when the eyes were opened one could almost swear they were about to cry for something or other. Suddenly they all took life by a gradual waving swing of the hips & knees from one side to the other & at same time the arms & hands got to work & the 32 persons in line showed good training in the uniformity of the maneuvers & singing. They formed into 2 lines facing at all points, changed positions & some making a graceful swinging dance all the time. After a good rest this same crowd again took the floor with the bamboo sticks & this time they made their feet & hands fly with a vengeance & the perspiration soon covered the most of their faces, arms & body. They made their petticoats more than rattle with the way they twisted & shook their hips, each one trying to out-twist the other, seemingly. The old ladies never cracked a smile; the young & middle-aged occasionally smiled & chattered, but never a laugh or applause came from the chief or scattering audience of a few men & children. O'K had given the chief 2 bottles of rum in the morning when there after copra & also gave me one bottle to give to him. This he was busy drinking in company with 3 or 4 men, they using a coconut cup, while he had a small wine glass. He had them bring me a young nut to drink & put two or 3 more in back of me.

From what I could learn from him, this dance is kept up **all night** by the women of his tribe **for 2 moons** (whether he really means 2 months, I don't know) & during that time they use this big house & no man can sleep here. If any man is caught here with a woman he is killed. But at other times this belongs to the single men & is built by them & here they sleep with any of the single women of the tribe who choose to be concubines for the time being—only they must not sleep with the same man—must change each night & during that day the man must look after her food, fish, etc. for her.

Am told these Yap people hold slaves, every big chief having his slave village over whom he has absolute life & death at his pleasure & these slaves formerly lived north of here & came every year to Yap to trade & pay tribute, when the Yap men, made it up to destroy their canoes & make slaves of them, which they did & divided them amongst the big chief towns. Our best sailor on the Sch. **Jenny** was a slave boy whose master always collects his wages from O'K.

About midnight I got tired of the dancing & as it was clear & my head man said it was "small water" we said good-bye to the King, who is anxious to come up & have a look at my wonderful teeth and instruments. I showed him a small land shell & he says "they are none in Yap, but plenty in water" & wanted to know "how many dollar we pay for them?"

The sail back was lovely in the clear moonlight & it was not long before I was asleep again & when I woke up, we were home & alongside of O'K small wharf & copra house. My hands fairly bruising from the nasty mosquito bites. One of the Rull men was fishing, two natives & one women sleeping on the wharf stones, where the wind could strike them better than up in the houses amongst the trees & banana plants.

And when we got up to the house, the upstairs door was locked & had to get the

watchman to climb over the banisters & open the door for me. All quick inside & not long before I also was quiet in my own comfortable room & bed.

It was 8 a.m. when I turned out this morning. O'K left early this morning for a trip north, while I lay around here on my back in one of the 4 large deck cane chairs, ever since our 9:15 a.m. breakfast on fresh fish, fresh pork, yam & rice, sweet potatoes, good bread & butter. John Chinaman, the cook, concluded he would stop on shore & he makes good bread & very good cook, as he has plenty of stuff to work on for his 9 a.m. breakfast & 6 p.m. dinner. At midday, we have tea & lunch on tinned sausage or tinned meats of some kind out of the store room, where O'K has an immense supply of such articles, all for his own use. He brought home some choice bananas yesterday morning, but always keeps telling me that the best fruit & fish are at Pellews & in all plenty there. In fact, the Pellews seem to be the grand headquarters for everything desirable from the universal verdict I hear of them.

They have many kinds of bananas here, also pineapples, growing and a fruit called soursop, a large tree fruit, not ripe yet & one I have not tried. They claim it to be fine. I see the familiar breadfruit in plenty, but only a few trees of oranges & lemons & no fruit on them, much to my sorrow. Poorly-foliaged crotons growing wild in plenty. Everything is coconut trees, regular forest of them & by the millions. Unfortunately few nuts are on the trees & little copra is being made now, the results of a long & unusual drought of 5 months duration during O'K's absence in Hongkong, etc.

Terang, Yap. Saturday, May 10th 1890.

It is 5 p.m. & the nasty mosquitos are beginning to raise their lumps on my thinly-clad anatomy, as I try to take things comfortable in an easy rocking chair on the upstairs verandah of Capt. O'K's South Sea Palace.

This morning I turned out at 6 a.m. in order to accompany him on one of his short boat trips after copra & trade. I had my morning bath first & we took our tea & breakfast lunch in the boat while our 6 men (natives) were bamboosing us northward against the wind about 4 miles. We got in a little sailing on the way up, but the bamboos did the most & several times we scraped the bottom & the coral line of rock built up into fish traps, all along this coast. The shore is all hidden by the mangrove. A regular high tree mangrove, that in some places where it stood alone in single trees & groups in the water, looked very nice & nothing like the usual nasty clingy & tangled mangrove swamp bush. At first sight I could hardly believe such trees could be mangrove & yet what other tree grows so freely in salt water.

This place is ahead of all others for coconut trees, all the low land is covered with them & it is a grand sight to see such a forest of tall limbless umbrella-topped trees, where one walks underneath an endless leafy roof that tempers the hot sun rays to a most comfortable degree & which will give you food & drink if you wish them, will make you fine clothes & house & what more can a natural man want than that? Along with what the sea gives them in fish & shell fish of all kinds, who wouldn't be a South Sea Islander? They are much better off than the poor people in civilization or semi-civ-

ilization, and again if the truth be only told, they are much better or were better before contact with the white men & the missionaries. The latter have done good in some instances & some places, but the majority have been worse than a failure. Even in Tonga, where all are presumed Christians, the native is changed for the worst, all excepting the one important fact of cannibalism stopped. But even that is stopped & killed, by the opening up of any islands by traders. Who act fairly by the natives? What missionary business where I have been is over half of it a regular fraud & failure, as far as I could see & find out while these Catholic orders here in the Philippines are abominable & the worst of the bunch & the cause of the ruination of these islands & their people.

8:30 p.m.

The evening darkness & then supper put a stop to my chat & well enough that it did as I was junking my legitimate subject, in my speaking so plainly against the missionary in general.

Hang these infernal pests! I have had to put on double socks & pajamas & now they go for my hands & head. I've had two chiefs at supper. One of them was along with us in boat today & we visited his slave place. He owns quite a large village of them & has a lovely piece of land—high ground & very rich red soil—one mass of nut trees. At the village, the slaves looked about the same as the Yap people & had very good house[s]. The chief's house was a large well-built one on a raised stone foundation & it was full of Yap treasures in the shape of native woven cloth, shell money (mother of pearl shells) in strings big & little, camphor wood chests full of stuff, stone money from 1-1/2 to 5 ft. diameter.

This Yap **stone money** is made in the Pellews where there is a quarry of it. It is a regular white quartz, much of it crystallized, and strange to say these people value it very highly as money. O'K has a large number of Yap men at the Pellews all the time making this money. They make it in the shape of a grindstone or mill-stone & one 4-foot diameter will fetch 100 bags copra; each bag averaging 90 lb = \$1.35, [therefore,] \$135 for stone here in Yap, the copra selling in England from 14 to 18 pounds sterling per ton...

Well, at this Big Chief's house I must have seen 25 or 30 of these valuable grindstones, big & little, and some at one or two other houses.

This old chief has his regular wife or grub worker in this or some other places. I did not see her. While down on the beach where we landed is his big-house woman or concubine. Her, we saw, a young, fat, good looking.

We called at two other places. The pineapple one having nothing for O'K according to their promise 2 days ago. So, we never landed, but immediately started on our return, a little to my disappointment, as they were building a young men's big house on one of their high extension piers into the shallow water at the point. Some 8 to 10 men were at it & I wanted to watch their work.

This island must be very thickly settled for these big houses are dotted along this coast very close together, every village having from one to 3 & 4 sometimes. I believe I

told you the natives of these houses, being for the single men and their big-house chief girls, these girls are always from the highest classes and all the young girls as they grow up must enter one of these big houses, either in their own district or some other, for a certain length of time before they can be married. And then when she is chosen, the man must pay the big house men a certain amount for the girl. While living in this big house, that is generally built out in the water, these girls dare not come in the village on the land where any of the married women are, for the married women **would kill them**. Such is their custom & yet the married women were just the same at one time.

The big-house women do no work, unless it is some fancy matting or other for a lover. At night she makes her choice of the big-house men, changing each night by custom, and the following day the chosen one must look out for her fish & grub for that day. And the finest fish always goes to the big-house girls & if any left it goes on shore to the married women.

No slave women ever enters the big house. O'K pointed out two small house standing alone at edge of water, where there was a half mile of high bank 25 or 30 ft. high. Asked if I knew those houses, etc. They are used by the big-house women during their unwell days & they dare not go elsewhere during that time nor any man go near their house at all on pain of death. The married women have similar small houses each of their own to retire to during that period.

At one place, where we landed and got copra & took a rest & I a turn into the background only to be stopped shortly by the salt water channels & swamps where the coconut trees were growing on the small raised banks, so thickly as to fool me about the land. Had a good view here of a new **canoe** being cut out of a large curved tree, having the regular canoe curve. These people excel in their canoes, the bottom always a large dug-out & each end running high up out of the water. We saw very few men here & only two young girls. At another place we saw plenty people & a large canoe getting ready to go outside the barrier reef after flying fish during the night.

We sailed most of the way back home & managed to bump a small hole in the bottom of boat. I found 3 varieties of very small land shells. Saw some looking fine on a low hillside, enough to make me impatient to be out prospecting this high land in sight & getting a closer look into these people & their queer customs. Much of it is too tough for me even to believe, let alone putting on paper.

It was 2 p.m. when we got back & now it is 9:30 p.m. & I'm going to say good night & promise a longer Sunday chat to catch up back days.

Sunday morning, 8 a.m.

Capt. O'K & folks are just getting back from mass at the small church across the bay. I have been up about an hour, long enough to have my wash & bath after swallowing the Doctor's nasty pills & medicine.

Tomorrow will make 2 weeks since our arrival, a long time for me to be in a strange & new island & keep still. O'K, of course, every day some of the chief men call on O'K, but women allow none of their women to fool around here & I have only seen two of them so far & they stopped on the beach at their canoes, while the men came up to the house.

Last night after you left, a chief from the south called & O'K gave him a regular blowing up, because the cuss is a big rascal & does not pay him according to promise for a lot of shell he got over 6 months ago, amounting to some 80 bags of copra & also carried away the 80 bags to put the copra in.

I believe I told you about my first visit to the mainland on Wednesday night to the women's dance? The next night I went to another place, close by here where smiling people live & also one of the wealthiest chiefs of Yap resides. The men were dancing at this place. The King was over here that day & did not get back in his canoe until 2 hours after we arrived there. I had cut my supper short (O'K being away in trading boat) & hurried finishing & 2 of the other English-speaking boys. I wanted to get over there before dark, to have a look, but it is no use trying to hurry a native. It can't be done...

It was dark before we got half way across & the tall thick coconut trees made it pitch dark under them. We ran into a sort of walled-in canal or passage channel a little distance after reaching the tree clump of mangroves. We landed at a large house on the flat low ground, completely hidden from the sea, a nasty place for mosquitos I should think. The big house is back some distance on higher ground where the main part of village lays. After starting a short distance I had finally to make us a coconut leaf torch which is quickly done by simply tying the dry leaves of the long branches together, making a fine blaze. This showed our pathway to be a well-built stone walk 5 to 6 ft. high, and had neat bamboo fencing & some hedges bordering it wherever the scattering houses were located. I presume they were houses in the dark background, from the clean little pathways entering at the open gates, hearing the dogs barking & seeing an occasional fire light. The houses could not be seen in the darkness, unless I was close to them & then only the outlines could be made out.

The stone walk carried us back almost 1/3 of a mile onto the high ground to the large big house, but nothing as good as the house I saw last night. This one was about the same size, but no flooring nor sides from the low eaves 4 feet from ground. The foundation raised 2 feet from the surrounding stone pavement that was itself raised 1-1/2 feet above the highway track. Plenty of big stone money scattered about leaning against the walls of house foundation & its pavement walls. We were in early on the ground & only a few persons present & had a long wait of it. When the small fire blazed up once I caught sight of a life-size wooden female figure standing about the middle of house. She was very well made & true to nature, the arms & hands, being in one solid piece, were detachable & well made. The head, body & legs one solid piece & she was properly dressed with the Yap petticoat & wreath of leaves on the head.

Some of the beams & uprights were painted in colours & diamond-pointed figures |><| <> & near the center of the tall sharp roof inside was a long string of English let-

ters, some name, I presume, but I could not make it out. Getting tired of sitting so long in my camp chair, fanning away the mosquitos, I got up & outside for a rest & walk. Here, one of the young chiefs that I had met at O'K came up to me & carried me away to two of their young ladies close by.

One of them was a big-house girl & a regular flirt, keeping up a regular string of gossip or scandal or something which the chief tried to pat in English for me. She was a fine-looking girl, good features & good form & resembled a Samoan girl very much. The other lady was very small & young but of good figure & full of chatter as her elder companion. But her skin was not as clear & light a shade & hair slightly kinky. We jabbered away for some little time, & I knew no more at the finish than before.

The gathering of the men & arrival of the king, in company with 2 visiting Yap chiefs drew me into the house, after tying one of my silk handkerchiefs around my friend's (chief's) neck. I found my chair carted around to the chief's place. So I had to sit in company with royalty, in company of 2 big-house girls who attended to 2 of the 5 fires to give light in front of the 30 odd men in line facing us on opposite side of house.

The first dance was by 10 or 12 small boys. It was a sitting dance & sing-song & not equal to the little girls of last night. The men were seated all alike, with the right leg doubled back of them & the left crossed in front. All had a comb in the hair at back of head & most of them a string around the neck, a few being strings of Yap shell money. That makes a pretty necklace with its dark red colour on their dark brown skin. Their skins is so light a colour that the dark **tattooing** makes a strong contrast. Most of the tattooing is on the legs, looking as if they had on a long black stocking, that comes half way above the knee. Some few chief men are tattooed all over the body, arms & legs (never the face of any of them) in fine artistic & fancy patterns. There were two of such men in this dance & exactly tattooed alike, looking as if dressed in pants & vests, besides their companions. They all wear the scantiest breech-cloth & most of them long hair. These men kept shoulder to shoulder & the two dances that we saw were sitting ones always accompanied by their own singing & this time they had some very good singing. The best singer, a young man was not in line, but sat in the background & carried single parts, the same as the regular leader did. Three of the men carried single parts in one song. All the time characteristic gestures & motions of the body, head, arms & hands & even at one part the right foot was jerked forward straight out in front, the left one not being moved.

I understand that most of this dancing all night & for so long is caused by the mosquitos not allowing them to sleep at night they say.

It is now 8 p.m. Today my friend Moy, the Eug chief, was here & I asked him why he no buy a mosquito curtain & then he sleep all right, etc. And sure enough he goes to O'K & bought the stuff to make a large one & has gone home with it. O'K says he will have his tailor here make up all his netting into curtains at once, as he knows he can sell 20 of them right off.

We have had a quiet day here. This morning I got my chair & traps in order & worked an hour on two of the children & pulled an extra hard tooth for one of the native hands,

while Spanish officers were looking on. They belong over at the Spanish fort & Governor's place & were here after some grub as they don't have much sent out to them from Manila—often running short—& twice in the past O'K says he has kept the whole colony from starving. They are very improvident & never provide for the future or any accidents.

It is raining now, only a light squall, that is driving the pesky mosquitos into the house the more. Chief Moy had supper with us this eve. Two nights ago, he made quite a nuisance of himself here by getting drunk. He had been at the German place most of the day¹ & must have been drinking there, for the little he got here before & at supper would not have set him off the way he was. O'K said it was the first time the man had ever been that way or acted so badly & he declares it will be the last time he gives him or any of them liquor in his house.

Hell! my lamp is going out. So, good night & I'll also go out on the verandah after some cooler air. I'm all in a perspiration & it is no joke to scribble in that condition.

8 p.m., Monday, May 12th 1890.

I have just written you & two or three others letters to go by the Str. [Steamer] that is due now in 1 or 2 days on her return to Manila. She arrived here the day after we did direct from Iloilo & Manila with the mail & a new Governor for this place, direct from Spain.² Also a lot of provision for there & Bonapei [Pohnpei] Station 1,600 miles to the eastward, the most eastward station of the Spanish. They settled there & here about 3 years ago, & some 6 months after, the Governor & all the Spanish men were massacred in Bonapei. At Guam in the Mariana Group north of Yap they have been colonized for over 300 [sic] years. These three places are all the Spanish colonies east of Philip-pines & surely must be a white elephant, at least these two new ones. When Spain was allowed 3 years ago to assume control of the Caroline Group, the young King Alphonso said no tax of any kind could be laid on the poor natives for 10 years—to give them that time to get used to the Spanish rule—thence these colonies are a heavy expense & no income of any kind. The mail communications is supposed to [come] every 3 months to Guam & every 6 months to these others, but in fact is very irregular & uncertain both for time & supplies of provisions.

Tuesday, 4 p.m., May 13th 1890.

Capt. & I have just returned from the settlement & finished our noon day lunch, a regular meal on some of the finest fish I have had here & nicely cooked. We spent most of the morning over our letters & while hard at it the cry of "Sail Ahoy" at 11 a.m. set us all on the wonder what she could be. We now think her to be a ship for the German firm, long overdue & much need by them for supplies & trade. They often have to ask

1 Ed. note: The map on the front endpaper of this diary indicated the German place as being on the inside reef facing Rull (south of the Colony).

2 Ed. note: This was Navy Commander José Montes.

O'K for necessaries at times. I've written a letter of inquiry to the Manager of the New York World Fair of 1892 asking what inducements they would give O'K to bring a crowd of 50 or 60 natives to the fair. He could do such a thing much better than any one I know of & such a sight as that would be one of the strangest sights & funniest attractions of the whole show. And I should like to see it myself, if properly managed.

I've called at the Doctor, who said I was getting along "splendid" & would [be] a well man by July. Phew! July! If he expects to keep me quiet after the 1st June, he stands a chance to lose. The idea that I am to lose 4 months by this sickness & voyage from Manila is drawing the fun rather fine for me.

But let us go back to our landing here on **April 28th** in the lovely clear morning, & the long pleasant day that we had of it, before turning into our comfortable beds late that night after using the verandah cane chairs trying to keep cool. The next day we were pleasantly surprised by the Str. **Venus** from Manila coming in early in the morning. It was the Capt.'s first visit here & he brought her in himself before the two pilots in different boats could get outside to him in answer to his Pilot flag. But she came dangerously near one or two detached rocks at one point. The narprew(?) passage is well marked on both sides with buoys. The Chief Engineer was Mr. Miller—Scotchman and a Manila acquaintance of mine & Capt. O'K's. He hardly knew me with my 2 month's crop of chin whiskers. We had breakfast with him on Str. & there carried him on shore with us for the balance of the day & all night.

I got no mail, while O'K received considerable, but his important box left at Manila was sent to Guam by the Str. **Don Juan** last month. So, Robinson sent word by Miller to that effect. And there is a chance of some of my mail going there by the same Str. from Manila.

At 6 p.m. dinner we had quite a company: the 2 German traders, Capt. William of Sydney on Sch. **Santa Cruz**, Capt. Olfson, Capt. Bodey, Edwards & Jos., were strung around our large table & had a time of it, getting more or less jolly before parting.

During the night it rained & Miller got away early to report himself on Str. & about noon he returns with the Spanish Capt., a pleasant man, speaking good English. They remained until 4 p.m., when O'K accompanied them to Str. & piloted her to the outer passage as it was cloudy & looking very dirty. She is expected back in two weeks. Just before noon the **Santa Cruz** sailed for her eastern trip to 3 stations, sending Capt. Bodey as pilot & Jos. as supercargo, along with his Sonsorol wife as company. She sailed out of harbor in grand style & Capt. O'K piloting her out, was much pleased with her in every way, as she is one of the fastest Sch. out of Sydney.

Wednesday night **April 30th** gave us plenty of rain again & I slept in the verandah again all night.

May 1st came in squally & I turned out early & patronized my warm bath regularly 4 times per day according to the Spanish Doctor's directives & his ointment eases my tormenting scratching. All day O'K & I both lay around the house lazy and doing a little scribbling, I writing an order for 50 pounds sterling worth of mother of pearl to Mr. Young & another to Capt. Chapman of Papeete, Tahiti, for Capt. O'K. These shells

pass for big money here & command a fancy price. O'K has imported many cases of shell, the white lip from Holu [i.e. Jolo] & Zamboanga as a regular trade to these natives, they only finding very small sizes of the mother of pearl about here, mostly black lip, which they prize the highest. Hence his desire to purchase a lot from Tahiti, which is all black lip & sells for half the price that this white lip or Torres Strait shell commands.

May 2nd up at 8 a.m. after a late sleep & much better. Assisted O'K a little in ware-room, getting out trade for the Sch. **Jenny's** trip to Pellews. The Capt. has decided to send the **Jenny** in charge of Edwards while he stops at home. At 2 p.m., I took the gig & 6 men & pulled over to the Doctor's. We had cool pleasant breeze all day & night from the north that gave me a good sleep. Two of the English-speaking chiefs were here today & I find there is hardly a day [that] passes but some of them are on the [i.e. Terang] island.

It was late when I reluctantly got out of bed. My bath soon got me wide awake. In the afternoon, O'K & family & myself dressed up in state & visited the Settlement. O'K cleaning up the Sch. **Jenny** for her Pellew's trip & then we visited the pleasant Doctor & he reported me better, etc. Then next called on Madame Hutter, an ancient half-caste Honolulu woman. Speaks good English & has been [here] for many years. Her husband when living was manager for the German house, who have their head branch at Jaluit in the Marshall Group. She lives on the same small island as the Doctor & the mestizo Engineer & wife, who stops here to run the Governor's small steam launch, under cover of a thatched shed at small wharf in front of Governor's House, that is, on another small island nearby & connected by a raised coral roadway. On the same islands is the fort & barracks for the small company of Manila soldiers. These two islands are small rocky hills & make very good locations for the seat of Government. The fort is also connected with the mainland by a raised roadway, with a 15-foot open bridge way, in the middle where a sentry is always on duty in a small sentry house.

On the point of land near the roadway is Capt. O'Keefe's small retail store, an inn building called the "Canteen". Formerly he did very well with this store, but the young man in charge now is hardly paying expenses, he says. This point of land is formed by the ridge that gradually raises in ridges clear to the Signal Station on top of the highest mountain in plain sight, [blank]-ft. high, with a good road clear up there. The mountain looks to be more than half of it open country. The only place for a settlement was on the narrow ridge & here several houses are scattered about & half way up the hillside is the **Catholic mission** & church, just above the 5 small hospital buildings. Further up & on top of first ridge are 8 or 10 houses facing each other on a beginning of a street. Up here a splendid view is had of the harbor & the surrounding low coastlines with its numerous big houses dotting the mangrove shore as far as it can be seen.

We called at the mission to see O'K's little boy Arthur and also young Jim, a young white boy-friend at Hongkong, who O'K has kindly taken in hand when last at Hongkong to see if he can not reform the youngster. The boys are attending school at the Padres, coming home for Wednesday night & Saturday night till Monday. Jim says they

are learning Spanish. The only books I got sight of in their little school room had plenty Catholic pictures in them & seemed to be only two kinds, looking very little like a language book. The Father had one other scholar, a black boy. Not a large school, eh? This mission seems to be a different order from the Philippines, for the Fathers here are faithful workers & poor. There is one here & one other at the southern end of Yap. They wear a large heavy cream[-colored] cloak garment, with a knotted rope girdle holding the cross & other small implements & emblems of his profession, wooden sandals & no socks, the cloak reaching within a few inches of ground. Their heads half shaved but different manner from Philippines. This priest has a Spanish man-servant,¹ a small shriveled up sort of humanity with a peculiar cracked voice. They took me all over the premises, the house, kitchen, school & sleeping rooms & last into the small church, undergoing repairs. They have a small organ & also a German musical box, when no-one is on hand to manage the organ.

This Spanish settlement numbers about 120 all told, from the Governor down to the Manila servants. The O'Keefe, the German firm's man & two small independant traders, and an Englishman, a Mr. Shaw living on the hill, will about fill up the church on a general mass service, that comes off very early on Sunday morning, too early for me to attend it yet.

We had some sirect [i.e. Jerez or sherry] wine with the Padre & then called over at Shaw's. Poor old man. He has been from hand to mouth for the past 3 years or so here, selling a few goods at retail for the German firm, for which he was formerly the manager. He is an old hand in the South Seas & has lived in most of the different island groups & has had many ups & downs, according to his stories—35 years amongst the islands & has his old Tuckalow [Tokelau] woman still with him, Tuckalow's being the Kingsmill Group.² Capt. O'K brought him away from the Hermit Islands, where he was trading for the German firm & been neglected. He can't be making much here & says he wishes to get away in charge of some trading station. [He] is sick & tired of Yap & idleness... He is a sample of these shiftless irresponsible petty white traders, who depend altogether on someone else to turn up & start them in a stock of goods of 1,000 to 5,000 dollars with no security. It looks to me as though these moneyed traders are very foolish in risking goods & money on such irresponsible chaps. Even our fellow passenger John on the *Jenny* told me the German firm that he worked for would give him \$2,000 worth of trade at any time he wanted. But I could hardly believe that.

At the Doctor's we had some fine sherry wine & he insisted on my drinking it as medicine. These Spanish will not take a refusal to drink.

We brought Jim & another home with us, to stop over Sunday & when we got here we found our poor young deer dead. This was the eve that the cook keep count on one piece [of] paper of *how many man come kiki & legaos(?) 62 men & women rice & cook.*³

1 Ed. note: A Brother of the same Capuchin order.

2 Ed. note: Actually, Tokelau corresponds to the Ellice Group, rather than the Gilbert Island Group.

3 Ed. note: The word "kiki" seems to have been a local slang word for food.

A native brought me a few fresh-water shells, 2 kinds, but no good & not what I want. My little walking made me grunt around considerably & was glad to get my bath & into my lazy chair again.

Sunday, May 4th. O'K & family off early to mass but a squall drove them back & when I turned out at 6:30 they were all at home again, where we lay about all day. About noon the Sch. **Jenny** started for Pellews. Before getting outside, O'K saw she needed more ballast & brought her back to the wharf & placed several iron chains into her that brought her up trim on the lines he desired, which to my eyes were not overly plain or intelligent. The wind being unfavorable she did not get away until the next morning.

Monday, May 5th. When she cleared the harbor & out of sight when I got up after a bad mosquito night of it. They torment me so much with the former scratching that I have been dreading the nights for some time back, while the natives lay around on the floor of our big room half naked, not bothered by them. Even Jenny does not mind them in her bare feet & legs.

Today, Donovo, O'K's woman, started to clear out the goods & fix up my room for me & took us three days more to get my bed, chair & traps in working order.

In the morning, May 6th, I found O'K had left early on a trading trip, getting back the next morning for 9:30 breakfast with boat full copra & nut. I took one of the boats & 4 men & called on the Doctor professional. He reports progress (confounded down to my thinking).

Wednesday, May 7. Day cloudy & hard rain last night. Had my medicine, both, & tea as usual & most of the day reading novel. When O'K got home at 9:30 a.m., he asked if I would like to see big native dance tonight. Of course, I must see anything in that line, sick or no sick, & that dance was the starting of this log & you have it to thank for my taking interest enough in anything to use the pencil. For here at the head station on Terang Island, I see nothing of the natives in their homes or native work. I have made a chart of the island & also one of the harbor. The north half of the main island is the high land. The south end flat & level, indented by numerous arms of the shallow water & mangrove edges. Coconut forest all over the land & the whole place thickly inhabited.

O'K says we will have a picnic some day at the Signal Station on top of the mountain. It does not look very far up there and most of the way looks to be open land & must give a good view on all sides. Several times he has gone up with the officers of the men-of-war on picnics and even made his boys carry up a large table for the lunchers.

Terang, Yap, Carolines, Thursday, May 15th 1890, 7 p.m.

All hands quit. O'K & I could not do justice to our 6 p.m. dinner as we had our lunch at 3:30 p.m. after our return from the sailing of Sch. **Venus**, that came in this morning early without any accident, but while at anchor & we on board one of the soldiers (a Manila man, whose time was up) fell down the open hatch while loading, hurting his head so badly that he died at 2 p.m. at the hospital. We heard nothing about this until after 12 & here we had been on board the second time & had breakfast with Chief Miller.

In the morning we brought Young Miller up to the house & O'K made him & the Capt. presents of native spears (clumsy wooden affairs), native petticoats & Jappes(?), some good necklaces & combs, & to Miller a new shotgun, Hongkong crepe silk shawl & handkerchiefs to friends in Manila as presents. We got all our mail attended to at Governor's, excepting our Manila letters [which] Miller took charge of. Your letter and one other went to 'Frisco. The logs I shall hold on to until return to Hongkong or Singapore, although O'K declares the Manila Post Office a model one for dispatch & safety.

The old Governor, his Sec'y & wife & several other people left on the Str. From Bonape they brought only one passenger, a man-of-war officer. Miller says they stopped there 2 days & it rained all that time. He did not like the place, what little he saw of it & would not have repaid a visit at all. They keep a Spanish man-of-war there most of the time now, since the uprising of natives. The place is a sort of refuge, or used to be such, for the lawless beachcombers & South Sea island blacklegs—something similar to Apia in Samoa Islands.

Last night & today plenty rain squalls passed over us & tonight is close out half clear sky. O'K purchased a job lot [of] cigars from the Str. and when he counted them here at house they fall materially short of the proper number.

Now, we have only one white woman left on Yap, viz. the wife of Capitano of Jail. I had the pleasure of trying to chat with her today going to & from the Str. in our boat & also while on the ship.

I saw many curios going on board. They make a fine small model Yap canoe & am told a model Yap house, all of which O'K has said he would have made for me as well as theirs & Pellew's money. Will see later on!

As we were leaving the Str., another accident happened in a boat being upset by some of the soldiers & I saw them fishing out one of the fellows from under the gangway stairs, wet up to his arms, and the masts of the boat sticking out of water.

Yesterday morning I worked on the Medico's bath. He does not like being hush at all. Consequently, I shall have some revenge & get even on him for punishing me so long. Nothing like it, you know. And they say misery always likes company. In the afternoon I spent an hour over the Capt.'s wife, Donovo, cleaned & polished teeth. She has a fine set of teeth in firm jaws. She is a native of one of the eastern islands. Am a little surprised to see so many people, both men & women here as young as 25 years with some of their front teeth missing. Others nearby loose & occasionally decayed front teeth. O'K tells me the loose ones are caused by their filthy habits & beastly practices. Whatever causes it, it is so singular as to be quite a feature of this island & one that I shall notice particularly as I go around the place.

I was too lazy to scribble much yesterday, or I would have mentioned our trip of the night before over to Tomil to see the dance again, for the benefit of the Spanish Doctor, the Capitano of Prisons & little Jim, none of whom had seen any of the dancings. The water was extra low & we had a nasty time of it & had to be carried on & off the gig at Tomil. And after all our trouble, the dance happened to be an off night, only a few men present. I soon got them to work, about 1 dozen, assisted by 4 or 5 little girls.

O'K had given me a bottle of gin for them & this helped the affair along amazingly. The little girls' singing pleased us all very much. We only stopped for two dances, which were the same sitting kind as I saw before.

The King & Big *Matchamatch*¹ man, Leo, arrived just as we were leaving & wanted us to stop longer, or more better to come over last night to their big meeting, as "every man he dance Wednesday night"? And yesterday eve when he was leaving here with his two canoes & 2 big-house girls, he tried to get me to promise to come over, but I was too lazy & O'K did not care to go. Again this eve he and two other chiefs were here, with 4 of the little girls & one big-house girl who must always stop down at the boat-house away from the dwelling. One of the little girls about 10 years is very pretty. They all wear grass petticoats and most of them tattooed. Yesterday I saw one of the young men tattooing his own leg, using a small adze-shaped stick, with some sharp pin point & strikes this on top with a light stick, to make the prick that would swell up a trifle. All the time he kept the needle point covered [with] some black liquid & as soon as a dozen licks or so are struck he rubs off the black ink with a coconut husk & his hands & then tap-tap-tap he goes at it again... Away in the mangroves this tattooing business is quite a high art & much ceremony & fasting is undergone while having it done by the regular tattoo man and several young men being done at same time... Here, it seems to be nothing of that kind.

Good night, I am wet with perspiration here in the house. It is 8:15 p.m. I will have a bath & go to bed.

Terang, Yap, May 17, Saturday, 8 p.m.

I wrote none yesterday 'cause it rained off & on all day & nothing to write about. I got our my New Guinea & Philippine photos & stuck some of them into my South Sea album. The most of the lot I have rolled up securely to send you from Hongkong. The other day O'K gave me a group picture of these 6 castaway Bulli or Auna [Pulo Anna Island] men, that he brought from Hongkong where their photos had been taken, unfortunately in European clothes, as 3 of them are nicely tattooed from shoulder to feet.

Today has been a lovely clear day, but close this evening. About 10:30, I took Arthur & Jim with me over to Tomil District to have a look all over the place. We carried lunch along & with the young coconuts for drink & the plenty ripe pine-apples & bananas, we feasted right royally after we had done some two hours & more tramping along their 5- to 6-foot stone-paved tracks from village to village. They do not build together in regular village streets but scatter out & have the houses surrounded by trees & brush of all description. The houses all on raised stone foundations of 2 & 3 feet high & also surrounded with stone pavements. I never saw such stone walks, roads & pavements with nicely-walled up water-ways for the fall of rain water as well as the tidal water of sea, the coral walls 6 & 10 feet high in many places & on top the coconut trees

1 Ed. note: A "matchamatch" was a sorcerer or witch-doctor. In Yap, this profession had more or less been taken over by the chiefs, and the duties been restricted to divining the future.

thick all over the shore. And at few places patches of tobacco were growing on artificially-made earth near the sea.

We landed at one of the big houses built out in the shallow water on a coral wall foundation. The water was so low that we had to be carried on shore by our three boys. Here we found only one man at work on some fishing net. He immediately begged me for tobacco, so little Jim interpreted for me. Not having any of that poison article, I paid no attention to him. I crawled up under the low eaves of the house & inspected it full length. One man & 1 girl asleep in different parts, and the old fellow grinned at me & motioned for me to the girl & to wake her up which I did not have the heart to do. Our guide & Limiling took us back inland to the big-house ground where most of the dwelling houses seemed to be located & this was over a well-built pathway of stone & coral 3 to 4 feet high on the tidal land & where on the high dry land generally a little below the level of the ground & in front of the village or houses the track a little wider & so thick the houses were dotted about in some natives under the trees with strong, light bamboo-cane fencing that it indicated a large population & an immense amount of labor to construct so much stone work & stone pavement, & their system of growing the fresh-water taro in large & small holes all about their houses wherever the natural lay of the land permits, & even on the hill side & tops I saw these shallow holes. When I first saw them at the settlement hill in going up to the church, I wondered what they could be for & concluded they must be small reservoirs for watering the garden just below them & belonging to the Governor. I never saw taro cultivated in this manner before. It was always in terraces of running water, & of course it looked far cleaner than this. Here I saw some immense taro leaves, about 12 feet high & the leaf part itself was 4 to 5 feet, the longest by far that I have seen of the *Calodium* class.

At one of the big houses, 4 or 5 old rusty iron cannons on their wooden carriages were sticking out of the end. One of them had lately been painted black & cleaned up. I understand they got them from an old wreck & I saw some of the spar & old wreckage about that house. Here they had 2 **Pellew sailing canoes**. They are considered the fastest sailers, but not as safe nor comfortable as a Yap canoe. They are very long & narrow & this one must have been 35 to 40 feet long & 3-1/2 feet deep & some 15 to 18 inches wide, decked over on top & the outrigger very short but thick. And, when a first-class man is sailing her, he keeps this outrigger just clear of the water or barely touching it.

The **Yap canoe** is open topside & a much wider canoe & also longer outrigger & looks much stronger built in her body. And both differ in their model from a Fiji canoe. Each end of these large Yap canoes were high up out of the water & have a sort of 2-pronged fork there. But, singularly enough, they use the same white cowry shells for ornamenting canoes & houses that I saw almost in all the South Sea islands used for the same [purpose]. And they use the helmet shell here for a horn, the same as [in] English New Guinea, & also the Triton shell is blown the same way as the shell I sent you from New Guinea & Fiji & even Marquesas, viz. with a hole made into the shell about 3 inches from the small end. The helmet shell has a hole cut into the base of the whorl

in its center & blows much easily than the Triton shell.

We saw very few of the natives about their houses, it being low water, some of the men & women were out fishing & the balance of married women in the gardens in the bush, making "kiki" as they call it. These few big-house girls (or concubines) do no work & yet have the first of the fish, etc. We made for the native bush inland as I wanted to see after some shells. We soon left the coast & the houses behind, but not so the coconut trees & the bamboo canes. There were nice travel paths in all directions, many of them bordered with these tall slender bamboos 30 & 40 ft. high & not over 1 or 1-1/2 inch thick at the ground, making a good fishing rod & reminding one of younger days, when owning such a rod would be considered a prize worth having, & here they grow by the thousands in large bunches.

In the low hill I found a new species of fern—to me—a lovely dark green with a frizzly surface. Shall try and get some spores or roots to carry away. We saw pine-apples on all sides in the bush, in the gardens & all about the houses. Near the houses we cut two very nice large ones to eat with our lunch of sardines for Master Arthur & our deviled ham which was most develish[ly] hot with pepper. For drink we had the young coconuts & with our biscuits we did prime [sic] in the cool front yard of some house, a place that any old Ohio or 'Frisco naturalist would go wild over—a good-size and clean Yap house on its raised 2-foot foundation, with stone pavement all around & in front is a large clean place of the ground between the tall overshadowing nut trees that make it always shady here, so much so that many of the yards about the houses are moss grown & damp looking.

Here we sat, some on the stone pavement, others out on the root of a coconut tree, where the light breeze was blowing (that was me) with my big Indian pith hat on the ground, keeping company with my useless butterfly net. Hang the butterflies & shells. I'm afraid I'm to get none.

The new ferns I had gathered, roots & all & loaded one of the boys with had all spoiled by the time I got home. Plenty wild crotons about but have seen no orchids nor flowers excepting a yellow flowering vine on Terang Island at the house.

We came out on top of the low hill at some of the yam gardens & caught sight of two parties of women working the first lot, scamping off into the brush when they heard us tramping in the brush across the small running brook (the first I have seen on Yap) & ravine. The other two kept their seat under a shade tree until we passed out of sight. They dig ditches 3 & 4 feet deep, 2 & 3 wide all around their yam beds & most of these beds precious small, making the ditches numerous, which I soon realized as our confounded guide seemed to lead us in a regular horseshoe over this large garden & several of these ditches were 5 feet across with plenty scrub and vines & some water there. Here the soil was rich, deep, but in the new forests I noticed the yam patches were built up some 2 feet with the top turf or sod in blocks one & two feet square.

We got down to the beach at King Laro's big house, where I have been twice at night to the dance. They are to have every man dance tonight, but we did not care to stop & after looking into & through the King's house and also the chief's, who is away with

the King at the Governor's place today, we got on to the boat with our 6 pine-apples & a lot of nuts. This big house was empty, but the one down at the water at the landing had 4 men & 3 girls in it. One of the boys spoke good English & gave me several points on the big-house customs & the same chap wants to go [to] Hongkong & America. One of the girls was a middle-aged woman. It seems that these big-house girls are of all ages. We got over to Terang at 4:30 & the Danish brig came into anchor about 5:30 p.m., 4 days since she first appeared off the harbor.¹

I was into my bath & changed pajamas the first thing & then started to log a little, when the mosquitos sent me to bed & now it's

Sunday, May 18th, about sundown

and I have been here on the wharf seated in my camp chair for two hours, just where I catch most of the breeze & where a good view is had of the harbor, brig & the settlement. Just now O'K & the children finished swimming. They have all had a jolly time of it this evening, first with the two ponies & the rope swing I got him to put up yesterday eve; then they had the two small row boats racing in the shallow water & finished by all hands into their bathing suits & into the salt water—just where I have been longing to jump for some time—but my doctor says No! Must use fresh water & plenty of it. That's not a very hard dose for me, if he only knew my failing for the bath, he need have no fears of being disobeyed. They have all cleared out for the fresh-water bath house & the Bulli or Auna [Pulo Ana] Island men having knocked off their work of cleaning a large rusty chain near me under the shed & gone to eating old coconuts at another shed. I have a little quietness, but my stop is going to be short as the evening shades are coming fast & the army of cockroaches out of the copra house & gathering their ranks on the wharf all about me to hold their usual nightly exercises. But I must really stop & go up to the house now and if not too lazy after tea. You see, we have changed our dinner to 2:30 p.m. & now have tea at 6 p.m. I may tell you about our morning's call across the harbor, etc.

8 p.m.—Just returned into the house from the wharf where I got to immediately our light tea was finished. It was too close & hot by a long odds to sleep at that time & I was in a wet feeling all over. I knew the wind was still holding on the wharf & there I have been ever since, in that lazy camp chair. My Panama hammock is now swung on the verandah & in daily use. One of them would be fine on the wharf or under the trees at edge of Island. While seated down there Jim the white trader came in with his boat from a 3-day trip loaded with copra, nuts & pigs. When finished unloading 5 or 6 of the younger boys had some fun diving & swimming from the front of wharf out into deep water, making so much noise that O'K sent down word to quiet down. He is now laying on a chair out in front yard & making a fight among the half dozen dogs, that make our informal barking, growling & snapping for half an hour or until he quits sicking them onto each other. When lazy "Buffalo Bill" (the name we have given one of the

1 Ed. note: The name of this Danish brig was the **Embla**, Captain ..., as will be mentioned below.

rescued Bulli men, fat & lazy) shirks his work & runs away, or gets down scratching his long head of hair, or steals off asleep, we just sick little "Nell" to snapping him & he wakes up a trifle, but only a trifle & not for long at a time. He's a study and one might call him a genius. The comical cuss in the line of natural uselessness, excepting to eat & drink, & that he is doing at every chance & then says he is too sick to work. His paunch, he says, is sick.

This morning I was in hopes to have turned out early enough for mass, along with O'K & the children, but it was no go. I did not improve my 6:30 a.m. time and one hour after that they got back, rigged out in full bib & tucker—Sunday go-to-meeting clothes.

After my bath I had my early tea all alone & at 9 came Spanish breakfast—nothing else on hand.

The Carpenter, Jim & I took the gig & 4 boys & went visiting to the copra ship. Saw the Mate & Capt. on shore at German Hutter's firm. They came from the Marshalls & also Bonape, & have 300 tons copra on board & expect to finish her cargo here with some 160 tons or so. She is the **Embla** & this is her second visit here. The Mate showed me over the brig & she looked very clean & stunk like the D—1 of copra in her forward ports. They expect to stop 10 days here to do their loading & then go direct to Lisbon.

We next pulled down to "Rul" to Friedlander's place, the small German Jew trader, who is around the island trading, his native woman & small boy were at home. He has a very good stone wharf built out a little ways in shallow water & has a small 3-roomed house, thatched roof. Not far away we found Mr. Constant, at his small trading house & station. He was busy on a boat. So we did not stop long. His quarters something like the other man's, only not so good & clean. We tramped southward for an hour or more over a good wide stone road, house scattering most all the way & the road & place improving as we went south. Where we turned to come back, the road was from 8 to 9 feet wide & well paved with flat stone. Coconut trees thick all the way. Taro holes & patches the same. Splendid breeding place for mosquitos. The houses well built but most of them closed & no-one to be seen, making the whole place look so cheerless & gloomy. So many houses & no people about. At the Big King's place of "Rul" we saw only one old man & here I had been told I could see an old native stone axe. We hunted around until we got down to their big house in the bush. It was a whopper. Very long & wide, and also the eaves very low; consequently, very dark inside with only a few of the low doorways open when I looked in. This house had the largest stone council platform outside the front of big house that I have seen & alongside of this an open grove of tall nut trees on the small open beach, where we found a small chief & 3 men & 2 boys sitting & some fixing fish nets & fish traps, while out on the reef, now very low tide were plenty men fishing, using small hand nets separately & some with spears. One of our boys climbed a tree for a drink for which the carpenter paid the small chief some tobacco. The lad used a short rope band around his two feet, in the same way as the Marquesas men do, in climbing the tall trees. It holds the feet together while he sticks in his toes over the small rings of bark.

I saw several butterflies on this walk & when we got back to Constant's place it was

near 2 p.m. And our old Mate of the **Jenny**, German Bill, had just arrived in his boat from a trading trip of not much success. We were soon into our boat & called in at the Doctor's at the Governor's house & was surprised to hear the new Governor speaking a few words of good English. The Doctor gave me some alcohol to do some gold filling. He calls up tomorrow & don't you forget it. He will get his fill of dentistry for my revenge on him & his everlasting homeopathic-sized pills. We did not sit down there, wanting to get home for dinner, which we did on very good time after the carpenter running the boat onto one of the sharp coral spits in the channel. No damage done & we landed hot & tired & into the bath as usual. And that is just when I'm going shortly, it is now after 9 p.m. Quiet & hot here in O'K's big room, with him stretched out on one of the lounges, a candle on a chair & reading one of the seaside novels. I think I have given you plenty of my time & pencil today & you can't complaint of the quantity at any rate. Good night.

Thursday a.m. May 22nd 1890. Terang, Yap.

Am so lazy I hardly can venture on holding my pencil. Have just made myself comfortable out here in the yard under a large native tree near the edge of hill & water, where I get the cool breeze direct from the south. The water in front of me, boat sheds & wharfs below me some 25 or 30 feet at the water's edge, extending around to my right & back. At my left & back is the open yard & large dwelling house with only a few of the many servants in sight. Inip, Jenny & the other children, all half-caste, are playing with the monkey & dogs under the open shed. Big "Carsaban", servant girl, is seated in the front door husking a young coconut, and Jim seated in my camp chair in thin cotton pyjamas, 3 pairs of which I have gotten of O'K. I can't possibly stand my woolen ones, stockinged feet, open singlet, silk handkerchief about my neck, old felt hat on the ground, alongside of one of "Ouida's" that I commenced yesterday & find slow reading. Would much prefer to chat with you oftener, had I anything new or interesting. Had expected to accompany O'K today to the south point on a copra trip, but have been fooled out of that by the rascality of Smith, O'K's young storeman at the "Canteen" at Settlement. Yesterday morning, I sent up a letter to O'K saying the place had been broken into during his temporary absence & all the gin & some other stuff stolen, etc. So, about 4 p.m., we called over at Constant's trading place first & then about dark we got to the "Canteen" finding it closed & no Smith about. The lock [being] broken, we easily got in & seeing that most all the stuff was gone, we left one of the boatmen in charge & after calling up at the mission a few moments, during which time we saw young Smith passing along the road with 4 natives down towards the store, where O'K & I expected to find him, but he must have seen us for he was not at the store nor on the road anywhere & so must have hidden himself at one of the Manila men's houses, where we met a lot of Manila soldiers & natives in the road talking & it seems one of the Yap men was taking Smith's part by saying O'K did not give or send Smith (Johnny) enough to eat at his meals, etc. O'K in passing heard this & immediately turned on the native & struck him over the head with his silk umbrella. When we got home, O'K sent White

Jim down to stop all night in charge & asked me if I would remain & take stock of the stuff today & bring it all up to Terang.

We attended to that this morning by 9:30 a.m. not finding much there of any good. Poor Jim reported a bad night of it with the mosquitos. They would not let him sleep. And then in the night, young Smith & two of his Yap friends came there to sleep, thinking that the native boatman was still left in charge. When he found that it was White Jim inside & that he could not sleep nor come in there and wanted some of the beer to drink, he said there was half a case of beer & he was very thirsty. He would go topside & get money to pay for the beer, & could he not sleep there, the mosquitos were eating him up... Jim said the boy had no clothes on, was dressed in Yap fashion, with only a small breech-cloth, & looked as though he had been through a drunken spree. All the same, he got nothing of Jim & they cleared out.

Early in the morning, before day, 3 or 4 Yap men came there calling for Johnny! Johnny! & a drink! And this morning before my arrival, 2 or 3 Manila men had called with money after gin. It's a badly-managed affair all around & shows how fast the natives are getting after liquor. Heretofore, O'K claims he would never sell the natives liquor or firearms, but would occasionally make presents of some. The Germans the last 6 & 8 months have been buying copra with liquor & by this means been getting ahead of O'K's agent, during his absence at Hongkong. Now, he says, he will hold his own & sell liquor also to the natives, as the Spanish Governor dares not stop the Germans at it, he is compelled to meet them on their own ground & one can't blame him in so doing.

This young John Smith was taken up by O'K & placed in the store in order to give him a chance & to help him along, although several have warned O'K against the boy for some time past, he has kept him on until now. He is owing several hundred dollars to O'K & no chance to get anything out of him. It seems that after being in the store a few months he goes & buys a native wife, paying \$40 for her, thereby getting into one of the worst Yap families, who necessarily cost the young man many presents, that must necessitate his stealing more or less all the time to keep up. The same as the wife money \$40 had been stolen.

I saw nothing of Johnny this morning. All the stuff is up here. The carpenter went along with me & put on [a] new lock & window bolts & the house is fast locked & bolted & that chapter is finished.

O'K left this morning long before I turned out at 6 a.m. and I now hardly know what to do to kill time. The Doctor will not allow me to swim in the salt water before two weeks; [he] is afraid it will bring back my old skin irritation & scratching. As long I'm still & cool, it is all comfortable, but when I'm hot & perspiring it annoys me, yet a little in spots. Hence, my fresh-water baths 3 & 4 times per day are still indulged in & as I have a small bath house all to myself & plenty of rain water always provided for me by some one of the servants, it does not make my day's labor very hard nor unpleasant work. With plenty of servants of both sexes to wait on one, plenty seaside novels, plenty paper to chat with you, what more could a sensible person ask for? etc. Could we only have a photo of this place & life. Then you would catch the life in all its bearings. No-

thing equal to the camera in my opinion, when properly used in a regular set of characteristic views, none to be got here & have seen none so far taken here.

Terang Island sits here in the middle of Harbor, & to look at each side of the mainland with Tomil on the east with its long low ground & point of coconut woods, backed up by a low bare ridge of hills that circle on around to the northward, with the same bare hills half a mile inland. All poor unproductive ground, only a few scattering screw pandanus trees, tall grass & ferns growing there. No natives, excepting slave places, some distance apart in the bush. One mile north of Terang on each bank of the inlet sea the coconut trees stop just west of us, the mainland ascends immediately up into the main mountain ridge of Yap, on the top of which in full view is the Signal House & Station 1,280 ft. high, I believe. On the back cover [of the diary book] you will notice a tracing map of this harbor. The high hills with their base of green verdure, nut trees by the millions half way up the half open country & the 3 or 4 rolling ridges leading up to the mountain make a lovely picture. Further away to the southwest extends the low level south end of Yap—all one mass of coconut forests—where the boat houses, villages, and roads are to be found in Yap, they say. And southwest, you will notice the Settlement marked on the mainland on the ridge point that extends on up to the mountain top. I have marked the "Canteen", O'K's store, the church & town, and down in the water the Tapelow I. that belongs to the Spanish, they having paid \$400 for it to some Guam woman.¹ This has the Governor's House and the Fort, with all the soldiers. Belelatch Island, smaller & close by is owned by an Englishman's heirs, the former husband of this English-speaking Hawaiian woman living on it, & who has 3 houses there. One was formerly rented to the Doctor at \$5 per month & the other is rented by the steam-launch engineer. The Doctor is now living with the new Governor in the big comfortable Government House, a modern building. This island is in [the] course of litigation now.

A little further away is Dunny Island, the German head station, a very small island, but a good location & where a wharf could easily be extended out to the deep water.

Obi Island is a low flat place covered with nut trees & a good garden spot. Formerly, before O'K had Terang he tried hard to get Obi, but it was impossible & the natives still hold it. At low water, one can walk or wade to the mainland from Obi, while at the Government Island & the other small one, at low water the bottom is dry. On that account Terang is the best one in the harbor.

Yesterday morning before day, O'K came to me with the news that the sick Sonso-rol boy was dead. He was the toddy boy, one of his best boys, tall, well-built & remarkably straight in his walk & always pleasant natured. I did not know that he was sick, even. Had never heard him complain & thought all along that the sick man was one of the other Bulli men. This boy was sick only three days with something that the Doctor called Rheumatic Cramp. He could not talk, nor move his arms or jaws the last day.

The Doctor saw him on Tuesday p.m., after I had been extracting the nerves of one

1 Ed. note: Bartola Garrido, Captain Holcomb's widow.

[of] the Dr.'s teeth. His appointment was at 7:30 a.m. He sent a note; could not come until 2 p.m. So, I got Miss Jenny & we made a large gold filling in the lower left molar & she made a far better patient than he did... for he kicked & objected so much that I growled & got disgusted with him at last & spoke very plainly to him—if he wanted me to preserve the tooth, he must sit still & stand the punishment, having our Swedish carpenter interpret for us. And besides I wanted him not to come in the heat of the day & just after my 2 p.m. dinner. Hang these fellows. Some of them I notice please themselves about such things & make no effort to assist the operator, either at work or about time & appointments. How I often wished for a little Spanish, when in Manila; am sure I would have made some of them open their eyes & more than growl.

The Doctor sent up two bottles of medicine for the sick boy Tuesday eve, but before next morning he was dead & the same morning him & the Governor & the Padre went away early in the steam launch to the south point at Gorrer, where the other Padre priest is located & meeting better success than this one here. They are to return tomorrow, when I suppose, I'm to torture him again to get out the balance of that nerve. I advised extracting the bicuspid as it is nothing but a shell, but he is afraid of the pain, ugh! Well, that's just the way with most of you "physics" that I ever worked for.¹ Not half the soldiers as even the women in most cases, but I will make an exception in you, as I remember you stand your long & hard gold work like a brick, and you mention in your last letter of Doctor P. overhauling some of the grinders... More better you had gone to Doctor Goddard or one that I recommended as doing honest work as the one you mention is **honest in nothing?**

But this is getting somewhat off the track of yesterday's funeral. When I got up I could hear the singing of the Sonsorol people, at the small house where the corpse was being laid out & where they all lived. The morning was a little cool & I took advantage of it to work a couple hours for Miss Jenny & made another extra large gold filling in a lower grinder. By that time it was 9 o'clock breakfast. And after that I had a look at the mourners & the corpse. As he lay on the floor with its yellow "rang" (a native dye made from a root) thick on [his] face & all over. The knees were drawn up & the arms lay across his chest, with two of the women constantly working the arms & hands & one of the young girls at the feet & legs & covered all the front of her clothes, arms, face & head from the *rang* she had rubbed from the corpse as she lay over the feet & legs. All around the body were seated 8 or 10 of the Sonsorol people, chanting & singing. They had got a new blanket quilt out of the store, also new cloth, knife & files & his other traps & box, taking them all away with the body in the boat to [be] buried with it, according to their own island custom. They half sewed the body in a piece [of] white cloth & then the thick quilt outside & 6 men took it away in the boat, while little Jim and I followed in the gig with 2 rowers.

They had tied a strong string under the jaw & the eyes [were] closed, when I first saw the corpse. I had no idea there was any regular burial place & supposed they would land

1 Ed. note: The dentist's brother, to whom these diaries were nominally addressed, was a physician.

at the first wild vacant land up the inlet channel & bury him any place. Instead of that, we followed the boat a long way up & they landed at a small hilly point jutting out from the Tomil side of low hilly ground of several acres in extent that was a regular cemetery for Tomil district & located in the Tomil slave part. No coconut trees nor houses for more than half a mile south of us or more, while northward and west all open, bare, poor country. This place was thickly covered with raised stone graves, a few well built & large. Three of the men cut sticks & commenced digging a grave alongside of a high grave where a partial excavation was all ready & also where a shade was made by some Pandanus trees. A little ways back the other three men had stopped with the corpse & were half crying & fussing about it & the wrapping.

When we left, as it looked like a long job before them, with no shovel nor pick, I asked the watchman, who was one of the diggers, why he brought no shovel. He said: "Me speaks shovel, Donovo (Donovo is O'K's woman) & she no give. She speaks me take stick & dig all same home." What might have been caused by some of their superstitious notions or customs, for she would not have refused otherwise. As it is, those men at the funeral, can not go to the garden nor bring any grub or catch fish for our use & even this morning none of them must go in boat to the store with me.

On Tuesday, one of the women, Jim tells me, made a great time over the sick boy trying to drive the Devil away from him. Sorry I did not see that performance. And on Monday the boy had asked O'K to give him something to make the Devil let go of his back & chest where a constant pain was hurting him, & I heard nothing of this at the time. The rest of the hands & Bulli men kept on at their usual work all day yesterday & it was near 2 p.m. when little Jim & I got back & glad to get out of the hot sun.

After a bath & 2 p.m. dinner I fully intended to have a chat, but this island fever of laziness & my old canvas chair with a novel in hand was too much for the writing & besides it was not so cool as today under this large tree. It must be afternoon by this time, for I have been compelled to shift my chair 5 or 6 times out of the traveling sun. It is low water again & here comes 2 young native lads on shore from a Tomil canoe. Down in the harbor is still anchored the brig loading copra. Have not been on her since Sunday. Had intended a tramp at the Settlement today & call on Old Shaw for news. If not too hot I may venture this afternoon.

Yesterday eve we met the Capitano & wife (Spanish lady) near the fort & on the hillside road, shaking hands & passing the day's compliments. Hello! there goes the dinner bell. Can that be 2 p.m.? Must go & see, as there is nothing to mention about Monday's doings; it was simply another lazy day here at the house all the time & wondering why the **Santa Cruz** has not arrived, while now the **Jenny** is also due from the Pellews. But so long, I'm off to chow & hope for some fresh fish as I'm sick of so much of fresh pork every day.

Terang Island, Yap, Caroline Islands, Saturday 4 p.m., May 24th 1890.

Under the young 1/2 grown coconut trees, at same place as our last chat, and that

was the 2 p.m. dinner bell that called me away after almost 4 hours scribblings & hailing the occasional passing native. Yesterday I was here in the same spot about noon, the hour that these people all prefer to take their bath, I had one of Ouidi's [Ouida's?] seaside novels but that did not prevent my noticing the gay & festive damsels sporting in the shallow water almost under my nose. One of the 3 had changed her single Mother Hubbard dress for a pair of old pants, in one of the boat sheds nearby, where the 3-foot-high eaves gave out plenty of chance to observe the change. The other two fair ladies were satisfied with far less than n^o 1 had on, & after a full half hour's fun at their leisure, they took less pains at concealment while resuming their dress—all as a matter of course. That leaves very little to the imagination, but such is Kanaka life in the South Seas.

After our 2 p.m. dinner yesterday I took little Jim & 4 boys in the gig & made the tramp to top of mountain to the **Signal Station**. The Doctor & Governor had returned that morning & he declined accompanying us, afraid of rain, as it was cloudy... Only an excuse, he's too lazy. I called at Old Man Shaw on the hill & he went along, carrying a bottle of beer for his own use on top. I preferred the fresh rain water we got up there. Soon after leaving Shaw's & the little village & diving into the thick forest of nut & native trees on ground lower than the village ridge & where we passed through a straggling native village of 8 or 10 houses, all more or less connected by stone walks 4 feet wide with many old house foundations in ruins & neglect, we struck the next steep incline in the ridge backbone & in 15 minutes came out into the open, bare land, soil scant & poor, only short grass & screw Pandanus growing, a few pitcher plants & ferns. Higher up, say 700 feet, where two of the side valleys headed one on either hand as we faced westward, the one on the right & facing north plenty native brush, vines & trees from base to top—an impassable thicket where we saw its edge on top. The south sides of hills all bare & stony, the ledges on an angle of 30° & of hard soapstone nature, that cannot be much good for building, etc.

The walk was not as long nor hard as I [had] anticipated, while the view was much better. Terang & the Settlement below us to the east were clear & could be seen very plainly, & with my small glass I could make out people on our wharf & one chap fishing. Southward the hill slopes down gradually & quickly into a low rolling country, the richest part away at the point of the mainland of Yap & there the country is one mass of trees. Nearby on the hills I see some bare ground. No good. Turning to the north, where it is mostly low hills & a continuation of a single ridge, with much open poor land & the same away in Tomil on its low hill tops, making more bad & unused land on this island that I had understood from what had been told me of its numerous population & fertile soil. But to look upon, the open hill tops & wooded ravines & north side timbered with the thick rim of coconut trees, clear around, makes a pleasing sight. And outside of land is nature's wonderful sage found, the coral barrier reef, & the little narrow inlet & harbor, with the reefs showing plainly in the low tide, interspersed here & there all around the reefs can be seen the stationary fishing pounds & fences, all dotted down more or less like a checker board.

The harbor inlet almost makes two large islands of Yap. Mr. Shaw pointing to the island of Rumong said it was the best part of the group, rich & deep soil & even Map I. was better than Yap. Near the former island, O'K owns a small island that comes very convenient for his trading boats. At first the Spanish had a good house & a red light up there, but now it is only a poor 15-foot-square sort of a house enclosed by a dirt wall 4 feet high & some 40 feet or 50 feet square, with two of the opposite corners built out into a sally hole or something of that kind.

The surrounding ditch 5 feet deep & 6 wide & we entered the castle over a veritable draw-bridge, for I saw its hinges & bolts & had to stoop in wonderment. We passed into the fort by going under the house & turning to the right & up a few steps onto the wall & then 2 more steps & into the house with windows on each side, & only the north & east one being a clear view, the south & west shut out entirely by the large mammey apple trees¹ growing all over the walls & place & to get a south view the Signal man would have to get outside on the south wall with his small telescope, where we got ourselves before long to get a view of that side & see the west coast.

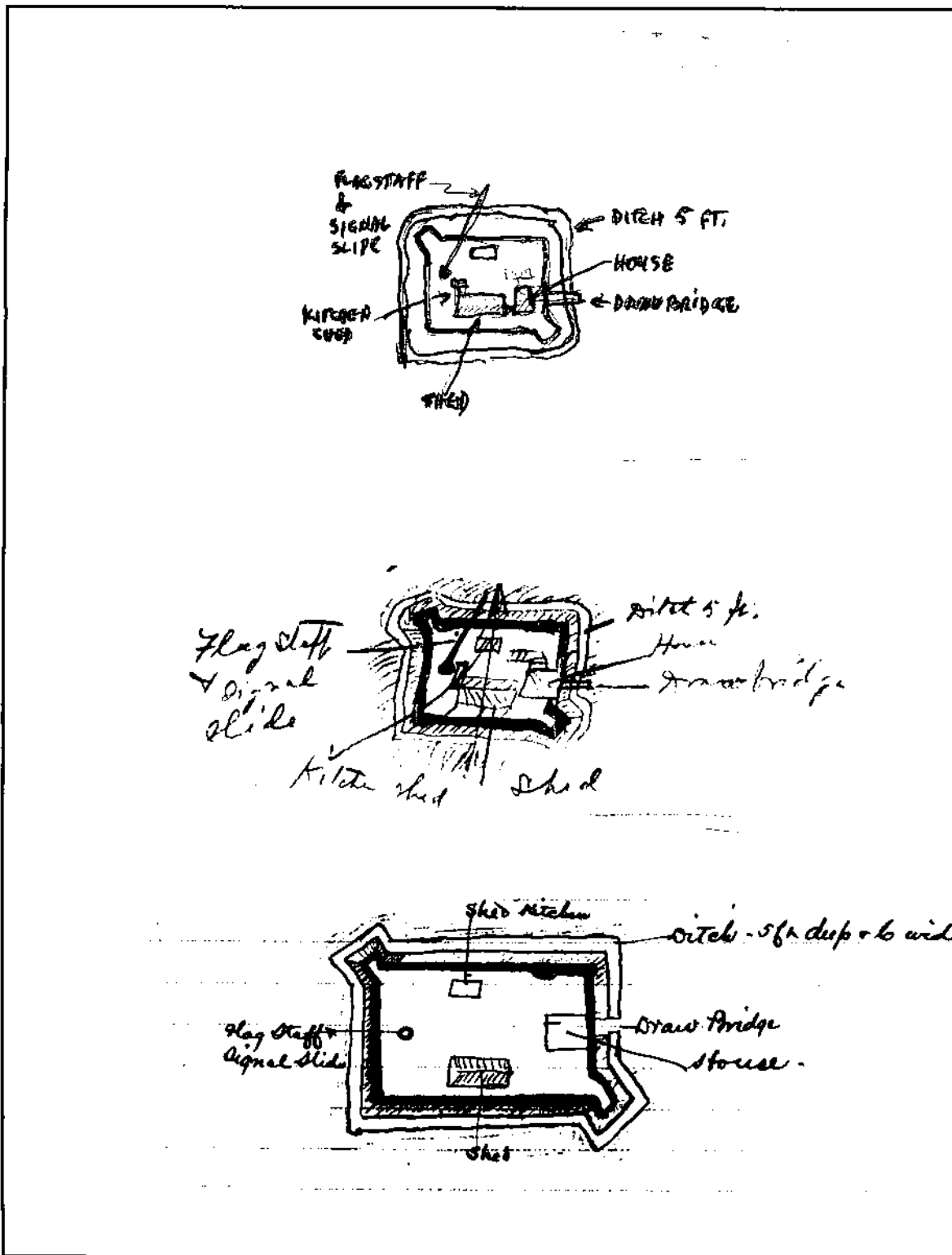
All the time there was rain on some part of the island or water in view. Twice we caught a small shower, just enough to wet my pants & shoes in the grass & bushes. We did not stop long on top & on our way down we saw the Governor's 2 ponies & half dozen cattle & quite a number of goats & passed 3 women who always make me think of the Australian emus as they scamper off into the grass or back out of sight, wearing their large grass petticoats. Smith [rather Shaw] says one of these girls was young Smith's wife, O'K's scamp of a boy at the store. They were too far away for a good look at them. The boy Johnny keeps well out of sight of all the whites.

At the mission, as we were passing, the Fathers would have us stop & wouldn't we have something to drink, etc. I found they wanted to go [to] Terang. So, I had Mr. S. send along my bananas & kept along down to our gig at the Madam's wharf, and we reached home just at sundown, with both of my heads barked & pants wet & full of grass stickness that hold fast & no give up.

While I was having a bath the two Fathers transacted their business with O'K & started back in the gig. I see that O'K's boats do most of the carrying back & forth for most of these Spanish & he always seems anxious to accommodate & help them. He tells me the Padres came to give him a job to make a set of new sails for their small boats. Some time ago he made them Fathers a present outright of a new boat, sails & all, complete & then afterwards when overhauling a break in the boat, made them another set of sails. The Doctor is now using one of O'K's small sail boats, that he fixed up on purpose for him.

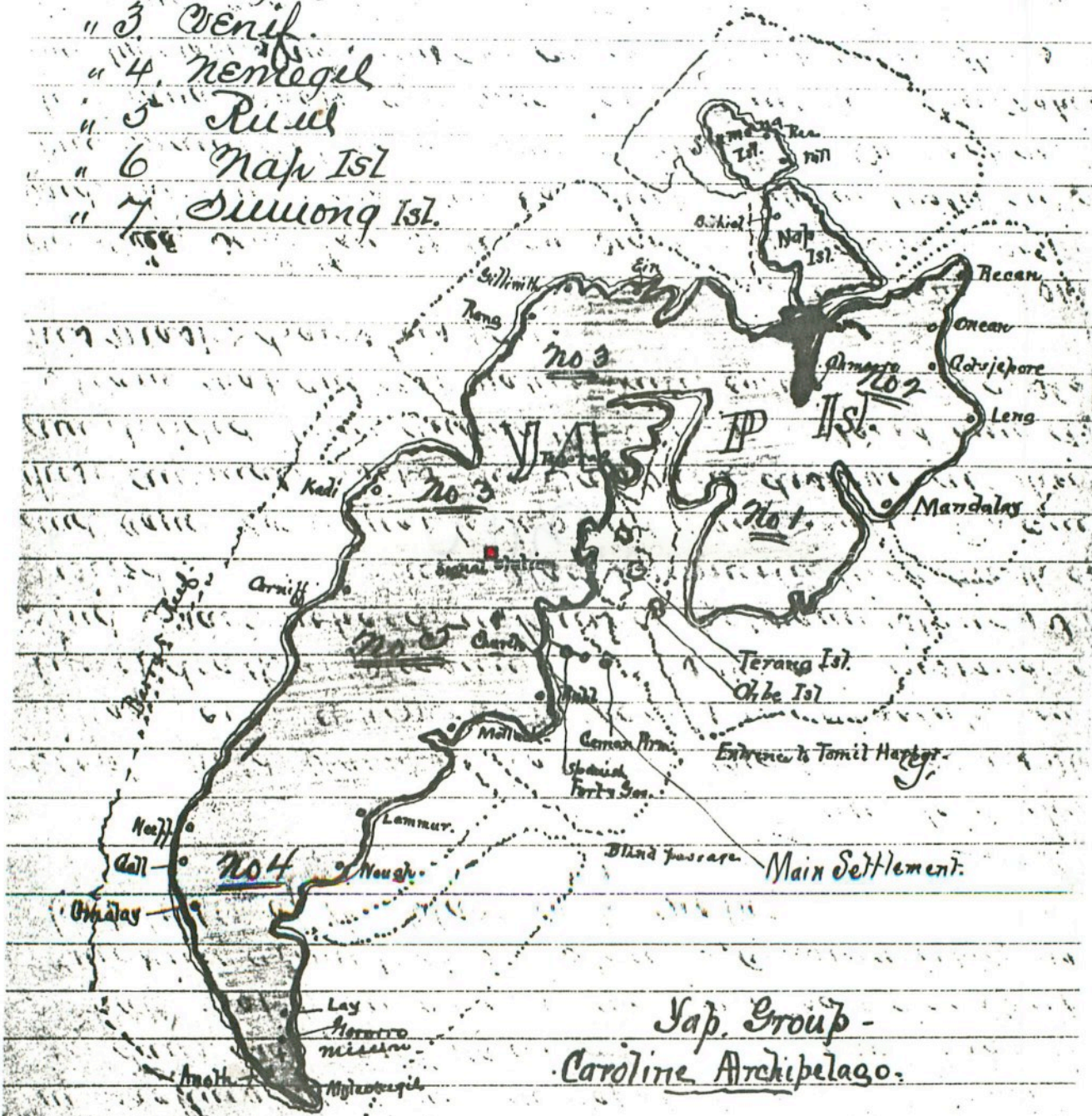
This morning I worked on the Doctor & made one gold filling but when it came to the hurting part in another tooth he funk'd & would not hold still & I let him go at 10 a.m. I wish to hurry his work to finish in readiness for my Pellew trip on return of the Sch. & brig, both overdue & expected anyhow & in fact, the Capt. is very uneasy about

¹ Ed. note: Otherwise known as sapodilla trees.



Spanish signal station, Yap, in 1890. Redrawn by me (top) from an original and a copy by Dr. Rabe himself (bottom).

- Yap Districts
- no 1. Tomil
 - " 2. Segil
 - " 3. Venif
 - " 4. Nemegil
 - " 5. Ruul
 - " 6. Nap Isl
 - " 7. Suwong Isl.



Yap. Group -
Caroline Archipelago.

the **Santa Cruz**. She ought to have arrived several days ago. It would make a bad go if anything happens [to] her & the **Jenny**.

Today has been extra cool & windy & no mosquitos came singing about at all. Only wish we had more such days and cool winds as this. I would be able to tramp around with comfort.

The German's vessel is still at anchor loading copra. Today I saw a rare curio, a growing coconut with 3 distinct shoots from it. Donovo planted it in front of the house. O'K says it is the first he ever saw with 3 shoots, and if they all grow it will make a wonder. It must be near sundown; the shadows are very long & I see Miss Jenny has got on her shoes & dark woolen stockings, the first time for several days. The youngsters go swimming two & three times each day & often stop in an hour, & how they stand these tormenting mosquitos the way they do, at night, beats me. I've got to get into double socks, pants & coats & handerchief, double on neck. But say, are you tired? I am. So long.

Wednesday, 10 a.m., May 28th, 1890. Yap, Carolines.

Again, seated under the coconut trees, in my old place, facing the harbor entrance & from there I can see the German's ship getting ready to sail. She finished loading yesterday & expect to leave today. I see a few of the sails are half bent & don't understand why they do not leave in this good wind & clear morning. They did not work loading on Sunday nor Monday, the latter being a Danish holiday. I have not been on the ship but that once, last Sunday week. Because, I see, that O'K does not wish any intercourse with the firm & its place. They surely have taken their time in loading 150 to 160 tons of copra. O'K says he could have done it in half that time.

Last evening the big chiefs of Tomil, Laro & Fulliam, called here, on their way home from finish loading the ship with their slaves, both of them drunk & still drinking some bad gin & kerosene mixture the Germans give them. They came to see O'K about some business or other & were slow about leaving & anxious to know when I will come over to Tomil again, etc. to see the dancing of the men. I told him, as soon as he had the women dancing. Monday night they had a big time overthere, drinking & dancing with some big chiefs of Rul visiting them, one of them named Can was still drunk yesterday when I saw him at Constant's place, where O'K had gone after his copra with two sail boats. This Can speaks very good English & formerly was the Head Man of Yap for the Spanish, a sort of "Governor A Celia"[?]. He jabbered away at a great rate & in answer to my question about stone axes, said he had one & took me down to his small board house & thatched roof to see it, by my request, but when we got there the house was locked & he explained to me that his wife had the key & gone to make garden in the bush... but he soon pushed open one of the sliding glass windows, made one of the young men climb in & unbar a side door & we made entry to find no stone axe & very little of anything in the two small rooms. It must make a comfortable place to sleep as he has the house built out on one of their coral rock piers & house set up on 3-foot posts, that gives the wind a good circulation.

In front of the house his second chief was cooking their Monday meal in an iron sauce pan, over a small fire between two stones—camp style. Did not see what he had in the pot as the lid was on, but he was busy peeling green mammey apples or pawpaw [papaya]—no fish in sight, but think they had some on boiling as Can gave Mr. Constant a piece of a large fish while at his house & saying it was from a fish 1 fathom (6 ft.) long that had been caught outside by the canoes. By and by, another half-drunken louse came along the stone-paved road near the house, came over & then I called my little boy Squint who was carrying my box & butterfly net & we slipped away & up into the gardens & bush, where we tramped around for over an hour, catching about a dozen butterflies, 3 of them being large black ones, the balance all small & one kind [with] 2 white & yellow markings. These were my first capture in Yap. They seem to be very scarce & no extra large ones. I kept a sharp lookout for dead land shell signs & orchids, seeing none. And the ferns [are of] only 4 or 5 common kinds I did not care to press & saw none of the new pretty variety of Tomil woods. But plenty crotons in large bush, plenty of the bright green bush that has 3 to 5 white leaves at its top or end branches, that make a flower-like appearance in the dense green brush & woods, the same brush as on Terang & in New Guinea & other islands that I have been. I've gathered one lovely kind of red flower from a tall bush, a star-shaped flower of 3/4 in. across & growing in clusters from 3 to 6 inches across. The natives like this flower very much. A larger white flower was blooming on a small tree where I tried to catch a couple of butterflies & I wanted the boy to get some. When he shook his head & said "him no good".

We got on top of the low rolling ground some 30 to 40 feet above the sea, thickly covered with trees, houses scattered here & there & everywhere along one of the many stone-paved tracks. These paths seemed to go in every directions & we were seldom out of sight of a house. Once or twice we passed through a short strip of the natural woods, in one of which we found 8 to 10 men at work chopping a large tree for a canoe. They showed very little surprise at my appearance, my young boy giving them the desired information, while the men were idle & squatting down Yap style as long as I remained.

We saw only a few birds, one a very pretty one, plenty of flying foxes (bats) here. Had I some arsenical soap, I might use some of my idle time experimenting at taxidermy. Most of the houses we saw were neatly enclosed in bamboo fencing. The sunken taro patches were numerous & all full of growing taro in all stages. In one of them in the dense woods, where they had plenty water I saw some extra large plants of the *coladum*, at least 18 to 20 feet high, the stem 6 to 7 inches diameter & the leaf a monster. Very few bananas growing, plenty yams & pineapples & coconut trees everywhere. So you see not much chance of starving in this savage land.

We returned to Terang just in time for our 2 p.m. dinner. At 2:30 another chief returned one of O'K's small sailing boats, one of his smartest in the water. Mr. C. has also a fast boat & so we had a race with him across to his place about 3:30 p.m., beating his boat in fine style. We then ran across to the Governor's wharf with a note to the Doctor, but did not land & home again a little after 4 p.m. in company with another of O'K's trading boats returning from the south end in charge of a native. Had only a slim

load of stuff.

Early in the morning O'K visited across the harbor at a village & got a good load of *Beeche de mere* [bche-de-mer or trepang] & back by breakfast. I had intended going with him, but it was raining when he left & so did not call me up, & during that night as well as last night it rained hard, I hearing very little of it, in my sound sleep. O'K has some 22 or 23 boats here & 6 or 8 at his other stations, all told about \$5,000 invested in boats, besides his sch. **Jenny** & brig **Santa Cruz**, of which two ships we are still on the lookout for.

As I got stronger & more my old self, I find the wish growing again in me to visit New Guinea at Dover Harbor. The Spanish Doctor says July, before I can be called strong & well enough to knock around careless. I'm well enough now that I shall knock around here every chance I get & O'K says we go to south point tomorrow. Hope so.

Sunday last I was not called, as promised in time to accompany O'K & children to mass. I wanted to see the congregation. The Doctor came back with them & being a better patient after my scolding, I did a little more work on his grinders & made him kick some before I let him off. It was squally most of the day & we all laid around lazy & idle, the carpenter & Jim doing no work & only a few of the men at cleaning the big anchor chains of rust & painting same. Monday I had my hair cut by the Manila boy at the Hospital, .25 P[eso], & the Doctor gave me some Spanish stamps—for you "Master John". And today Wednesday they are still at the chains & the carpenter finishing the rotten foundation repairs of big house. So long, Jno.

Thursday 4 p.m. May 29th 1890.

Yesterday, after our 2 p.m. dinner I took the gig & 4 men with little Jim along & called first on Mr. Constant about O'K's business of his bringing the scales to Terang & weighing his copra & Beach-de-mere & be sure to come that day, but the scamp has never turned up & here we had intended visiting the south end today. As it happened it rained hard last night & squally most of this day (Thursday) we would not have gone anyway. I found Mr. C. at home & said he would come over if he could get some scales. It seems O'K's 2 large scales are away in his two ships. I next pulled over to the Governor's House & attended to the dressing of the Doctor's tooth which does not make him kick much now.

That finished, I had the boat follow along the west shore at the foot of the hills, Jim & I with 2 bags landed at the first good place & walked northward until opposite Terang Island. Very good stone-paved walk most of the way along the flat, only a few houses scattering & the 3 big houses we saw were very poor small ones & nothing in them in the way of furniture or property, excepting one small piece of Pellew stone money, about size of a 2-foot grind-stone. Saw only 2 or 3 men & one woman, all at work in the yam patches. Very good ground about here, but all of it is cultivated. I went half a mile up the hill & got into some half-wild woods, but all has been formerly cultivated as shown by the grading & ditching for the yams & taro & when I got down into a small ravine I found a small stream of running water turned into a good substantial

ditch above the bed of gully which is all taro beds from where I struck it, clear down to the salt water.

Here a heavy squall caught me & my 2 native boys, as little Jim had tired & stopped at boat. In this gully were some large & lovely ferns & I got one lovely bunch of the Tomil fern & have it in press in an old Harper's Magazine. One of the boys found a small bird's nest with 2 young ones & was for carrying them away with us. The old birds made a lively clatter about our heads & the nest, while we were looking at it. They were a small & pretty bird & so I made the boys leave them. I scratched around after snails but nary a one, dead nor alive. We borrowed a few grown oranges from a tree at a big house & no-one in sight & one of the boys sampled two young nuts from the top of a high coconut tree. And as soon as the rain stopped we made for home. No fun tramping in wet clothes in wet grass & brush.

I soon had my bath and into fresh jumpers that were dry & by the time at candle light I always double my thin cotton dress & socks. We found it too close in the house reading by lamp & made for the wharf & a walk down there was just in time to see the boys toss our lazy dirty Buffalo Bill into the water for a wash & soon after in came young Timiling with one of the sailing boats, with a load of old coconuts growing to plant here & on the other island & some will be fed to the pigs. We have had no fish for several days, all pork, pork & I'm getting afraid of it. Nothing new today. Squalls as usual. Laro & Fullaam here for dinner & liquor. This morning we worked 3 hours in Store Room fixing goods in place.

Saturday 8 a.m. May 31, 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

Under the coconut trees! Expect you will be after crying quite on this heading of mine & get tired of it. And to tell the truth, I myself am tired of the same & only wish I was on the go so as to have something new & of interest to myself, as well as chat with you about.

I presume no chance of a change before Monday. O'K says we will then make our trip to south end & perhaps go on clear around the island taking 3 or 4 days of it. Thursday & Friday had been our set time for going, but it has rained too much to think of going, besides some little local business here detained O'K in order to weigh Mr. C.'s copra & Beech-de-mere. He came up yesterday p.m. & they managed to weigh the stuff on the small house scales in piece meal, that I would hate to swear to being correct. However, that was no affair of mine. All I did was to keep tally & do the figuring. C. brought a nautical almanach from the Norwegian bark¹ that O'K wanted to copy the July & August declination of times, as he may be called upon to fall back on it in case his 2 ships fail to turn up in a few days. They each have the 1890 Almanachs. And if they do not arrive next week, he says he will go to St. David's [Mapia] in his largest

1 Ed. note: He could have been referring to the bark *Athlet*, but that was shipwrecked at Yap almost one year earlier, in June 1889. Another remark below makes it clear that he was referring to the Danish brig, still in the harbor.

decked boat, & then shall they be lost we could afterwards go to Pellews & Philippines in the same boat, about an 8 tons, I believe, looking much smaller than my 12-ton cutter of New Guinea trip, and I don't fancy such a prospective trip in the least. But seriously speaking, he is getting very uneasy about both ships and the big boat will be put in the water tomorrow to have her all ready in 3-4 days, soaking. He declares he will try to get a steamer to do this island gathering, so [that] he can oversee the management of it all himself & believe he can make it cheaper, than by his 2-3 sch. that have to go in other hands than his own & they mostly incompetent & drunken men. This gives you a little idea of our every-day life & worry here over the non arrival of ships.

The German's ship has half her sails up & perhaps the wind may let them get out today. Last night O'K sent the Capt.'s almanach back to the ship accompanied by two boxes of fine Manila cigars, after I had made the copy for July & August. Thursday eve after my chat with you, and as I was going to take my usual bath, the old carpenter told me he had the toothache & would I attend to it. Of course, that was easily done by sending little Arthur up to my room & tossing down my forceps. We soon had him seated on a small box in the back yard & yanked out the two offending members, to the delight & astonishment of the congregated & open-mouthed natives. Attack, the native boatswain, had another bad molar, so I finished him at same time, finding this second one of his much easier than his first one to extract.

The other young chap, that I took out his lower front tooth, thought I was to give him a new one in its place, thereby getting the laugh on himself from his fellows when they found out his disappointment. They are quick to laugh at each other & seem to enjoy joking amongst themselves. Poor Buffalo Bill is the butt for all their fun and he catches it every day. Yesterday while pounding on the rusty chain, they had him blubbling & crying by telling him that he was to go away in the German ship. He offered one of the other men some of his clothes & things to buy him to go in his place. "He no want to go in ship. He want stop here & go Bull." Half his time is taking up in scratching his head. He is very lonely & Attack went after the shears to cut off his long mop of hair & then we were going to make him lime the head to kill the vermin. But he would have none of that. The chap is not worth his grub in his work, and about the same way with all 6 of those castaway Bull men. O'K has surely got a lazy dirty set in them to feed, & to take home by-&-by, and it's much more than I would wish to do for nothing & for such ungrateful people.

Hello? Here comes the rain again & I'll have to vacate, "vamos"¹ into the house.

We had some fun feeding the chickens & ducks coachroaches this morning. They are thick down in the copra house & during the day they hide in the piles of round baskets. The boys were told to bring up 18 or 20 of these baskets to the front yard & kick them all apart, when a regular scramble would take place after the thousands of large coachroaches. Some of them would fly over our heads & escape in the trees but very few escaped the gauntlet on the ground. Cockroaches for breakfast, a dainty dish, eh? Hope

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Spanish expression "vamos", which means let's go.

we shall have fish for ours. I'm tired of pork.

Sunday morning, June 1st 1890. Terang, Yap I.

The sun came up clear & bright this morning, in through my window & routing me out of bed about 6 a.m. Finding that O'K & children were already gone to mass down at the settlement. They have just returned & O'K tells me that this copra ship should have gone out early this morning, & even with this wind now blowing, he would venture to take her out, if they would offer inducements enough to be worthwhile. The wind is cool & strong, making it very pleasant here "under the coconut trees", all quiet, most of the men sleeping, one or two fishing, two laying down the past two days complaining [of being] sick. Nearby my chair, two of the women are making baskets out of coconut leaves for handling Beech-de-mere.

Tomorrow evening makes 5 weeks since our arrival here in Yap. Yesterday after breakfast I called on the Doctor at the Governor's, treated his dead tooth & then over to Constant's place at Rul, having little Jim & 2 of the boys out of our large sailing boat. We tramped around from 11:15 to 2 p.m. after butterflies, catching only a few of the two kinds we saw. We got into some new ground to me & at one place came onto a crowd of women, some 25 or 30 practicing their standing dance. About 10 or 12 of them were standing up in line in front of their instructor seated on the ground amongst the rest of the audience, all of whom had more or less to say in their criticisms. The ancient directress must have been "on the flirt", judging from the way she chalked her nose & face all over with a chunk of their nasty stinking "rang". All the women use "rang" & you can't go near one nor their place of residence, but what one's clothes will show it, in the dirty yellow, that fresh water will not wash away. Got to use sea water to get it off.

I stood by watching the crowd with closed umbrella in hand, my two boys not coming near, as though such a thing was tabooed. Nor were any men or boys about the place or house. My boys had the net & after a large black fly that carried the man & net out of my sight for a long time, my other boy, my little "Monkey" signaled to me from a distance to come along & made a grimace at the dancing crowd. They had one or two good-looking girls amongst them & one of the best matrons, who was seated at the outside circle with her little girl child, held out her hand for "Bacco" & looked disgusted when I had none or did not "fork" it over immediately. They all had the usual Yap petticoat of leaves on, an ugly thick bunch nesting on the hips. It all seems to be in one piece, while in English New Guinea, they make them thinner & use two & threes dresses if desired, one over the other.

One day on Terang beach I saw a woman with one tied over the shoulders, making her resemble a walking "coon shock" with her pandanus leaves dangling from shoulder & hips. She was some distance away & at first I could hardly make the phenomenon.

Monday morning, 7 a.m., June 2nd 1890.

The **Santa Cruz** is in sight at last. Just outside about to enter the passage & the car-

penter says she will be up here inside the hour. O'K & I had intended to go south this morning & then on around the island on our trip. And I was up early & having my bath in a hurry when he came with the news of the ship in sight from the little [tower?] back of the house. No signal flag was up, at the mountain & none was yet, & she entering the passage as I write.

I wrote you a little yesterday, more balance of day until 4 p.m., I was reading & kicking about the place. On Saturday eve, late, the priest called here & sold O'K 200 lottery tickets, plus 50 more to Jim & the carpenter @ .20 P each, to raffle away a young bullock to raise funds to finish Catholic church at south point. I did not see the priest as I was out on the low water beach hunting shell & on my return O'K was profuse in his apologies at having completely forgotten me, or I should have had a chance at that bullock, especially as the mission are not allowed to sell anything belonging to them. This was only another plan to divide up the animal, which is to be killed & divided among the ticket holders in proportion, no difference who happens to be the winner. How is that for a high church dodge?

Yesterday p.m., [I] was suffering from a nasty headache & half sick, and would I go to the drawings of tickets, at the mission at 5 p.m.? That was quickly arranged by my getting into some decent dress & pulling down in the gig with 6 men in company with our Swedish carpenter, who understand Spanish & who was a little full by the time we got back home, all upon some Bavarian beer he drank with Old Tom Shaw when we called after I had attended to my Handsome Doctor's tooth.

Did I mention about Shaw's leper son? Ugh! But he's a nasty sight with his awful hands, feet & face. So much so that I am afraid to go near the place & yesterday I had a good view of him on the road & in the house. He did not run as usual, out of sight—the nasty—& am told he is about as mean as he looks.

Here the Germans, Mr. Friedlander & Hutter, joined us (being my first sight of the latter) & we all went over to the mission & they had wine, a very small glass—the priest not drinking—& those two drinks seem to loosen the old carpenter's tongue considerably, giving me much information in the return voyage, until I got tired of it, and offering to accompany me to the dance at Tomil that night—very considerate & accommodating without my asking for the honor. But as good fortune would have it, there was no big dance last night, for the simple reason that the two big chiefs & most of the head men were drunk & were here at Terang. They came with a large canoe & bamboo raft to carry away a large stone money for another chief who is owing O'K \$500.00. So, O'K put a stop to their little expedition by refusing the stone's removal, etc. So no dance that night & it's all the same to me, as I hardly cared to go over again unless O'K went along. But I must hurry along. The ship is almost here & our drawing at the mission took place on the small level spot in front of the church, just before dark & after the Governor & Doctor had arrived. There was over 600 tickets & the same number of tickets were mixed up in a box & a child drew out one number & handed to the Governor who sang out 143. And this morning I hear that Madame was the lucky holder.

1 p.m.—The **Santa Cruz** came quickly & safely into the harbor & they brought her alongside O'K's wharf where they are busy unloading her copra, about 3/4 of a cargo. All hands well & they met headwinds & much calm weather that kept them so long.

They brought back one of O'K's traders formerly from San José, California, who has been trading down in Eastern Carolines for some 3 years for O'K & today he tells me he is a little in O'K's debt—after all his 3 years time. They left our old bridge builder John in his place with a new stock & now he may go to a new station or give up the islands altogether & return to civilization & his old trade as painter, as his health is some better from his 7-8 years in the islands. He looks very slim now & can't be strong. I don't understand O'K's trusting money & goods to such men as that John as well as some other he has. But even as it is, he tells me he has made big money. They have 3 men & 1 woman passengers, the latter with her husband. They are all large & strongly-built people & the woman is nicely-featured on her legs to above the knees as far as her neat dress shows them. The neat dress is in colors & about 2 ft. wide, a few marks of tattoo are on her arms & shoulders. She talks very good English & has been quite a traveler about all the Line islands, Samoa, Tonga & down to Sydney, some time as nurse for children of a German Lady from the Mandate. Says she liked Sydney very much & would like to go to San Francisco & America to the World's Fair. Two of the Maria [Merir] men that were in the ship are fine specimens of large men & tattooing, far above the average & those 3 small islands down there¹ can produce large[r] men than Yap, & their tattooing much better & fancier. But there their superiority ends as the Yap men beat them in houses, canoes, intelligence & general smartness in every way.

Joe brought along only a dozen common shells, none of them new & no particularly good. Has a few woven lava-lava mats & necklaces that O'K says he & I will divide by & by, a few wooden dishes or bowls 1 foot wide & 15 to 18 in. long for cooking & food. A nice small canoe for little Arthur, a little beauty it is; he soon had it in the water.

The native passengers brought a fine large [**Carolinian**] canoe upon the deck, much to the annoyance of the sailors & working of ship. It must have been a large tree that its body was taken from & its bottom part was curved into a regular keel shape & looked very neat. The outrigger, sails & other gear were down in the hold & the men are now getting it together at the wharf. It has been brought down for a chief here in Yap, who is owing O'K money for some time & a no good. And now O'K says the canoe will stop here until the fellow pays him his old debt, especially as they get nothing for freight on bringing it & what the natives have to pay for passage I have not heard. They belong at the low coral group N.E. at Mogamog [or Ulithi],² one of which islands have the largest people of all this part of the Pacific & fully the size of the Samoans. The woman has a necklace made of pieces of burnt coconut shell & six or 8 earstrings 2-inch diameter of burnt coconut rings with 2 or 3 wide stone marbles on each ear, the lobes of which

1 Ed. note: He means Sonsorol, Pulo Ana, and Merir.

2 Ed. note: The people of Sonsorol, Pulo Anna, Merir and Tobi were originally from the Woleai group which, by the way, is S.E. of Ulithi.

are stretched over 1-1/2 inches. Her husband wears a wide tortoise shell earrings & in walking in presence of white men he walks in a stooping position & holds his nose with right hand. He has long flowing black hair, while the woman's is cut short & curls all over her head. They have just gone (now 3 p.m.) in the canoe to the village. They intend to stop at O'K [as] he has offered them a place to stop here in case they were not made welcome up north.¹ Their island people are expected here today or tomorrow & stop until the next monsoon or change of wind in Sept. or Oct. to carry them home. These people come over every year & have a tradition "that the year they fail to visit Yap their low coral islands will sink under the water." Hope I shall get over there as it is only a short distance in a fair wind.

Last night some of the Tomil natives & Falliam stopped on the wharf drunk until very late. Little Jim said they had had 10 bottles of rum. This eastern trader tells me that rum & brandy is the best thing to trade with. Next comes tobacco, beads, etc. Plenty of old coconuts east, but very little suitable trade there for them. Consequently, not so much copra made as might be.

Saturday we the men launched the decked boat of 8-9 tons that O'K may send to the Pellews. While they were launching it, the children & I got out in the small pulling boats & I pulled them around the island, being my first exercise in that line in Yap. Guess I'll take a turn down at wharf to see the **Santa Cruz** unloading. It seems that Iva & the cook are at loggerheads & not settled yet.

Tuesday, June 3rd, noon, 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

It was a little late when I turned out this morning—all the rest up and the ship boys discharging—although I left them all on chairs in the front yard & went to bed first one. Soon after my tea I had a professional call from the only white woman in Yap—the Spanish Capitano's wife—to extract a bad tooth. I used cocaine & soon had it out. Joe did the interpreting for us & while he was handy I picked out two bad ones for him that he had been complaining about; the sight of blood made him faintish enough to take a sudden seat on the floor for half an hour. During which time I had Jenny in the chair & rough finished my gold fillings. The child has taken such a dislike to me, that I can't half work for her & shall not try to do any more, not being appreciated by them. What is the use to insist any more than I have already? It then makes me sorry, when I meet such indifference, of even trying to do any professional work.

The men are all busy about one thing or another & expect to get the ship away Thursday for St. David's. The outlook for curios & shells is very poor here & far different from what was given me to expect when I left Manila. Here, they tell me the shells are plentiful in the eastern group & also plenty at Pellews.

It's a clear, hot even, but pleasant breeze since 10 a.m. Had there been wind at daylight O'K had intended we go to the south end. So you see nothing is positive here. One goes as the wind turns or chance occurs. The same with my log.

¹ Ed. note: A reference to the Woleai islands having relations with the Gagil part of Yap.

Wednesday 7:30 a.m. June 4th 1890. Yap, Carolines.

Good morning & again "under the coconut trees" with the Sch. **Jenny** in sight, outside making for the harbor with a fair wind. That will make O'K all right again & give times to arrange his future plans for **Jenny** & the rest before he leaves for St. David's tomorrow or next day. I have just finished my tea alone, after my bucket bath as usual. I find I was not the last in bed as little Jim & Donovo were still there. I was having tea when "Sail ho! Sail ho!" was sung out. And behold the **Jenny** close into the passage & no flag at the Signal Station. Those rascally-lazy Manila men up there are sleeping all the time. Am told they get .12 cents per day pay & the Manila soldiers here get only .07 cents per day.

Yesterday was a busy day here. By 2 p.m. the ship was all unloaded of her copra. The two carpenters were altering the cabin skylight so as to raise up the top for coolness. That cabin is the smallest & most inconvenient of any ship I have ever seen & it must be awfully hot & close in this warm climate. The Captain showed me 6-7 necklace strings of coconut shell, a few sea shells fully as much as Joe the supercargo got. I don't fancy this way of my getting curios, for the outlook is very slim as far as I can see & judging from what O'K has secured for me so far. These what Joe has brought from the east, the best of them, are now being worn by the family & the rest still in the chests—much better to get the things myself.

One of the Maria women is cooking fish here at my left. She has 8-10 small fish just as they came out of the water, laying on top of the hot coals & ashes of the coconut shells, roasting with scales, insides & all—a dainty dish & considered a prime way to cook fish—as it surely is the simplest & quickest way. She tells me her man speared the fish. Last eve we had fish that had been shot by dynamite, but our nasty China cook spoils them in his grease & only once have I had fish cooked here that I really liked. These Yap people cook fish the same way, only they prefer to let it stand until it really stinks before eating. Something like a Dutchman's refined taste for a loud-talking cheese.

Yesterday O'K handed me back the \$20 silver, borrowed of me on the trip down in the **Jenny**. He happened to be selling some goods to the Spanish Capitano & wife after I had extracted her bad tooth. They are both from the north of Spain on the Bay of Biscay & the woman does not look Spanish, more like English & what are called Castilian in Spain.

In the afternoon a lot of rice was put on the **Santa Cruz**. At 4 p.m. Joe & I took Mr. Millet the trader down to the Canteen & reopened that store with a boatload of stuff. Mr. M. is very slim & not strong. I attended to my Doctor's tooth while there & we got back at 5:30 p.m. when I extracted 2 teeth for one of the English sailor & partly cleaned his teeth for a few shells he had given me. But the Capt. Williams offered me none. I must stop soon, as the **Jenny** is almost alongside the wharf. Fat Captain Bodey went out in the small sail boat & is piloting her. O'K says that B. is as good a Capt. & pilot as himself & would trust B. any place, as long as you give him no drink. Now he talks of sending the **Jenny** directly back to Pellews in Capt. B.'s hands and for me to go along.

Before he had thought of sending the **Jenny** away eastward to the Ruck [Chuuk] Islands, high land, after this yellow dye called "rang" as it is the best trade to secure copra in all this group, and in same trip he would have located this trader Mr. Millet at his new station. But, he changes so often I can bet on nothing a day ahead. So long.

The **Jenny** came into an anchorage in good style. All hands well & the trip about half successful and about 2/3 of a cargo of Beech de mere & tortoise shell. They have been in sight of Yap for the last 7 days, with no winds and have managed to carry away that jib boom that we were afraid of on our trip. They have the 6 Hermit Island men on board and they resemble the English New Guinea & Hebrides natives more than the Yaps. They are smaller & darker men than Yap & have the regular frizzle mop of hair with scanty beard & hair more or less all over their legs & arms, no tattooing, formerly regular cannibals on the group.

Thursday 7:30 a.m. June 5th 1890. Terang, Yap.

There has been war in camp & big Capt. Williams has got his discharge yesterday eve. He has the English law & parliament on his tongue far too much to please O'K, and has been making the remark that O'K, although the sole owner & insurer of the ship, will only be a passenger on this St. David's trip, and can't have nothing to say, etc. etc. about the working of ship. And the same until he turns her over to him personally in Hongkong, as she is flying the English flag, etc. & a lot more such talk. O'K could not stand any such foolishness as that. Besides, the Sydney agreement was broken by W. when he arrived here in refusing to take the agreed payment for same of 60 pounds sterling from Joe (Capt. O'K's agent) & turn the vessel over to him, thereby making a month's lost time to O'K in her laying idle here. Besides making him lose the good-wind months for St. David's & his other trips & one month behind in return to Hongkong. W. refused to recognize Joe or any one else as agent for O'K & hence the first loss & now with this big talk after this eastern trip & trying to make O'K as a simple passenger in his own ship simply because she flies the English flag... O'K says he has 2 English certificates himself as master & can sail any English ship. His agent could not get her under the American flag at Sydney as no American Capt. could be found idle there. So O'K says to H—I with W., his "acts of Parliament" & English flag. I'll sail my own ship & he or anyone else can go to law about it as soon as they please. I must say that W. is a very big-headed & conceited man in his manner of talking & he "turns to" & "I says" in about every other phrase. And yet he has been running on poor German Capt. Bodey & Java Joe for their poor English during their eastward trip.

Before the discharge I had been talking with W. myself on the ship about their trip to St. David's & Capt. O'K's being with him, etc. When he immediately commenced laying down the law about it to me—this, that & the other—and, when I asked him:

— "Do you mean to say that if I owned this ship & being a sailor like O'K & acquainted with these waters, that I would have nothing to say in danger on board of her?"

—"Yes sir! I mean to say that I'm responsible for the ship & can sail her as good as

any man in any waters! Phew! I'm blest if I would not throw you overboard, if it was my ship & you act like that!" was his hot reply.

That's drawing English law or any other law with a vengeance, and the Mr. W. has stuck his foot into too strong in catching O'K. He is to bring his traps all on shore & can stop here if he likes until a chance to go to Manila or Hongkong, where his passage is to be paid to & the crew to be paid off in Hongkong.

The plan now is for the **Jenny** to go direct to Hermit's, and that makes me stop here another month until return of O'K or go along to St. David's. Not at all what I should choose as that means July & part of August in the Pellews & last of August for Hongkong... where I wish I was now. The **Jenny** reports very little work being done in the Pellews as a sort of war has been going on, by one king from the strongest tribe going down to the southern small island, taking their best young women for concubines in their large houses & making the men give up their Pellew stone money & tricing them up by the thumbs & necks if necessary—3 or 4 have been killed. And Mr. [blank],¹ one of O'K's traders has by request of the natives, hoisted his flag and assumed chieftainship or kingship of the island & sent notice to the fighting king that he had done so & for him not to return there on penalty of death. Naturally that has stopped all work at south part of Islands, and now Mr. Gibbons & some of the chiefs write up to O'K to come down as soon as possible and make order.

More than likely this will cause O'K to take a Spanish officer & the priest along so as to be more strong in his influence. So we may see some fun yet. But in the meantime I must be content & take things easy, as my little Doctor was up yesterday & by Joe's translations he informs me that I am doing fine but it will be another month perhaps before I'm perfectly well. And I presume I ought not to complain as long as I am so comfortably fixed & no suffering. Tomorrow I expect to have another go at him to finish a bicuspid. Yesterday I extracted 3 ugly ones for the Mate of **Santa Cruz**.

This morning O'K, Joe & children have all gone down to Corpus Christi mass at the church & this is a church holiday of some kind. They were working hard to get the **Santa Cruz** away this morning, but now O'K says Saturday. (Wonder if that superstitious Friday accounts for tomorrow?) How it did rain at 4 p.m. yesterday and last night gave several squalls & plenty lightning. Light squalls this morning & heavy clouds overhead now & here comes sprinkling... & now rain... & so it goes, but makes the air cool & pleasant.

Friday 7:30 a.m. June 6th 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

O'K did not leave yesterday, although the **Santa Cruz** is ready & at anchor & a fair wind held in last eve. Now he sets the time for Saturday. In the meantime he is looking to the **Jenny** & the very first move that Old Olsen did in laying her alongside of the wharf without first placing an anchor outside to keep her off of the wharf in high water or any wind. Shows, how much a careful man can do to save & make money here. O'K

¹ Ed. note: Later on, we will learn his name to be Mr. Sims.

made them go out again, drop an anchor & fix her safely & now they are alongside the wharf. Yesterday was so much rain that they discharged very little as it will not do to get the Beech-de-mer wet. Today they are all busy at it. They have just finished hauling up & into the shed the large decked boat that I mentioned O'K thought something of going to Pellews in if both ships were lost, & now that such a fear is over, the boat is back in her own house.

The "Act of Parliament" (Capt. W.) seems to attach blame to Capt. Bodey & myself for O'K's discharging him & tried to pitch into me about it. When I ask him, if he really desired me to repeat to O'K all that he had said to me on the ship, etc. etc. when he walked away & now he is to stop here at Terang & am afraid that means future war. I will have to stop until return of **Santa Cruz** to get to Pellews. Hang it all! If one could catch a Str. to Manila I would clear out rather than lose so many months in idleness.

Yesterday was a church holiday. In the morning O'K, Joe & children attended mass & in the afternoon 4 p.m. the church had a small procession that O'K, Joe & I went down to see, but Joe being one of the main singers he took his place in the marching choir & all marched down the road about 1,000 yds to a floral archway over the road & back to the church, bare-headed & carrying 3 3-foot images, one banner & one cross at head of procession. The priest in the middle carrying something before his face & having a bright canopy 6 ft. square carried over his head by 6 Manila men and following them were about 30 Manila soldiers with full-dress uniform & guns with fixed bayonets. While the priest was passing out of the church the soldiers & their young red-headed Spanish officer were kneeling on the ground bare-headed & remained on the ground until the priest & the rest had passed & then they fell into line. It was rather a singular sight, I thought, to see soldiers in arms & with fixed bayonets at a church procession, of the holy Church. There were 10 or 15 Yap women & men standing around the side of the church having a look & I noticed [a] young chap in particular who was sniding half his time; while the church bell was being hammered for dear life overhead, he stood just under the bell. I was standing back of him near the dwelling steps where O'K & Tim Shaw were seated busy with some talk.

I wondered if that heathen Yap could be showing that assumed snide, while thinking the same as myself of the absurdity of such a loving religion that must be enforced by the bayonets, and such a valiant set of soldiers & officers as we saw today. Why, these Yap men would think nothing of taking them man for man in case of war. The whole affair was carried out with as much church pomp & show as they could make, and as soon as a short service was had in the church upon their return, the Father got out of his priestly garment & into the dwelling where all of us whites (10 men) were seated about the table, where the Governor in his official uniform & coat full of shining medals of some kind, made a mixed drink and called it American punch, & all hands must drink this, under penalty of some discourtesy (so O'K said to me) & I downed mine like a laggard, all the same. It was the first time I saw the Father indulge. It was dark when we left & at the Governor's house he made us stop there & go upstairs. Was glad of it, as the Doctor gave me two dozen small lemons to me, & tells me I can use

them in my tea & eat anything I like. Many thanks for that, & now I wish he would only furnish "the anything" to eat. One can't always get such in these South Sea Islands, good as they may be.

Saturday, 8 p.m., June 7th 1890. Terang.

O'K got away in **Santa Cruz** early this morning, taking little Jenny with him. They had good wind & were outside before 8 a.m. & out of sight in another hour as she head southward. He forgot his shoes & has only the cloth slippers that he had on for his monthly trip. After breakfast I took the boat down to the Canteen Store to see Mr. Millet. He has his little stock well displayed & well fixed. I also called on my little Doctor & the Madame. The latter is to get me shells & Yap curios in exchange for professional work. But as she talks plenty, we shall first see what she calls curios & is to get me, as I'm tired of getting beaten in such transactions, especially after your scolding that Noumea lot of shells.

Don't see as I can string out much gossip tonight & none about my proper subject—the natives. Joe promises me plenty trips around the island just as soon as the **Jenny** leaves on Tuesday. That suits me exactly & now that we have the "Act of Parliament" & his everlasting "turned to" phrase tacked onto us in the house as a boarder, Joe & I shall be away as much as possible. He has already today made several slurring remarks at the table, that may cause us to call him to order if carried much further. As orders have been left that he must keep his place & act the gentleman or get other quarters. He has been surly and grumpy ever since discharged. Joe & Capt. Dufty(?) are playing cribbage here at my table.

Last night they with O'K & Edwards played until late, with Capt. W. sourly watching & assisting to drink the beer. After getting tired reading I left them & turned in, only to be kept awake by singing & calling of the drinking sailors back in the carpenter's & Kanak Jim's quarters. They were at it some time after I dropped asleep & this morning poor Jim has two new bumps over his eyes caused by big Charlie's fists, all for fun, and so much fun was it that Jim could not turn out this morning to see O'K & the **Santa Cruz** leave.

Most of yesterday I was hard at work on a tortoise shell armlet or bracelet, and finished polishing the same today for Dollyfo [Donovo?]. I selected a thick piece & made it extra fine & a little different from the Yap style & it looks very nicely when finished. It is simply a flat piece of shell 1-1/4-in. wide in the ring, with the hole large enough to slip over the hand. Hardly think Miss Mand or any of the Oakland young ladies would care to sport one of them down Broadway. If so, they may yet have the chance someday, as I shall have a few of them, besides a selection of their tortoise shell plates, ladles & spoons, some of which are beautiful pieces of shell and all came from the Pellew group.

Today Mr. Millet gave me a Gilbert Island fish-hook made of bone & also 2 or 3 small shells. Boy, I'm getting sleepy & it must be turning-in time for me. Joe is coaxing me to attend the 5 o'clock mass with him, he is one of the church pillars, plays the organ

& leads the choir, & when he's away the choir is away. No, he can't catch me on that lay. Too much work for only Manila men & Spanish soldiers. Good night.

Sunday 8 a.m. June 8th 1890. Under the coconut trees.

In the cool breeze that has blown us a rain squall more than once since daylight & last night it rained hard. Joe & the children are now away at mass & it looks some as if they would catch a wetting. One of the men shot a charge of dynamite near the wharf, but the fish all ran away & they got none. That means no fish for breakfast for us, for what the natives catch themselves with the line they also use themselves.

Yesterday was much quieter after the **Santa Cruz** sailed & last night the boys were singing native songs & playing the old accordion in the Beeche-de-mere house. It will be much better still after the **Jenny** leaves with her crowd of men. Where she goes to the Hermit's it is not far across to the Admiralty's, I understand there are missionaries on the latter but still the natives are often treacherous & nasty to deal with & I have heard several stories about them. And even yesterday Madame H.¹ was telling me about her two visits down there with Capt. Holcomb (the Connecticut Yankee) her husband & how he was attacked the last time because he had called in at a new village & different tribe from the friendly ones he had seen before. Wish I could get Madame H.'s history. It ought to make good reading as a South Sea [native] born in Guam Island & been on most of the islands north of the line & even to San Francisco, & had a trip with the notorious Bully Hayes.

Monday morning, June 9th 1890. Terang, Yap.

How it did rain just before daybreak. Came down in torrents. Now it is clear.

8 p.m. Joe called me away to assist in the Store Room in paying off the 9 men who go home to the Hermits, each man getting a camphor-wood chest & goods more or less according to his time & services rendered O'K. Then we provisioned the **Jenny** & also stocked Jim up for his new trading station down there in Hermits. And altogether it has kept us busy most of the day. And how it has rained today & still heavy clouds overhead. Joe & I at 5 p.m. called down at the Governor's to get the **Jenny's** papers, but he is away around the island & the Manila Secretary could not be found. So, we had our trip for nothing. We called at the Canteen Store to see to Mr. Millet who is doing nicely in attending it. It was dark when we left to pull back home, and now Joe is writing out all the bills & I make the copies for him. He is a splendid penman & seems to understand business forms & this business so!

Yesterday after our breakfast Joe & I with little Arthur had the gig & 4 oars over to the mainland at Degore, due west of here & close by at the foot of the mountain range. It is one of the largest villages on the island & is divided into two cliques, each with a king & each a large & fine big house—one house has 3 girls and the other 3—and not good friends by any means. One of the kings is making Beech-de-mer for O'K. and has

¹ Ed. note: Née Bartola Garrido and widow of Captain Clayton P. Holcomb.

10 of his large iron pots for cooking it. His son took us all over the place & to the drying houses to see if they were doing the fish properly. Part of the village extends along the bay & water edge where they have only a narrow space of building ground as the mountains come down pretty steep. Part of the place is the mouth of a small gully from a long ravine back into the high mountain ridge.

The deep water channel comes around clear into the upper head of this little bay, where a large vessel could come & be out of sight of Terang & the settlement or regular harbor.

They have extra good stone walls & walks all over the places, most of the houses are enclosed by neat bamboo fences, & houses strung all over the level ground here. We followed a good walk back into the village & up the valley where we struck a small stream of running water, with here & there some pool 3 & 4 feet deep, with clear fresh-looking water. That was a temptation—to indulge in a bath, but Joe says they use the water for drinking & hence I would not be allowed to bathe. By & by we got into the natural woods & learning that a native missionary, or a “match’s match” man lived up in the mountains on one of the track in sight, I endeared Joe to follow up that way, which led us deep into the ravine & wild woods—scenery much better than anything I had expected to see in Yap—up, & on up we went, higher & higher, until I began to wonder if we were going up to the Signal Station. And we came out of the timber at top, we were close to the top backbone ridges & could see over to the west coastline & the western ocean, with a lovely view of Terang & the upper part of the inlet & inlet with Degore, coconut trees at our feet.

The trees were all we could see of the village but not having much level ground this place produces little copra. Little Arthur was carried on the shoulders of the big Sonsorol man most of the climb up & down. We had some pineapples & some nuts to eat. I caught 1/2 dozen butterflies & a few small sea shells, & we got back home at 4 p.m. Also had a small bunch of wild flowers & fern. They had waited dinner for us, as W. growlingly said. Too bad for him & so fat too. Good night.

 Document 1890B

Dr. Rabe's diary of 1890—Part 2

[Notes on front endpaper of Dr. Rabe's original diary: Districts of Yap: 1. Tomil; 2. Gegil; 3. Venif; 4. Nemegil; 5. Ruul; 6. Nap I.; 7. Rumong I. There are 3 N° 1 chief places in Yap: Tomil, Ruul, & Gotsjepor. N° 2 places are: Degore, Lammer, Goroore, Nough, Caniff, Gillewith, Akor. There are also N° 3 & N° 4 places. And the slaves are in two classes. Fanoway—chief of Goroore. Don Marianna [sic] Gov. Feb. '87, Jan. 1888; sent by the Doctor April '88; left April '89.]¹

Tuesday morning [10 June 1890]

Just after tea, with Joe away after the **Jenny's** papers. For a wonder I turned out before Joe & had had my bath before his appearance out of his little cabin. No rain last night & the sun is clear this morning with a pleasant cool breeze. I neglected last night to finish our *Match's match* missionary at Degorre side, but that's a mistake to say Degorre for he must be living near the west coast for when we arrived at the top of that saddle ridge, where we got such a nice view of Terang, etc. our guide, the chief's son Frigeman(?), said we were still closer to his house than the *Matchematch* man. Phew! And here it must have been at least 2 p.m. We all threw ourselves on the clean grass under a large native tree, with clumps of the graceful tree bamboos all around us & lay there taking in the view & a rest. Joe declared he was not tired. Oh no! not tired, & was ready to go on, just as I like. All the same he was much relieved when I decided to turn back, hardly good enough to be tramping over these hills until dark, there & back, with chances of not seeing the man at home.

I enjoyed the tramp & wooded scenery very much, especially about the ravines with their carpet of ferns & moss, and our path dwindled down to a faint track in the bush. Not a bit easy in some places to climb, & more than once I almost tripped up on some slippery stone or roots.

Wednesday 7 p.m. June 11th 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

Joe spells this island most of the time with a J—"Jap" & he tells me it has been spelt "Waup" & that is the nearest to the native pronounciation. I prefer "Yap" and you will notice most of the sailing charts have it that way.

¹ Ed. note: The last remark refers to Navy Lieutenant Mariano Torres.

Am a little tired tonight, have been assisting Joe at the Canteen Store today in making a fence & clearing up the place in general. I did most of the growling & assisted occasionally with the spade to show the lazy men what to do. We had 4 men who worked steadily at the fencing from 7 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. & Buffalo Bill was only good for digging & then either Joe or I had to be watching him all the time. They sent our breakfast down at 11 a.m. & we did justice to that meal as well as our tough chicken dinner on our return at 4 p.m. The wind was light & dead ahead, taking us over an hour to get here. The exercise had done me good & I am feeling about my old self today. One thing it has been quite cool & not enough rain to bother us. Another day will about finish the bamboo fence & after that Mr. Millet proposes to grade the little hill & plant the place & in time make a little home-looking place which can easily be done & only wish I was down there so as to lend a hand each morning.

Last night we had thunder & lightning & rain with a vengeance—the hardest they have experienced for a long while—but not for long, as the cooling air & wind that came in my two open windows were too good to lose & as the rain was not blowing on me, I let 'er rain. And it was a little late before I turned out this morning, but plenty early enough to catch all the 4 women folks still asleep all over the cool floors along with the 4 children & little John.

Yesterday we did not leave the place. The **Jenny** left at 10:30 a.m. & went out safely with all hands on board. I assisted Joe in starting to clean up the wharf & place, as usual, by bossing the lazy men. And it's not much fun even if it's no work in doing that much. The night came on slowly & close, so much so we concluded not to attend the big dance at Tomil that I had promised Chief Filliam. And now this eve he has been here & we have again set tomorrow night to go over. But it's so dark & far that it must be a good dance to fetch me. I have nothing special of my proper line to string out to you about the natives. So, I fill in with my day's work & now will make my bow & have a read in my novel for a rest before turning in. Yours, Frisco.

Thursday 8 p.m. June 12th 1890. Terang, Yap.

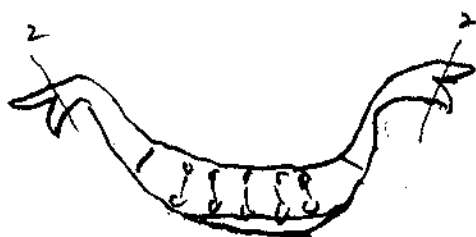
Rain, rain & more rain in torrents just now, with the wind so cool that it almost makes me go after a coat. Joe & I are seated on the verandah with our pantnet(?) [patented?] glass globe candle sticks, Joe reading some novel, while I'm making novel remarks—whenever I get any to make.

[Yapese canoes]

Joe tells me the Yap men make 3 kinds of canoes. The largest one is called "Tejuge-peen" & used for war & for distant sailing—both ends same shape—rounding & raised up resembling the swan's curved neck & head. The next kind is called "Thouwahp" and mostly used for a freight or carrying canoe & generally is made of one log a regular dugout. Both ends have a flat top, the bow one being the largest with a square front & very wide, upon which a man stands to pole or paddle the canoe & which at the same time prevents the water from entering the canoe at the bows as she dashes along under sail. The stern platform is not quite as wide but longer than the bow. The other one is

called "Popo" of medium size & and for fishing only inside the reef; never goes outside. Only a few of them in Yap. It's a split between the other two, the front part being a "Tejugepeen" & the rear a "Thouwahp" & made of different pieces (4 to 5) same as the first-named.

Drawing by Joseph Mitchell of Terang:



"Tejugepeen"



"Thouwahp"



"Popo"

Here are the three styles of Yap canoes that Joe has just drawn at my request.

—"Oh! yes. I can draw them for you." He says...

So I read a page in my novel, until he sang out:

—"Here you are"... P-h-e-w! I should say so thrice over & I ha! he!! hawed until I got him laughing for company & then told him about my poor drawing at the Marquesas, the one you made so much fun about...

But, I'm sure I had mine in more proportion than these canoes of Joe's. He has got the end platforms as large as the body of canoe & about three times too large. I have tried to cut off the ends a little more to the proportion in the line where you see the Figure 2. And then the ends of bottom of canoe is not so straight up, by any means, for they all have fine curves that cut the water nicely.

After we finished our laugh, Joe said he would make a good drawing tomorrow or next day. So, on that promise we must let the canoes rest & tackle him about some of their funeral customs he told me last Sunday when we met some natives with black daubs on their faces for mourning.

[Funeral customs of Yap]

At the death of a husband or wife the survivor must stop inside a small house at the center edge of the village away from the salt water for 9 days. His food is brought to him in morning & evening. During that time he does no business nor sees anyone excepting the food carriers, and his coconuts must not [be] touched by anyone during that time. If a father dies, the children can do no business for 3 months & must wear a coconut leaf around their necks as a sign of this. But during this time they can go where they please & work at anything and also buy anything **but can pay for nothing**. The same applies for the death of a mother, but for only 1 month.

General[ly] the dead are buried within 24 hours, excepting the big chiefs who are often kept 7-8 days. The common people are wrapped up in a large common sleeping mat about 8 x 12 ft.; the chiefs in the cloth made from bark of the salt water bush (mangrove) which is sometimes 2 to 500 fathoms long. The richer chief the longer the cloth. This cloth is passed as money & is called "Bull". After the body is well wrapped up it is carried by the slaves to a regular burial ground located always in the slave district, buried in the ground 5 or 6 feet deep & the grave covered over & built up with stones in a nice regular shape of different sizes. No relations go to the funeral, but afterwards visit the grave to see that the slaves keep it all right. While the body is laying in the house the people come in & keep up a continual weeping song day & night all the time. The reason the chiefs are kept so long is for the people from distant parts of the island can come to pay their last respects.

At the grave there is no ceremony of any kind. If a man is killed in any fight he is buried in the ground alongside of his own house in a grave about 2 ft. deep & built up with stones the same as in the general cemetery. In the death of small children the mother generally goes with the body to the grave. The dead are all rubbed over with this yellow *rang* before being wrapped up.

All men visiting a dead chief's funeral bring a present of coconuts, pearl shells or money stone. And then after 12 moons the chief's oldest son or successor makes a big feast & invites all the chief people. He makes them all presents of the same things, viz. shell money, coconuts & pearl shells, etc.

The Yap time is counted in moons & is kept by so many knots tied in a string. So, when a chief dies the string is made with 12 knots & at each moon one knot is untied & at the 12th knot comes the feast.

Our candle is on its last legs, & Joe is tired & says we have exhausted the funeral business. So, I might as well say good night & get away from these hungry mosquitos that the rain is sending in thickly. All day we have had rain squalls & we have been here all day. The men brought a few more bamboo for the fence & Joe sent them down & might have sent two of the men down for all forenoon instead of their sleeping all day. At 5 p.m. O'K's boat & men came home, [the one] that the Governor, the Doctor & 2 priests had at the north end of Yap, since Monday morning. And now Joe says we will go to south point tomorrow. All right, that suits me, & good night. Now it's near 10 p.m.

Sunday, 10 a.m., June 15th 1890.

Goroore, South point of Yap, at the Missionaries house of the San Franciscan ardent monks.

We have been on the go so much that I have not tried to have a chat with you since we left Terang on last Friday morning after our early 6 a.m. breakfast. The usual time was 9 a.m. I had turned out so late & so slow in my bath & tea that I had hardly finished the latter when the large bell sang for breakfast downstairs & Joe called me down. After that I soon packed my traps & we loaded up the sail boat with some betel nut trees for the Store, to make fence posts, water spouting & split up into strips to make partitions latticing. This betel nut tree has a hollow trunk & [is] something between a bamboo & the coconut tree, and is used here in the islands for making all the floorings & partitions & sides of the best houses. This house of the Padres is built with the coconut thatched roofing.

After unloading our stuff at Store we picked up the Gorrore Padre, who had been up at North end for 5 days with the Governor's party. And poor man, he is half sick with a cold & not at all strong in his stomach. The wind was light & against us making a slow trip for us & making short tacks & beating our way along over the shallow water after scraping our keel, and at one place finding 2 fish baskets with about a dozen fish, that Timagin saw & immediately jumped overboard after, to my surprise. As I could not understand his exclamation when he laughed & then jumped. But Joe soon told me & I wondered what the Padre would say to such a robbing, for our boys soon took the fish traps & all on board, although one or two small canoes were nearby at some fish ponds & we soon met one man paddling in their direction. We kept the fish & baskets as I presume the Padre did not object, especially as we ate the same fish for our supper after dark. These fish baskets are well made & are much used here in Yap. But their numerous coral walled fish ponds are the great danger for canoes & the traders boats. O'K says they cost him at least 3 to 400 dollars every year in damages to his boats. They keep changing & building new ones, so it is hard to keep track of them all when under the water. They do not use any long & large fish nets. All I see are small ones upon short

hand sticks & very light. Sometimes they spear a few, but the majority are caught after night outside the reef in their big canoes after the flying fish.

1 p.m.—All hands asleep. The Padre here on the front verandah, Joe & the other 2 Fathers in their rooms & out of sight. I stopped my pencil to attend to their call to breakfast & you may depend I was not sorry to hear that call with only a small cracker & cup of tea at 6 a.m. to go on all forenoon & tramping 3 hours of that time with Joe, about business. We had a jolly good dinner about the mildest Spanish cooking that I have struck & I enjoyed the meal much better than [the one by] our confounded Chinaman at Terang. We had no fish & this Padre offers no yams. Joe says it's because they don't think them good enough for us. I left them at the table over the tea & aniseed wine & made a tramp clear out to the barrier reef 1/4 of a mile. It's extra low water now & I got out almost dry shod, but my walk was no good for shells, only saw a few & they nothing new. Had a good look at the fish pens & was astonished to see their number out there, almost a continuous string clear along the outer reef, with strong walls 2-1/2 to 3 ft. high & 4 feet wide, with long training walls & loophole baskets at seaward ends for the fish. But these fish pens are not worth the damage they do to the boats & canoes. Just before the Padre dropped asleep I showed him Joe's drawings of the **Yap canoes**—a few pages back—and what a laugh we had over them. As it happens there are 3 just such canoes, one of each kind, laying here near our own boat high & dry near one of the big houses, waiting for the big water at 3 p.m. The Padre & I make a desperate effort to talk, but he easily tells me that the drawings & names are no good, not correct & one can easily see, with these canoes here in front of us. And, how am I to know about Joe's other information & stories. He tells them all so positively that one could almost swear to them—unless it happens to be about some sea shells, that on his calling them land shells, I could not help smiling while reminding him of what I had told him before, viz, that there were no land shells that large on Yap, etc.

It makes me feel like "punching the little man" for taking the thing so easily with his light tongue, that seems to make no change in its tone, even when you do prove that he is mistaken. The best I can do is to cuss him, at the time that I'm suspicious, write down the story & let you dissect it or swallow the whole, as you like. I find the fellow has got the "Big I" so much & so bad in his talk that it's hard to always get his meaning. While on the other hand he assists & explains everything very patiently & takes my growling so good naturally & quietly that I'm puzzled yet as how to take it all.

It was after 1 p.m. when we landed here. Our boat struck several hundred yards out in the low water. The Padre's Manila boy came out on a bamboo raft, 14 large 3-in. bamboos, 20 feet long with sharp wooden ends of 4 to 5 feet long, with a large native cut slab on top of the bamboo cross pieces. Bamboos all tied & lashed with native coconut fibre string. The Padres & I got onto the raft with one of his small boxes, and after going 50 or 60 yards, we sank to above my shoe tops. The Padres wear only an open leather sandal shoe. Our two native boys slid into the water 12 to 15 inches deep & we gradually righted our craft, floated a little closer to the small sandy beach & I stepped into the water & waded ashore. The Padre took off his sandals & followed me.

We then struck into the coconut lands & half a mile brought us to the spot & their new church building close by. They have it under roof (corrugated iron) & the ceiling done with a native matting & now working at the sides with lumber brought by O'K from Hongkong. The church is located on the low ground at water's edge under the trees & does not have a chance to make a conspicuous appearance, as it would have done had they succeeded in buying a large vacant stone pier built well out into the water just here in front of their dwelling house. But the natives would not sell that spot. And as it was, they had hard work to get this ground where they are now, some of the owners refusing to sell until Joe (Joe's story) forced them to it, by their owing him (O'K) so much. That Joe "turned the screws" as it were & they were glad to accommodate the Padres. The Padre has an assistant, a good-looking young man & also a Brother of the Order as carpenter who is building the church. They all dress alike in long heavy robes, leather sandals, no stockings. The carpenter is assisted by 7 Manila soldiers & the Padre has one Manila "ley" or convict as a house servant. They have 17 converts here or scholars who are taught Spanish & religion every day. They had early mass this morning & a lot of the youngsters, 5 or 5 women & 1 Yap man attended, all dressed in European clothes & the women & little girls made a regular dress improvement, by their Yap dress punching out the Mother Hubbard wrapper in grand style about their hips. I saw the Brother & Padre giving the dresses to the little girls & presume they furnished the woman's also; 5 minutes after the service these clothes were all packed away again & they were happy.

All hands are awake again & tramping around. The water is coming in fast & it will not be long before we start back for Terang.

It was over an hour after we arrived before we had a luncheon. Afterwards Joe & the Padre & I had an hour or so walk about the houses & under the coconut trees, so thick are they here on this large low first ground that very little sun strikes the ground. This part of the land is one mass or forest of nut trees—tall, large & fine ones—but only a few with nuts on, since the drought. Half a mile back is an upheaval of some 25 to 30 ft. that makes the main part of this south end of Yap, gradually getting a little higher in the interior where some of the native large trees grow. This lower level is mostly dry about here but at the extreme south point it is partly wet at high tide & a nasty place to get around unless one stays on the built road or paths. I only caught 2 butterflies that first day. Saw a few others, the same kind & nothing new in that line.

It was 8 p.m. before we had our dinner and the poor carpenter got sick over their rich soup, that I did not indulge in. They all 3 have weak stomachs, a common complaint of the Brothers. At the table they drink out of earthen-ware mugs with a cover, holding over a pint, eating with wooden forks & spoon. They use no tobacco, although not forbidden & **very little** wine & beer touched. Joe, made up for any such loss, as he drank the wine & beer enough for any two men & eating the same way. Where he puts it all, for such a little man (125 lb) is a wonder.

[Flying fish season]

In this flying-fishing business, the big canoe is generally furnished by some big chief to a party of selected men, for a definite interest in the proceeds of the 2 months fish-

ing season, about 1/3 or 1/4 of the whole. When the fishing men have all been selected they all live together in a certain part of the big house that is set apart for their private use, & no-one else must go there. The fishing season lasts 2 months, and every night the canoes are supposed to go outside before dark & remain outside until morning fishing, & not allowed to take anything along outside of their fishing gear. No grub, water nor coconuts, nor even the fish they catch. Must not eat nor drink while out. In the mornings, if plenty fish have been caught, the surplus is sold & even the chief owner of canoe must pay for what fish he takes & then at end of the season they divide up the proceeds amongst themselves & owner of canoe. During the fishing season the men must have nothing to do with the women & not even allowed to talk to them, & if a woman arrives at the island in a canoe, that stops the fishing for at least 5 or 6 days, because she is supposed to make the fish bad or scare them away at sight. If she comes in a large ship so the fish can not see her, then it is different & the fishing continues. Afterward they can commence again or not just as they like. In fishing outside they have one man standing at each end of a large canoe holding a large dry coconut leaf torch which makes a bright light. This attracts the flying fish to the side of canoe. When the other men dip them up with a sort of dip net on a long bamboo. The flying fish averages 10 & 12 inches. At the same time they are using lines & catch the large sword or guard fish. If the weather is bad or the water very rough so as to make it dangerous, they return to the big house, but otherwise they must step outside all night, whether they catch any fish or not.

About a week ago some 20 of the Mogmog canoes at north end of Yap. Consequently, these men at Goroore "knocked off" fishing, until the evening of our arrival when they went outside to start again. I was watching 2 of the canoes as they "shot the reef" & breakers & they were tossed around like paper shells for a few minutes in the breakers. Every man was hard at work with his long bamboo, until they got into deep water, when they were all safe. But they came back in the night; the sea was very bad & the clouds black. They got no fish.

I started to go into the big house, where the canoe was laying, & had got half way in when Joe grabbed my arm & said I must not go in there as that part or end of the house belonged to the fishermen, one or two of whom were laying there half asleep.

On Saturday morning I turned out after a good night sleep. My room was next to Joe's in the top story, where I had to stoop considerably to get alongside of my cot bed & its coarse harsh mosquito curtain, made of some kind of stuff new to me & very stiff. I found a patented iron wash basin pan & pitcher with water & I soon had my sponge, soap & towel out & made a sponge bath & then into bed about 9:30 p.m. Blowing out my glass globe candle after a few puffs I could see that Joe was still reading in his bed by the light shining through the low & open betel nut tree partition that was split into 2 in. wide pieces, the bark & pith inside shaved away & then painted white. And the flooring of the same material made my little 3-legged stand with my candle on top dangerously shaky besides being only 2 or 3 in. from the thatched roof.

Before morning I was roused by a bell ringing & Joe tells me that it was the daily 4 a.m. mass. Just so. Besides this on weekdays they have mass just before breakfast. Then in the afternoon & again about 7 p.m. or just before their dinner, and soon after dinner to bed. The 3 men are very pleasant & if I could only chat with the Padre I could get much **correct** information about the natives.

Monday 8 a.m., June 16th 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines. Capt. OKeefe's.

I had better keep you along with me each day. So we will go back to Gorroor to the Padres' House on Saturday morning. I found Joe had been up since 4 a.m., out after some business by the first tide. Here the water is 3 hours later in its flow than at Terang, something I don't understand. And when it does come in at high tide it is so shallow around this end that the boats have only 3 hours to work in each 12. Hence one must watch the water closely to make time & passage. The reef is much higher than about north end & there is no deep water channels or passages & at low water much of it is dry.

On Monday noon I took a walk over it to the barrier reef, finding the long level reef all dead coral, with very few shells on it. I could not get within 100 feet or so of the edge & saw no live coral. But while out there, had a good look at the stone fish pounds & could see plenty men visiting the other ponds all along the reef edge & as the water was making fast they had to move around quickly. I wore my rubber shoes & barely got my feet wet. The flat reef was covered with plenty of fine soft sand & sediment—no sharp coral—and one could go barefoot without danger. There goes the large breakfast bell. So long, as I must go downstairs to that.

Back again after a slim breakfast for me, as I can't go the salt beef & our cook seems to be having things his own way pretty much & about the same with the two house boys, judging from the dirty condition of the place up & downstairs with the boys playing around.

Saturday morning I had my cup [of] tea & Manila crackers & soon after that Joe turned up, had his tea & we started across country with the rich chief of this district & the next richest man to Fellaam, but not near as big a chief. He has several houses, much land & many slaves. He is building a large dwelling house not far from the Padres. That is going to be something grand, very large & to be board floor with rooms partitioned off, sides made in Yap style with small bamboo reeds crossed & neatly tied with native string. The sills & uprights are all made of the breadfruit trees & nicely cut & squared by their adze chisel axes & then rubbed smooth by sharks skins, making them so smooth & even that I declared they must have used a plane. The Yap men do not use the plane at all.

This chief wanted to get glass windows of O'K but he is owing so much now & so slow pay that O'K would not bring windows from Hongkong. He has been a long time at this house & has not got all the flooring done & it will be a year or two yet to be finished. It's a pity it is so closely closed in by the tall nut trees, while close alongside & in

holes in the large court yard pavement of stone are immense banyan trees or others that leave very little open space. In fact, I saw no open spaces in the whole south end. This chief looks about 40 years old, is large & well- built man & very good-looking with his full beard about 6 or 7 inches long. No moustache. We tramped along into the interior, that makes a slight rise inland, where there are only a few coconut trees, but plenty woods, yam & taro patches on all sides. Many stone roads or tracks in every direction that showed constant use & which in many places were completely arched with the tall slim fish-rod bamboo, making nice small patches of green scenery—which Joe declared was just his idea of fine scenery. But I could not pay much attention to that part while walking. The uneven & slippery stones were nasty things to get over & more than once we both growled at our slipping & then it was drizzling rain, just enough to make me use my umbrella & wet all the bushes & ground.

At one place we crossed a low stretch of land over 3 miles long & 1/4 wide, used as a taro patch with fresh water staning(?) over all of it. A naturally-formed garden for them with no trees in it. On the west bank of this we came to this chief's slave village—a N° 1 slave place. You see, there are two grades of slaves in Yap. The N° 2 is much the lower & not allowed to accumulate any property of their own; it all can be taken by his chief, even to the nuts of their place, while the N° 1 slaves can have things of their own to a certain extent. They can own the black lip pearl shell under 6 inches, but none larger, no gold- lipped pearl shells at all & no white-lip from Hulu [Jolo] or Torres Straits. Shells are very valuable Yap money, & I see OK selling many large 12- & 14-inch white lip shells, that he got from the Sulu Islands by way of Zamboanga & Manila.

This slave place had a very good big house where we found half a dozen men sitting out of the sprinkling rain, one or two busy making spears out of the betel nut trees, with their chisel adze—a very poor & rude spear. They are also allowed to own the Pellew-stone money as large as 3 feet, valued at 20 bags copra = 2,000 lbs, that O'K pays .01P per lb., so it is worth here \$20 Spanish. Amongst themselves these Pellew stones do not pass for as much value as they have to pay the trader.

The slaves are allowed to have only very small bundles of "Bull" cloth for burying their dead in. The N° 2 smaller than N° 1. They are all allowed to carry their baskets the same as all Yap men do for their betel nuts, nut leaf & lime box, knife & other little things. They are not allowed to wear a comb in the hair, but can carry it in their basket if they like. This wearing of the comb in the hair is the main mark of difference, as all Yap chief men wear one & a slave never. The old men generally have short combs & stick it in sideways just back of the head to keep the long hair from falling down. The Yap style is never to cut the hair & the longer the better & the most pride is taken in it. The flashy young men wear long high combs with a small piece of red flannel or some colored cloth sticking in the top & sometimes flowers or calomel leaves, worn straight up on the back part of head, much to the dislike of the old men.

We saw one good-looking woman with an unusually-long & full head of hair, just as she happened to have it hanging down today. It standing up it came below the knees

& it was very fine & soft feeling under my fingers as I touched the ends of it. This she did not seem to like & quietly pulled it out of my hands & coiled it up into a regular Frenchy knot on the back of the head & neck. At the same time she was making free with my butterfly net, to see what it was & also looking at the softness of my hands. Joe telling me that they do not like any one touching the hair & it is almost an insult, etc...

The next day we saw the same woman again where Joe grabbed her by the hair tumbling it around considerably & she laughing. When I reminded him of what he had said to me about that same performance & the same woman... he looked a little puzzled but answered me by saying that it was only to strangers. As for him, they did not mind & were not afraid of him, etc. etc. & he could do what he liked. On our second visit at this house, I saw a very old shrivelled up woman sitting at one of the open sides, nothing but skin & bone with white hair & all eyes. I was astonished to hear Joe say she was only about 40 years old, & he says that the Yap women aged very fast after 25 years old. These women I mention were in the chief place & not slaves.

The slaves can not pass in front of a chief place in their canoes in the usual standing position, but must squat down, while on the land in traveling they must make a big circle around the chief places, by paths not used by chief people if alone, but if with a chief or white, they can pass along any place, but must bend their back in a stooping position while doing so or on meeting any chief people. But that is not so often as you may imagine. We have passed house after house many a time at different places & no people about. It's remarkable, so few people or children in sight during the day. At this slave place we stopped for some time & until the rain had stopped. The big house had nothing inside of it & we did not visit any of their dwelling houses that I saw scattered here & there under the trees.

The chief had come this far, some 3 miles or so, with us to find someone that Joe wanted to see (++). Finding they were down on the west coast at a chief village, we left the chief here & followed his two slaves on westward.

On leaving this higher level on the west side we saw the ground descend in a steep alluvial bank 30 feet the same as about Goroore side & also as Ruul. Here we were disappointed in our man (++) & then made for a village southward a little ways where we had ordered our boat to come, thinking we might stop all night around here if Joe found any copra & business.

By the time we got to the big house where our boat had stopped, we were both hungry & thought it past noon, the day seeming so long to both of us. We found we were at least 2 hours fast in our time. All the same, after Joe had had a short nap & I reading a novel while laying down watching one or two of the big house boys making love to their only big house woman—who had been here only a few months—as the missionary at Goroore is making a big fight against these big house women & has succeeded in clearing them out of 5 or 6 places around his church & had cleared this house also. And now Joe tells me that he (Joe) told the people himself to go & get this woman at Ruul where he knew she was & would be glad to come, because it made better business

for him, for when there is woman in the big house he can always find men there. But no woman there, then no men stop all the time & you may come here often after copra & find no men & have to lose the tide & even all day before you can find anyone to do business. And down here each & every man does his own business & not by the chief in a lump. For that reason Joe tells me he told them to get woman in their big house. Up north & about the settlement the missionary influence has done no good in that line. And still they have much influence here in the south as this Padre here seems to be a great favorite & well liked & they all work hard to have the Governor join in with them.

I hear much about one named Don Mariano, who was here some two years. Got sick, went to Manila & died in one week, before he could get away for Spain. He & O'K were great friends. Either he was up here at Terang every day or O'K was down at the Governor's. This Governor was a smart man & did much good in Yap. Joined with the Padres in trying to suppress this slave business, declaring to the big chiefs of Yap, whom he had summoned before him that the Spanish Emperor wished all men free under their flag & therefore had declared slavery abolished in the islands of Cuba & Yap. And that henceforth there were no slaves in Yap & all men could wear the comb in their hair. And the Governor placed the comb in the hair of several slaves who were present & told them to always wear it when they came to the settlement. But the law is a dead letter. The slaves did wear the combs at the settlement but before they landed at their homes out of the canoe they took good care to take it out.

Laro of Tomil is nominally the big King of Yap or *Match-match* man descending to him from his Father who died while Laro was young. Don Mariano often seeing the slaves wearing the comb would say that Laro obeyed the laws, etc. etc. But I question if such a smart man could be fooled that easily. At any rate, today they are as much slaves as ever. After Don Mariano came a Governor who did not join the Padres in their fight against this woman business & other native customs & he only remained here some six months, when he was removed by complaints made by the Padres to the head of order in Spain, who are very strong there. And consequently the unbeliever was duly kicked out.¹

This big house & big house woman business was all imported from the Pellews some 50 years or so back. The Padre says he would not make such a set fight against the big house women if the **married men** would not go there after them. All single men, it would not hurt so much. But in marrying a woman there is no ceremony & the man can turn her out & take another at pleasure & even bring a second woman into his house but that is seldom done. The Yap women are nothing but slaves or property of the men & have nothing to say whatever. In former years they were different & had much to say & much influence. The Yap man says today's custom in that line is an improvement.

1 Ed. note: Manuel Gonzalez had been sent to Yap only as an interim governor. Before the arrival of Commander Montes in 1890, there was a José Warleb in charge; he may be the man Dr. Rabe refers to here.

This one big house woman, while living in Ruul was considered one of the Mission's best numbers & one of their earliest converts & Joe also mentioned another similar woman & husband who have back slid & now living in Tomil's big house.

Joe & I lunched on our tinned beef, hard bread & butter & tea & some yams that had been cooked while Joe was asleep. They had been for the woman who was sitting close where I was laying. They first cut up two watermelons handing here a fine large piece, that looked very tempting, as she passed it over to me, after several motions of "would I have it?" I took one bite, enough to know I dare not eat such green stuff, although the seeds were black & looked fine it had no sweet taste & was very tough. So I handed it back with my sweetest smiles to the fair yellow damsel all covered down to her hips with the yellow "rang" making her hands look like yellow monkey paws. These people have very small feet & hands. She took the piece back with a wondering look & broad smile that opened her face almost from ear to ear, but sad to relate I discovered not shining white pearls, no siree, not a one that was white. They were all jet black, 36 of them, large & broad, with the regularity of a horseshoe arch & almost as large—indicating good crushing power & fully proved by the way she used them on that melon & afterwards on some of that cooked yam (after first making me try a good piece) & finishing on coconuts. Talk about the Southern Negro going for a *Water million*, he's nothing in comparison to this island beauty. Don't imagine that I kept my eyes very closely on my novel—not a bit of it, not while I could slyly watch such a novel performance & I would have given considerable to have had a photo of our party. How shocked our fair cousins in civilization would be to see this lady, as she hid her face behind the melon & two hands that were trying to fill up the open gap. How she did enjoy that melon! & she left precious little of the rind to show for it. I thought she was going to eat rind & all at first. How I envied such a stomach to handle that hard white part that sounded like a quartz machine as she ground & crunched away at it as she gracefully lay back against the honest chest of one of her many admirers. Several little boys were also eating melon at one of the doorways in front of sea, but never a bite did she offer her supporter of anything. Between the dishes or courses she wiped her mouth with the table napkins, viz. a handful of her leaf petticoat she was wearing—I had to smile at this—& she sent a smile back when she caught my eyes upon her. And then her man would also smile. The meal finished, the youngsters cleared out & the two laid themselves down for a rest. Just then Joe turned over, his head slipping off the log pillow & he woke up with one eye open. I sang out Dinner! & he opened the other eye & next the grub chest & meat tin.

That necessary job finished, we concluded best to return to the Padres & a good bed for the night as we can do no business about here, it being a native Sunday, Friday & Saturday. This native Sunday seems a peculiar affair inasmuch as any village or district can make a Sunday at any time & for any length. Joe tells me of one lasting 8 months in a north district. During this time the place can not sell nor give away a single thing, not even a coconut to drink. But they can receive all you wish to give them or sell them on trust.

That's a very handy taboo way of not paying one's debts or [not] working. And here we have ran into one of these Sundays. Fortunately the Sunday is finished Saturday night & Joe gets the little copra early on Sunday morning tide by sending fine gin in the Padre's small boat southward after it—long before I got up.

Finishing our Saturday lunch we left the boys & boat stop until evening tide would let them bamboo back to Padres. Joe & I with my umbrella & net & he with walking stick again took the road along the lower level around to the Mission, passing over a good piece of new stone road some 3 miles long recently finished in the lowest land where the tide comes at highest water & where formerly it was awful walking. This is the best piece of road on Yap & will average 10 feet wide all paved over & built up with stone & coral at some places as much as 5 or 6 feet. The dirt was carried in baskets by the women from the high land & the stones by the men. They were several years at the work, & they have followed the old crooked track, making it longer. It is a big piece of work & very well done. The best in fact by aboriginals of any islands I have seen, unaided by whites. In this low land there were very few houses, villages, most all up on the edge of second rise where it comes nearest to the salt water. In one nasty low place we passed a good-sized house & several small ones, that belong to the women of the village while unwell—seeing several about the house at the time.

We called at a half-caste Tongan's house (Joe) who is trading for Friedlander & found him at home sick for the past 7 days, with his boat laying in the dry lagoon & mangrove bush alongside of his small betel nut bamboo house raised up 5 feet on posts & which we entered by the front steps, a 4- or 5-rung ladder. Inside the big fellow was laying on a dirty hard cot, no mosquito net in sight & had 2 or 3 natives asleep in the loft over the narrow verandah in front.

Hello! There goes the 2 p.m. dinner bell & I have been scribbling you all forenoon without a stop—13 pages I see. That seems very little for at least 4 hours' writing. But so long for this time. If I catch only half of what Joe gives me about these people I imagine you will think it enough & cry quits.

7 p.m.—Just had our tea & a light rain squall has sent me into the house... but let me finish up at the South Point & get you up here first, as we may make a run north on Wednesday.

At that trader's house, the Tongan, Joe yarned away with him for some time, about how much business he (the trader) was doing. Not far away from there, we reached the house of one of O'K's native traders, who left yesterday on a trip northward along the west coast & unfortunately the scamp of Canteen Johnny has gone with him, the trader perhaps not knowing about O'K's kicking him out of the Store. Joe saw his mother & young good-looking wife. The former gave us the first good ripe pineapple to eat that I have had in Yap, while Joe gave her a cigar, as he had no tobacco left; had given his few sticks away by this time. Her son is a mechanical genius & makes many model houses & curios, can mend a clock or watch and even an engine. He made "Dollopu", a kind of silver bracelets, with hinges, clasps & all—a regular wonder in that way. We saw a nice model of Yap house of his partly finished at his mother's house. But down

in the big house at water's edge we saw his sleeping place & trade boxes with good clock, lamp & other European articles & Joe tells me the man never sleeps with his wife. The way he got her was by her faithfully nursing him through a long spell of fever. She always wanted him & when he got sick she came to his mother's house to see him & help & when he got well he never told her to leave. And she continues to do a wife's duty in making gardens & cooking for him still & living here with his mother, while he always sleep in the big house. How is that for women's rights? The mother's house looks unusually full of stuff, but we are never invited into the houses like a Samoan would do & even if you do enter they are so dark you can [not] see well. The people when at home sit at the front part or a small verandah on top of the high stone formation of 3 to 4 feet high. Not a single private house did we enter, nor have I ever been invited into any of them. The big chief's homes that I entered in Tomil side were by my own asking, but so dark I could see but little.

We tramped along over that new piece of road & then into a little higher & better land the same as extended to & away past Goroore. Here we saw plenty of canoes being built, mostly of the largest kind. They tell us they are building 20 large canoes in the one village called Gall.

Joe has just come upstairs & has marked the villages on the west coast & also the slave place where we visited; you will notice I marked our track to Gatchelow, the slave place & then to the coast at Umalay where the new road commenced & extended to Neeff a scant 2 miles, but there are several smaller side branches & 2 overland 4-foot paths from Gall & Neeff. At Umalay we had our lunch & then walked over the new road a little ways apart Neeff when we turned back to Umalay & then along the coast track through Anoth & Mylackegill & on to Goroore just at sundown, good & tired with our long day & tram of about 11 miles, and our boat got there soon after us.

Formerly the missionary influence extended as far north as Neef but now it is felt only in Goroore & Mylackapu & Anoth. This was caused by the new governors after Don Mariano not backing up the Padres. But in Anoth Joe pointed out a house inland under the nut trees with a small ditch around it full of water. That has not a second of the kind in Yap & where it originated from is unknown. (It is called the "women's big house" and it is where any of the single or married women of the village can go & stop all night & any of the men of the village can come in at night & make choice of one to take away for the night, provided she is willing. During the daytime the women come & go to this house at pleasure & even the men will come across the foot logs set down outside the house & talk to them. The house is alongside of the main walk & in middle of village & when we passed along, there were 4 women sitting just outside talking. Not long after that the Padre joined us while at another house. He often goes to th women's big house & talks with them. But for some reason the house has never been stopped & no talk made about it.)

Saturday seemed a very long day to both of us & we were glad to have a good rest that night. The next morning I have told you that Joe was up at 4 a.m. attending to

business & when I turned out we both attended morning service. On Sundays they have only the morning & evening mass, one less than the weekday.¹

The carpenter was able to be out & at our 11 o'clock breakfast which was mostly chicken, & we were both of us ready for it after our morning's tramp to the northward villages of 3 hours, over some poor patches of road & ground, but seeing some extra fine big houses. One of them being called the best in Yap was made with board sides & had 3 or 4 small pieces of window glass stuck here & there. The sides of these houses are about 4 to 5 feet high, while outside the steep thatch roof projects 2 feet or more out & about the same lower down. The pavement surrounding all these houses is from 2 to 4 feet lower still. So, one has to stoop more or less to enter at any of the openings at the ends or sides. This house is of medium size, but well & strongly built with only a single line of post in the center to support the high roof. While all the other have much more. The flooring was made of plit betel nut & well laid all over the place. The house is newly finished—looks very clean & neat. One side of the roof has been rethatched & the other will be done the same soon. There was no-one in the house & no movable property. And is located inland. It is the only big house in Yap built in this style & they have no big house women.

Not far from the Mission on north side is a strongly-built stone wall that we passed through. It was 8 to 10 ft. high 5 feet thick & extended into the coconut forests as far as I could see & also out onto the reef 150 yds. I noticed a few post holes here & there in the water side of the wall. It was built by the Goroore people some 10 years ago during their wars with their northern neighbors, whom they got the best of & retaliated by cutting down all their coconut trees & destroying their houses, etc. I can see that all the nut trees in this village & place are only some 8 years old, but of a very thrifty growth & have stood the past drought far better than the tall old trees & have far more nuts on them today. We passed through this wall at two places & each of them was [a] regular made opening 5 feet wide 2 ft. off the ground with well-squared stones & steps at each side. Formerly the Goroore women used to keep the whole place very clean from all leaves & rubbish, piling it up in neat piles to decompose or else burning & that made the place with its level & smooth sandy surface, tall towering & branchless trees, planted pretty close & irregular, appear almost as one immense chamber half-roofed over by some lattice work that made a peculiar mild light, and a striking difference when you came out of it to the hot glaring sun on the half sandy beach or water even. It's hard to believe that every one of these millions of nut trees have an owner & one who often-times could recognize from what trees certain nuts were taken.

[The wreck of a Spanish ship]

The first day in Goroore we also visited at the house of the noted Chief Fannoway, 2 years dead, to get some oranges & lemons from his 3 or 4 trees in front yard & the only trees of the kind I have yet seen in Goroore. This chief was the richest man in Yap in his day & also the most humane man & stood next to the King (Laro's father) in in-

1 Ed. note: The author did not realize that the daily religious exercises or prayers were not masses.

fluence. Was a good friend of the whites. At one time he stood against all the rest of Yap & saved the lives of a boatful of Manila men wrecked just outside & who landed at his place in Goroore, 2 other boats landed further north on Yap & were all killed by the natives there, & who after a Council demanded Goroore to give up those men to be also killed. But instead of doing that, the chief & his people kept them safely & assisted them in building a large boat, with which they reached the Philippine Islands. For this act the chief never received due credit nor reward from the Spanish Government, as far I can learn. Don Mariano while here did all he could for the Old Chief before he died, sending the Spanish Doctor down to see him, etc. & besides wrote home to Spain about the noble action he had done.

The chief was a very remarkable man & far in advance of his people in many ways. They tell about his canoe being wrecked some 25 or 30 miles away from Yap out of sight of land & his swimming ashore here. He was returning from the Pellews. He owned many houses & much land, had several daughters but only adopted sons, the eldest of whom has robbed the widow of one of her best houses near the water besides many nut trees & that after having received his share. And then chiefs from west coast came & robbed her house of all the big stone money, chests of big shell & all such, & even tried to put her out of her husband's big chief's house, where she always lived, but that was not allowed to go that far... But at the same time Laro could not stop the chiefs nor protect the widow & property of the very man who had protected, advised & guided him as Regent of all Yap during his minority after the death of Laro's father.

Hence the chief's influence or rather the head chief's or king's influence is nothing as strong as formerly.

In those days before the Spanish came, if any man wanted to kill another, he would carry a big present of a shell, etc. to his own chief, along with another present for his chief to carry to (Laro or Laro's father, the big *Match-match* man) whose consent it was necessary to purchase. And if he accepted the presents, it was alright & the man could be killed. That was the main source of revenue to Laro. But now that it is stopped by the Spanish, he does not get as much wealth & is considered something of a "dead beat" by the traders. And from what I have seen of him, he only care for drink—gin or rum. And about the same way with the chief Fellaam, also of Tomil & the richest man now in Yap. It's all drink, drink with the whole lot of them that can get it.

Joe says there are 2 of those large stone walls at Goroore, one near the Mission & one at this north end of Goroore district & that they only go back inland a short distance & were built 80 or 100 years ago. And that the late fight 10 years ago between the village of Goroore & Lay was caused by Lay insulting Fannoway who was also Chief of Lay at the same time.

Tuesday June 17th Terang, Yap, Carolines. O'Keefe's.

We have just had our 9 o'clock breakfast & in another hour I intend to accompany Joe across to Degore after some Beech-de- mere, the same place we were at before with

little Arthur. From there I shall walk down to the Settlement & Store with my butterfly net. That will take me along the foot of the mountain & ought to be a rough walk.

I have been scribbling all morning to you, out under the trees, getting up once to see what fish Joe had shot with his charge of dynamite at the wharf. We only got four & 3 of them I ate for breakfast, & "Act of Parliament" the other. He is trying to get civil with me, but it's no use: I don't need him. It is already cool sunny morning just now. It has been sprinkling since morning while last night it rained hard & got quite cool here on the verandah, where I was writing until Joe came up & then he spun a lot of yarn about his travels & experiences in France & Belgium, and also relating part of his own history—until suddenly two candles burnt out & left us in the dark at 10:30 p.m., when we concluded it time to turn in. But inside the women folks & children were all awake (whose room is downstairs & never come up here) & squatting on the floor sewing & talking. I asked them to sit the Samoa fashion, viz. sitting crossed legs & feet in legs, with knees flat. None of them could do it & I had to get my photo album to show the Samoa girl sitting.

Most of the women & men are now busy getting out the bags of Beech-de-mere from the store house to redry in the sun, as it is bad stuff to spoil in wet weather. On Sunday we left the Padres about 3 p.m. & walked to Nare, calling in at the Pellew man's little house, who is making Beech-de-mere & here I saw the fish for the first time being dissected. They caught only the largest kind 12 to 15 in. long & were cutting it open full length of the slug on underside & pulling out the scrap inside with the three fingers, at the same time that the water runs out & leaves the slug like a thick skinned football collapsed. This is cooked in large pans or pots over a slow fire until all the scum & dirt is finished rising to the top of water. It is then fire dried in the house on a bamboo staging over small fire with plenty smoke from this water-bush wood (Mangrove) or else out in the hot sun until very dry & hard. It all goes to China & I am told that plenty of whites in Hongkong use it occasionally. It makes a very strengthening & invigorating soup in the same line as oysters or raw fish do, only much more so. Have never seen it cooked or tried the soup. No wonder the China men is so fond of it, when it makes him young again for the time. At the big house where our boat came & we loaded some copra, I saw a young man with fearful legs, one mass of scab & sores from his instep to the knees with a patch on the inside of one leg. The Doctor can do nothing for him. It first started with a small sore on the foot, and another fine-looking boy, one that I remarked as being so light color & handsome about 16 years old, with pleasant & bright features, in fact I believe he must be a half-caste lad. He is the son of a chief & he poor fellow had one of these Yap sores on the bottom of his foot, that can be cured if they would use the Spanish Doctor's medicine while small, but they are afraid & superstitious & will not use it.

Even the little girl at Terang, who has one of the sore on her foot is getting worse, from not obeying the Doctor. It's a horrible-looking disease and must be very painful. And yet the natives face shows few signs if any that they are suffering with these sores.

Just before you get to Goroore there is a large pile of very sharp & water-worn rocks of white color halfway out on the reef with plenty white sand all around & dry at low water. We sailed out there to shoot fish & Timagin succeeded in making a very good shoot, getting a basket half-full. It was almost sundown then & while our boat was anchored waiting for them I was so hungry that I had some ship's biscuits with butter & then a young coconut to drink. And that came in handy, for it was 10 o'clock before we landed here after a long beat with headwinds that got so cold that I wished for my clothes instead of my thin cotton pajamas. To get out of the wind I stretched out on the seat under the side & studied the stars while Joe smoked constantly & chatted in Yap with Timagin who did the steering while 3 of the Sonsorol men were forward. The first thing I did on landing here was to have a good bath & wash. Joe routed out Sir Cook who tried to kick against making tea at 11 p.m. But he did it, all the same, while the sleeping women upstairs quickly scampered down when Joe said we had fish! Fish!! Fish must be used immediately here & the women built a fire & cooked the fish over the coconut shell coals, sending Joe & I the first inside where we were having our tea & bread & butter. I ate 3 & Joe 6 or 7. The women squatted around the fire & ate the balance & when I turned in about 12 o'clock they were still out there in the cool air.

On Monday we stopped at home all day, me working on this log. And now, it is

8 p.m.—Just finished tea, after our return from the Settlement. It was 12 o'clock when we left in sail boat for Degore with fair wind & a short trip. Joe attended to getting his Beech-de-mere while I with my umbrella & net started alone down the coast to the Settlement. I caught a few good butterflies & a few bright snake feeder flies & 3 bright spotted flies of some kind, & I also saw a different kind of butterfly than I have got, but they were too quick for me & I got none. I enjoyed my 2 hours tramp as it was mostly in the wild parts & mostly new ground for me, and having plenty of time before me, I took it leisurely & at one place, sat down to scratch around for land shells, finding only the same extra small & thin ones of 3 kinds, one the regular flat snail, then a long slim kind, & one shorter & broader & dark color, but they are the same as I found on Terang & too frail to keep.

At the village of Degore I soon got to the south end of their stone walk, where the steep hill comes down to high water & for the next half mile I was on the beach, low water. Passed a woman & girl at one place gathering their large flat chestnuts, for cooking & eating, the same kind as in other islands south of the line. I also came across two men gathering the same, one being up in the big tree knocking them down with a bamboo. They always thump the nut to find if it is good. And the same way with the young coconuts for drinking. Wherever there was any flat ground I found the coconut trees & the taro patches dug 3 & 5 feet into the ground.

I came close to a crowd of men fishing or leaning(?) in the shallow water to the waist, each man using a small hand net & would drive the fish into the center of the men or

corner them at some fish fence. They looked rather odd with their tall peaked banana leaf hat¹ something the shape of the second figure—the first looks more like a wheel & you would hardly guess that I drew it for a hat? And on the fellow's back he carried a small fish basket. I saw them in the water for over 2 hours.

Just as we were leaving the village, near Goroore at south point, I saw 2 large & long fishing seines or nets hanging in a new house building at water's edge, & close by there were two or three good-size gardens of growing tobacco with a few melon & pumpkin vines & sweet potatoes located out on the stone walls & piers in the water, & the sod turf piled up 2 feet or more on top of this stone & the whole place enclosed by tight plaited coconut leaves to keep out the salt water spray. This was all at the south point.

Today I saw no such tobacco patches. After a mile or so I left the main stone road that I had again struck & thinking I could make a short cut & at same time see more of the woods & ravines & wild part. True I did see all of that & got even more brush than I bargained for & got lost in the back places & hills, & coming out at the head of a ravine where 3 or 4 houses were located under the large native trees, I saw 4 women & 1 girl & next one man in front of house, whom I got to show me the track to the settlement & when he pointed down the ravine, just the way I had come, as the way to the settlement, I could not make it out & could see no other track down there & I knew I was not going to tramp back over my old track—not if I could help it—but after more talk I got him to come & show me the way. When he made a turn a little to the right down in head of ravine that soon brought me up out of the woods onto the open bare ridge, in sight of the harbor & settlement. Here he stopped & motioned a sort of circle around the head of another shallow ravine & so on down to the church. I gave him some tobacco & was surprised to hear him thanking me for it & then, hoisting my umbrella I was soon on the march. Came to forks in my narrow goat path, took the lower one & was a little disgusted to find it taking me down into the head of this ravine, skirting along the narrow edge of several deep taro patches with very many & slippery footing, & where in more than one place today a misstep or slip meant a fall of several feet & a wetting in the dirty green water. Once or twice I almost turned back to take the upper track. When I saw smoke ahead & then house & next came out on the old mountain road up to the Signal Station that I had travelled before half a mile from the Store & my walk must have been 3 to 3-1/2 miles the way I tramped, not counting my foolishness in forgetting O'K's silk umbrella that I left behind me leaving against the nut trees while boxing a butterfly. I walked off for a third of a mile at least, caught some bright winged small flies, boxed them & then reached around for net & umbrella to saunter along on the stone road that commenced at that spot & where several houses were in sight on the topside or high ground—I was astonished at not seeing my umbrella & for several minutes kept looking all around the place & even half suspected it stolen by some youngster while I was boxing my flies. I saw a little boy & women up at the near-

1 Ed. note: This word is followed by two tiny sketches showing the plan and profile views of a round-based conical hat.

est house watching me, as if I was a curious cuss, & may be loony, to be after such things... By & by I began to think it must be on the back track at my last stop & yet I could not believe it. But back I marched, keeping a good lookout all the way, when sure enough there stood the article as innocent as you please, just where I had left it myself. That's what one might call genuine forgetfulness producing a profit in exercise & an extra butterfly caught on the return trip.

Near the Degore side I passed some fine large slabs of stone at the foot of the mountain—looks like good building stone. I succeeded in getting a good appetite & it seemed rather long to have to wait until 4 p.m. for the dinner to arrive for Mr. Millet & myself, which Joe brought saying he got home late from Degore. Had been longer there than expected.

Breakfast at 9 & dinner at 4 is a little long between drinks. Mr. M. has painted the store inside & fixed it up very nicely & when the fence is finished the place will be grand. But he does not like the business; the Yap men are too much for him. Yesterday 3 different men came after .10P-.20P worth of gin in a bottle. M. poured the glasses at .05P each into a beer bottle. Each man looked at it, shook his head & said it was not enough. So M. had to pour it back in the gin bottle. And now he swears vengeance on all Yap men who want bottled drinks. They are a hard set to deal with. While at Goroore we got a fine lot of lemons & a few green oranges at the old place of Fannoway & we are saving the seeds to plant a hedge at the Store.

A Yap man can not come on shore from his canoe in European clothes While at the Padres I witnessed a case of that kind, where the man took off his white coat & pants. I must say good night as my candles are giving out & I'm talked out. So long.

Terang, Yap, Carolines. Saturday June 21st 1890.

We have been up north on a 3-day trip getting back last night about 8 p.m. & glad to get home for a clean bath & cool bed, for I find my Fiji mosquito net fearfully hot & close & my two-night experience with it is enough. No more of it for me. It is made out of what they call cheese cloth in Fiji & guaranteed sand-fly proof. For that matter it was almost air proof for me & I lay a long time under it, perspiring away at a great rate, fanning myself with my hat as best I could. And then to have the natives close all the door openings keeping out what little wind there was blowing... was rather rough. I made them open the one at our head three times. But after a while, down it swang again, when they thought I was asleep. Dollovon is making me a new one, out of the proper open material for our trip next week.

It was about 6 a.m. on Wednesday when we left here. Joe says he called me at 4:30 a.m. & that I answered him, etc. I don't remember a thing about it. Consequently when I got up at 5:30 a.m. without being called & had my bath as usual, leisurely. Came upstairs to find Mr. Joe saying he was already to start & the boat waiting with the tide going out, compelling us to go promptly.

That made me bundle my things together in such a hurry that I forgot my medicine pills & several other things besides getting only a nip at my tea & bread & butter. But

this gave me a chance to keep partly even with him with our breakfast in the boat 2 hours afterwards on tinned meat & stuff. I was disgusted to find that he had brought the Manila bread, which is so much spoiled that I can not use it. Said he did not know it was that way, etc. & I noticed he did not eat any of it as long as our fresh bread lasted.

The wind was dead ahead & our boys bamboosed, then paddled in deep places & sometimes sailed, until we got to our first place of call, getting a little copra & instructed them in Beeche-de-mere drying—near the big house there were 2 large canoe buildings—saw some fish here, but could not buy any. One young girl in the big house, she was brought up north, for one year & when she is taken home, her people must pay for all the food she has eaten during that year.

Our next call was at [blank] same place I called [on] with O'K. Here we stopped half an hour or more, I caught 2 or 3 butterflies & had a little tramp on shore; 2 girls in this big house, one young & good-looking. Noticed 4 orange trees here & Joe got 3 flying fish, which we cooked in the boat for our early breakfast that I mentioned. By this time the water was very small & we had a slow nasty time of beating, tacking constantly across the narrow crooked channel up to the head of this long lagoon or inlet to the old Chief Wap place called [blank]. Here we got stuck by low water outside & could not land & laid here for several hours for the water. Fixed up a kind of awning as the sun was awfully hot & I so lazy I could not think of writing much as I could do to keep an interest in my novel.

On shore we could see Wap & Fellawan who by & by came wading off to our boat with plenty of fresh fish, that Wap people had just caught. One fish was a fine large one of some 17 inches long. They saw we had been eating in the boat & asked for something to eat & Joe had Timagin open the chest for a tin [of] sardines & Manila biscuits & a bottle of rum, while Joe had beer. Felloam gave me a good spear with a fish-bone point tied onto it in such a way as to stick inside of a man when he is speared. F. accompanied us in boat to Onean, just the next place north of where O'K & I had been, to the place of the big meeting, where the Onean people are to make presents tomorrow to Tomil people as a peace offering in declaring war against Tomil a short time ago.

It was just dark when we arrived. Could see plenty of large canoes about & found [that] some of them belonged to the Mogmog people—quite a number of whom are in this village. They are a larger race & lighter in color than the Yaps, are tattooed all over up to the neck, in fancy patterns the same as some of the Yap men. None of them tattoo the face. Their women wear the plaited Tapa dress 18 to 20 inches wide about 3 to 4 feet long, wrapped about the hips, something like a medium-sized towel would be. Some of the Tapa is nicely mixed in colors & has long tassel-fringed ends. The men use the same Tapa as a breech-cloth, & I see that the Yap men are anxious to get hold of the same to wear. They make a much cleaner & neater dress for the women than this dirty leaf one of Yap that is always full, I'm told, of vermin about the belt part. The Tapa dress is also worn in most of the eastern Carolines. But in some of them the women use only a sort of fancy belt low down on hips, on a piece of native string or rope with

a large bush leaf hanging in front & one behind & mostly keep the hair short. And their men also cut the hair short.

On Thursday it rained & rained nearly all the day. Early in the morning I was up & had a guide take me to a bathing place that Joe told me I could have a splendid shower bath, etc. Finding it only a small running stream over a rock 3 feet high & mostly coming out of a dirty green taro patch that I was afraid to get into. So only washed face & hands & then had a short exploring walk around before going back to the big house. Before long Laro & the rest of the big chiefs were drunk & no business could be done that day. The big house was full of visitors from Tomil & Mogamog people. Also Rul & Goroore had come up as witnesses to the payment. I slept away part of the day, the same as a good many others. Joe & I called on some of his business friends & at one place I got a native necklace 2 ft. long, double, made of white shell & coconut shell alternately in small rings, for one of my washed gold chains, that I will bring next week. This man is a very rich chief & filled our boat 2/3 full of old coconuts. In our walk we passed by an old big house, back from the water, that Joe said was the big house of all the big houses, but only used now for dancing & meetings—the latter mostly—held outside on the large stone pavements & where there is one of the largest pieces of Pellew stone money on the island, about 8 ft. diameter; I've forgotten what they had to pay for it.

At nearly every place we called we saw new canoes building & also new houses. As soon as the post of a house are up they roof it & by the time it is finished below & inside, a new thatching must be made on roof. They are so awfully slow in all their work.

We saw some fine necklets of coconut shell & some few of the Pellew shell ones, but could not purchase any. About 3 p.m., a large canoe came in with fish, which was piled up on a large table stone at one of the extensive open stone-flagged courts & then soon after most of the chiefs gathered here, each sitting separately against an upright stone backing, until 2 men had divided all the fish into named piles & then each chief's fish were taken in charge by some of his people, taken away then cooked & by dark all hands were dining on fish—fish in the air, & fish seemed everywhere—& the smoke of some of the cooking came into our end of big house so strong that I had to get outside & stop my reading & there I almost knocked a little chap into the water from our 10 feet wall foundation, before I could see anything in the dark & my eyes full of smoke. I have become quite an expert at eating fish the native fashion, with the hands, where they cook the fish with scales & head all on, & frequently with insides all left in. But there I must draw the line. I can't stand the bitter taste it often makes.

Hello! I just had a "caller" & sorry I was not ready for him. It was one of the largest-sized butterflies I have seen on Yap, mostly black, & of the male gender as was shown by his two long spade-shaped tails, the same as a cut in Wallace's Java work. The rascal came & circled around my head, touched my knee & away again before I could take off my hat to him... By gingo! there he goes again over near the Beech-de-mere house. I have a few like him, but they are hard to catch as they seldom if ever light & fly quickly. But the hardest I have yet captured are 2 of the brown color with eye dots on its

wings. This one flies only short distances when disturbed, but he darts here & there first to right & then left, so very quick & then stops on some green spot so suddenly that I have lost track of several. Yesterday while at another spot higher north I failed to capture a new & pretty (Phew! here's that black chap over my head again & I've sent little Jim after the net) variety a sort of bronze winged. The first I have seen of it. And would you believe it. Yesterday when I wanted my pocket knife I discovered no knife & thinking over it, I must have forgotten it on my Degore trip the same day I forgot my umbrella & not far away from the same spot where I was hunting after the small land shell & picking them up by point of pocket knife blade. On Thursday & Friday nights the Tomil men & two of their big-house women belonging to Fellaam made a sing for several hours in our big house & still singing when I dropped off asleep. The first night I went & had a close look at them in the dark. There they were squatted in the middle of house 10 or 12 men in a circle, shoulder to shoulder & arms on each other, and their two big-house girls from Tomil in their ring. I could distinguish only 3 or 4 songs in all the singing & next morning Joe told me that they have only three tunes, which they repeat over & over & which he does not understand in words nor meaning. This was all singing & no dancing or motions with the hands or body of any kind during the time I was on watch.

The small fire would occasionally flare up at farther ends of house & give a half light over the house & during one of such flashes 2 men came & gave the singers two Mogmog Tapa clothes, that were eagerly snatched by two of the nearest men & shoved into their baskets—one of which every Yap man always carries about in his hand & contains his ever-present betel nut, green leaves & green coconut husk & lime box for eating the same, his small piece of flintstone & file (that O'K sells them) for striking sparks at the dry inside fibers of old coconut husks & which is a natural spunk for holding fire. He may have a few white beads & small knife & if an old man he will carry his mortar & pestle for smashing the betel nut for his toothless jaws & many more of such have I seen than expected.

The little mortar is a wooden cup & the pestle generally made of a piece of white shell (the *Tridacna*) & when stained & smooth looks like ring(?) & that was one of the same I first saw in Tomil one day & could not make it out.

In their singing that night the women would often have single parts & on the whole it sounded very well. At one part their voices would start in very low chanting tone, not at all disagreeable to fall off asleep by.

I tried to get them to have a Mogmog dance, but they would not dance, unless paid for it, was the reply Joe got. So we said no more about the matter, and lay about reading & sleeping & getting a good appetite for our fish supper that night. While Joe & I were eating, the people, mostly Mogmog visitors would crowd close around us & watch us eating. The first time or two we said nothing, but after that I would clear out the doorway of them to the windward of us, we got smells enough without their extra close quarters blowing onto our grub. And even the richest chief here, the one Joe got the nuts from, and from whose good-looking wife I got the necklace, he came & squatted

alone alongside on Thursday night & when we finished Joe gave him some tinned meat & biscuit. This man is extra smart and intelligent looking & has only one wife.

Joe pointed out another chief who has 3 good houses in different places & a wife in each of them. But the first man does not believe in that & trusts his keys of boxes to his wife who stops mostly at home. But when any of her people come to see her, then he carries the keys, for they would make her give them anything they could see & wanted—such being Yap fashion. If they want a thing of a relation, they can go and take it.

All day the King of this place was too drunk to attend to business & so 10 o'clock on Friday was appointed. That night Fellaam sent for me to visit a house with two of his boys to see some fun going on Yap style. But I soon got tired of their drinking crowd & excused myself & got back to my bed, half disgusted with the whole performance & my hot bed made me growl all the more, swearing it will be the last time I use it. More better to stay at Terang than such punishment.

Friday morning we were up early & so no water handy. We naturally dispense with washing & as I forgot my medicine I have none to take, & can see no difference therefrom. So we had tea & the last of our fresh bread & quince jam made out of turnip, the same as our other tin was. We got everything into the boat & accompanied by a chief we went up around Recan [i.e. Riken] calling there & on around into the head of inlet & deep channel at [blank] near where the channel between Yap & Map I. commences & where I saw a little live coral at edge of deep water.

Have we called at two places & picked up 3 large iron pots for boiling Beech-de-mere that belonged to O'K & which the natives have not used—too lazy. Saw a fine large big house, nearly finished building, with well cut coral stone foundation all around outside & also cut smoothly inside on the floor, something unusual. Up here much of the miserable stone road paths are made of volcanic rough stone, very hard & iron looking. The chief got us a few yams & a pig at Recan, a slave place. This was a nasty place to stop at—plenty of mosquitos & the track from the low ground up to the higher step of 40 ft or so was very steep & the moss-covered stones dangerous for any shoes to walk over. Joe did not try it here. While I followed Timagin to the top & on up the hillside, over a miserable track, & every little distance noticed large & well-kept tombs, some as much as 20 feet square at the base & 10 & 12 feet high in tiers or steps, with sharp stones sticking up at corners of each step & also in middle & some ornamented with the small cone shell stuck into it endways, & the ground of grave covered over with fine black volcanic
gror ...
i ..
...

[Divining by Yap sorcerers]

1 Ed. note: An unfortunate accident occurred after I had transcribed the whole of Dr. Rabe's diary. Part of a floppy disk became corrupted after I allowed someone to make a copy of it. However, I think that not much has been so lost.

ult, good or bad, they keep making it, until it comes satisfactorily. They can use a string cloth or anything to make the Match-match with. All of the elder men can make ordinary match-match for small things, chiefs for large affairs, & only the big appointed Matche-match man of the village or place can decide about wars & important affairs. And this Chief Laro, whom I here mentioned so often is the highest Match-match man or king of Kings in Yap, & could go anywhere in Yap safely during a fight in any part.

9 p.m.—It was about noon when the old chief of Degore (Tegore) got here, & reported that the 5 young men who got the woman had taken her away in the bush & would not give her up. So we all went down to the Governor at 12 & made their report, when the Governor talked very pleasantly but firmly to the chief & said if the 5 young men & the woman did not come today, then the soldiers must go after them to Degore & burn their big house, & it is a fine large one & just new. So back to Terang we went with the chief, while his son went overland to Degore. Joe had our 2 p.m. dinner & just as we got into the long gig, the son had brought the men & girl down to the water, we picked them all up & down to the Governor by 4 p.m. He heard their talk, Joe interpreting & then had the good-looking girl make her choice where to live & she said Degore, & then he said she could not go into any big house & that she must choose some man to live with as his wife. Because he would not allow any more new big house women nor any changes from one big house to another, for that custom must die out with the present women. He will not interfere with the present women but no more big house women can be got. The 5 men were sentenced to 5 days in lockup & cutting coral stone. Before we left they had started to work on the stones. The rest of the people left & I noticed the girl coying as she turned away. She chose one of the 5 boys & he was one of the sailors on the **Jenny** & the biggest coward & dunce of the lot, a great big hulky-limbed sort of an idiot, with a mouth the size of all outdoors, with about as much expression on his face during the Governor's interview & also when the young lady pointed out her delicate slender arm & yellow finger at him & finally when pressed gave him a name "Frugare", his expression was as good as a wooden post. His jaws going continually with the delicious betel nut. But he's the chosen one & don't you forget it!! & I must say he took it coolly, not half as much alarmed as when he dropped his oar on the reef, that time in the Philippines—you may remember—the coward! But the rest of the men & the chief also paid close attention to the Governor, & I could easily see that they were all uneasy as to the results.

The Ruul men are yet to have their time before the Governor. But Joe & I go south early in the morning & so will miss that part of the fun. The Dr. came back to Terang with us. I took the boat across to where I left my pocket knife, but it was gone, & on getting back here at 5 p.m., the Doctor had gone home for his 5 p.m. dinner. Good night—for a wonder it's a clear night & new moon.

Saturday noon, June 28th 1890. Terang, Yap Island.

Home again, at 11 p.m. last night, after a 4 days outing with Joe, making the complete trip around Yap Island & on the whole, I'm glad it's finished for I learned very little of anything new on this trip & I had a hard cold for two days, blowing away at a great rate & one night, the 3rd, barking so much that my throat almost sore.

We got away very early on Tuesday morning. For a wonder I was the first to turn out & in going to my bath house I saw Joe's door closed & had the fun of calling him up, for once. We were soon in the boat, I eating a good chunk of bread & butter. We got down to Madam's, where we took chocolate & tea with her while our boys carried some lumber up to the new Mission church & also got some Spanish bread to take to the Father at Goroore, south point. It was over an hour & half that we fooled away there, so slow are Joe & his boys, that it seems to be no matter if they got anything done sometimes or not. And when we did get started the wind was bad for us & we had to pole & paddle half the time. We made a call just this side of Enough [i.e. Inuf] on business & I walked across to there in order to see the best built largest big house in Yap, the same place where I saw the women dancing one night. I wanted to see it & the place by daylight & I found the house even better than I expected. The wooden plank flooring is nice & even & smooth & all made by their adze-shaped axes, made out of the regular carpenter chisels & gouges. In the center was a single line of large posts to support the roof, giving a nice clean & clear space in the large house of 100 feet long & 40 ft. wide. The sides & timbers all made regular Yap style of small bamboo & thatch.

This chief speaks very good English & named Rannaby¹, down at Goroore we learned that this man was the main starter of Ruul's starting the late quarrel with Degore, & that he was along with the Ruul men in the salt bush with his Winchester to fight Degore. He is owing O'K considerable, but we could get nothing, only a few yams. Out in front of his own chief house I saw 200 baskets of yams, potatoes, taro & pumpkins, part of the payment to some of his men who had built a house some place. I noticed 6 or 8 small lemon & orange trees growing up between the stones of his large pavement. It's a wonder that they can grow, crowded by the stone so close.

We did not stop long, but made across to Lamer & from there we secured a guide by my grabbing the only man in sight & holding onto his arm, make him accompany us inland some 3 miles to where 18 months ago there was a slight volcanic eruption, with fire & smoke, out of the 30-foot diameter hole. The good land & trees extend back inland 1-1/2 miles or so to the top of this low tableland range of yellow clay & gravel-strewn land. Here the land is clear of trees & pandanus. At edge of woods we passed some good gardens, plenty of pineapples. Next we came to a number of large graves on our left. And on the level bench up here we came to a good-sized sink [hole] in the land, now full of water & not far from this we came to a good **two-storied Yap house**, the only one of that kind I have seen in Yap, or in any island. And all about this house the

1 Ed. note: Rabe's transcription keeps changing so much as he goes that it is difficult to guess what the right rendering should be sometimes.

ground was cleared clean as any floor for a large space. At one side was a large covered table & small house, 2 tall bamboo flagstuffs on the ground, & a little to one side a cluster of extra well-kept large graves, where a good-sized shed stood, with 2 large bundles of the Yap burial cloth, a few Mog-Mog or Caroline lava-lavas inside, 2 long lines of strings were stretched some distance on the side we came from—it was about 5 feet from ground & had several coconut bracelets & match-match feathers on them. Near the open shed at edge of cleared spot were 3 small Pellew stone money wheels, while at the big feast house in the center of the ground were several good-sized ones and in the house up & downstairs were plenty of fancy ornamented combs & dresses to make dances to the **Devil** who appeared here & who has done great credit to this village, & consequently, they have had fancy dances in honor of this **Devil** ever since he came out here. And much grub & presents have been brought here from all parts of the island, by all places that are superstitious. Joe says Tomil & Ruul people only laugh at this & never came.

I saw nothing of the crater from this two-storied house they built, & on asking for the hole? Oh, they have filled it up! Umph!! **filled up a volcanic opening!** There must be some big stories floating about this affair! All the same I made the chap take us along about 500 yards or so to a sink of 5 feet in the land near the foot of the low mountain ridge, & there a damp spot, of clear ground was pointed out as the **exact spot**. I walked carefully over to the edge of it & continuously punched the ground with my umbrella. Yes, it may have been a hole, with fire & smoke & Devil there, for all that I could tell from appearances. But that spot was hard ground now & they say it was only a fathom in depth. After it opened they had “high jinks” up here for many months & even now the place is well kept at the house & dance grounds at the edge of which in the refuse dust are plenty watermelons vines & pumpkins.

We found 2 men in possession of the house & they said they would have a big dance for me any time I would set to come there. That’s all right, on their side, to say so is very easy, but I am finding out that it’s another thing for these natives to keep their promises. No thank you! I shall not walk away out here, just to see such fun, & this open mountain ridge with its fine sprinkling of volcanic gravel scattered all around, by the glorious rays of a full moon—not me! Once seen as it is, satisfies me & I do not wonder at the missionary & whites never visit up the place. Here Joe & I & Timagin had brought a charge of dynamite & a revolver to shoot down the opening, etc. etc. And all of that fun was checkmated, when they told us **up at the house** that they had filled the place up... Why couldn’t they [have] informed us as much down at our boat?

On our way back our guide & Timagin captured a lot of pine[apple]s, one a nice ripe one that we ate on the road, resting at a large paved court on the big stone money. Joe says the Yap man always wants to see you eat anything that they give, so as to make sure that you like it. But we “turned to” (according to Act of Parliament) and had our breakfast on more substantial of tinned stuff in our boat.

200 women here & only a few men about. So we had plenty of room to ourselves & time enough for a sleep before the afternoon tide came in to float our boat. This house

was full of ornamented combs & headdresses for their dances to the Devil. Each place in Yap makes a different kind of dances.

A light breeze carried us down to Gorrore, where we were [on] last trip. Here I left Joe about his business & with net in hand I tramped along slowly down to the Mission a little before dark. They are getting along slowly in building church. A lot of Gotchspar [Gachapar] people are here with their young girls to learn a dance, stopping with the Gorrore chiefs. They were all at the Mission in their fancy colored dresses several times during our stop until Thursday morning.

When I arrived at one big house building inside the trees, I found the place full of women, working on 2 or 3 old women & 1 old bald-headed man outside on the front verandah or porch. I sings [sic] out Hello! & walks right into the verandah & looks in at the door. That was the first time I had seen so many women working together & it puzzled me to make out their work. They looked up, about as much surprised as I was. But pretty soon the old man grunted out something & motioned for me to go away, shaking his head No! Of course, I let on as though I did not understand him for some little time. And even made motions, if he was asking me to go inside or sit down? But he never cracked a smile, while the old ladies looked at me as sharp as any old maiden school Mama over her wild brood with a white hawk about. I laughed over the old man's efforts & at last slowly departed. And not far from there I came to 2 pieces of Pellew money 2-1/2 foot diameter, laying in middle of road with a stick through the hole. This was brought by the Gotschapar chief in part payment for the children's dance. Not far from the Mission there is a regular children's village of 6 or 8 small houses where the little girls sleep! And I saw a few of these small play houses at different places around the village.

In the open back yard of the Mission I had a fresh water bath, with a handkerchief for bathing dress, to the admiration of several native men passing & remarked about my white skin. Oftentimes when I would allow them to get familiar they feel my leather slippers, stockings & beard & turn up my singlet, when ugh! ugh! ugh! they grunt at the sight & then all will want to put one finger on my body. That night, how we all suffered from mosquitos. They were awful & no wind. My net was full of them, and besides my head was full of a cold that made me blow for two days & nights & on Thursday night made me cough badly as we lay out in the open boat all night. How would you like that for a sightseeing trip—to be caught by low water out so far from land that you had to sleep on soft side of a narrow board. But I'm getting ahead of myself.

Wednesday morning all hands at the Mission complained of mosquitos & broken sleep. Our boat did not get to this place until after midnight & so I had slept in the clothes I had been tramping in all day. After our cup [of] tea early in [the] morning—the rest using chocolate—I had my instruments from the boat & worked on the Father & carpenter for 2 hours, with a good yard full of wondering natives. At 11 a.m., they have their breakfast on chicken & a course of 6-7 dishes, they make a much better table than on Terang. About 9 o'clock they made me an egg punch of 3 fresh eggs beaten up in water & sugar & I added a few drops of lemon.

We had expected to get away at 2 p.m. tide, but it was unusually small water & we could not go, before the night tide. So we took the afternoon easily & had the boy put up my new net, in place of the Father's stiff one & then had a 2 hours sleep & at night we got the best of the pests & we had a good sleep. In the evening Laro from Tomil called & brought Joe a lot of large fish, fine ones & then afterwards he wanted Timagin to give him 2 bottles of gin. That is just like these drunkards, they bring a few fish or something & then expect double pay in drink & at the same time be owing O'K several hundreds of dollars—for which O'K will be many hundreds of days getting payment. But we had a big fish dinner at 7 p.m. & well cooked.

The day we arrived the natives had caught a 24-lb fish, left on the reef by small water. The Brother & Manila man cook had salted & were drying part of it. We had some for dinner that eve & all salt. The Padre gave me 2 or 3 dozen small shells from Mog-mog & a good shell axe, with edge perfect & part of the old wood on it—the best I have seen in Yap. The larger one he gave me first, he has mounted on a heavy & new handle, upside down & I left that with him to refix. I failed to get the carpenter's tooth out; hadn't the right forceps.

Wednesday night our boat went ahead & Thursday morning Joe & I with a packer boy tramped after them to Gall, passing by the women's big house, that I mentioned before. No women there, & so we went in to have a look. It's just a plain house, with plenty mats & same style as the men's big house.

On the day before we had passed here with the Padre about 5 p.m. & then there were 6 or 7 women in the house. My feet were so sore that I was glad when we got to the good new road & soon after reached our boat. We got off as soon as Joe had done a little talking. The boys using the bamboos had breakfast in boat on cold fish & discovered that our 3 loaves fresh bread was spoiling from our chests being kept closed 2 days. About noon we noticed the flag at Signal Station for a sailing ship & we hurried & we hurried up to reach Kador¹ and send a man overland, as it might be O'K's copra chartered ship from Hongkong. But about 4:30 p.m., we grounded outside of Kador & could get no further. One of our boys waded ashore after a bamboo raft, but he came without any. So we had supper & made up our beds on our narrow wooden seats. Had our candle reading novels until 9:30 p.m. The night wind was cold to me & the spray made us damp. Joe lay uncovered in his bare feet & head. While I with my cold & cough had to wrap up neck, head & all. But for all that I managed to fall into a sound sleep & never heard the boat start at high water. Once when I opened my eyes we were in the salt-water brush near Attelo & I heard Joe "blessing" one of the boys for breaking a rope. The next thing I knew we were near Rang & daylight.²

We went in here & Joe made a tramp to the hilltop again, but could not see any ship in harbor nor outside & no signal flag up so early. He came back. By that time I had had a refreshing bath in a small stream fresh water on the hillside. Joe sent the boys to

1 Ed. note: This probably corresponds to Fedor, or Fedior (J-2 in Bryan's Place Names).

2 Ed. note: Attelo and Rang are D-8 and D-11 respectively, in Bryann's Place Names.

shoot fish & they got a fine lot. The low water locks up here until 1 p.m. at least. So after our substantial breakfast on fresh fish, yams & breadfruit we tried to sleep but the mosquitos soon put in a veto to that. No sleep for Joseph, not much, but at the same time 2 big strapping men were sleeping for hours there, with only their scanty breech cloth on! I caught a few common butterflies, called in at a front yard where I saw 1 man, 1 old woman (toothless) & 2 young girls. After chatting & satisfying their curiosity as to contents of my butterfly box & smelling a piece of gum camphor I gave them, the old man brings me a double handful of the small fine sugar bananas, nice & ripe, before I had eaten all he brought some more & I gave him what tobacco (2/3 stick) I had & then he asked me for matches. It's seldom I have matches or tobacco but I happened to have 1/2 box which I gave him.

About 12, Joe & I started ahead & walked some distance northward. The coconut trees are not so numerous along this rocky part of island but the shallow wide reef is full Beech-de-mere that is not worked much on this west side. We took the boat at Gillevith & had a long slow sail & bamboosing across to Bachiel¹ on Map Island, where they are starting to make Beech-de-mere for O'K & where Joe left 3 small pots. In the distance we could see O'K's small island called Pellew Station, a nice high island half the size of Terang. All of this inland water is black with Beche-de-mer & am surprised O'K has not been after it long ago. Now the Germans have placed Bill (of the *Jenny*) at a new station near north end of Map, a good location & building a good wharf to deep water. A good dry[ing] house & good small dwelling, all on old large stone wharf very high. Just at the foot of a steep hill ridge from here we could see the Flag Station but the flag is down. This forenoon it was up for a short time they tell us, & some natives saw the ship yesterday & said it was a large brig. If so then it must be for O'K. And this made us hasten. We landed at Bill's place & walked across the north end of Map, over a low rolling ridge with fine soil, finding on top a large garden of sweet potatoes & yams, a large track. At Anette [i.e. Uned] and on southward the low level part is all clear sandy soil high & dry & all coconut trees. The beach all along fine white sand. This island looks much older than Yap & the hills where the sea breaks it away is all of a conglomerate rock, all run together as if by cement.

It was dark before we got down to Otrollop,² where Joe expected to make some business & where we were to find the boat. But no business here & the water so very low that our boat was half a mile from land & the mosquitos thick at this big house. Two strong chaps carried Joe on sticks on their shoulders out to the boat & when one of them came back they got bamboo raft for me, & I soon pushed myself out, enjoying the ride in the moonlight & barefooted. We soon made sail direct for home. Once it looked squally & I expected a ducking. We scratched bottom several times while off

1 Ed. note: Corresponds to Bechijel, B-18 in Bryan's Place Names. O'Keefe's Pellew Islet is B-19.

2 Ed. note: This name is not to be found in Bryan's Place Names, but it must correspond to Chool (B-8).

Recaan [Riken] point & soon after that I dropped asleep & never awoke until Joe stopped alongside of wharf, 11 p.m.

[First Japanese trading ship in Yap]

Here our travels ended & we soon learned that the ship was none of O'K's. She is a small Japanese schooner on her first trading trip into the islands & we need not have hurried home after all.¹

You may believe we were not long in getting into sleeping pajamas & into bed, & next morning the hot water bath made some difference after a good scrubbing. At one place I noticed the native using his wash bowls to wash his hands. They were 3 coconut standing on top of sticks close together in a line, one about 1-1/2 feet from ground, the next a little higher & the third about 2 feet. I had seen these nuts before at other houses, but had no idea that they could be for wash bowls. And now Joe tells me that the women always use them for their hands when they come in from the gardens or after cleaning the yams to cook.

They make their clay cooking pottery at a place near Ruul & I must try & see that, all around the island one sees new canoes building, but the most are made at southern end of Yap.

Sunday, June 29th, 1890, about 1 p.m.

Under the coconut trees again. The most comfortable place this hot day. Joe & the children are all at play here about me. All of the men idle today & most of them sleeping. 6 of the Mogmog men & women arrived an hour ago & visiting the Maria [Merier] & Sonsorol people. Dolloon [Dollova] & the girls are having mush sport & laughter at them all talking in there, to make themselves understood, mixing up the Yap, Mogmog & Sonsorol talk altogether. Some of the boys are carrying fish rods towards the wharf. Buffalo Bill asleep as usual, while two of the men on the sick list. A few of the Degore men have been here all morning, the same who were cutting stone 5 days at the Governor's. Understand the Ruul men are sentenced to 14 days & commence this week.

Half an hour later—I stopped to go inside the Sonsorol house, on a false report of Mogmog people singing. It was only one or two of our own boys making fun. While I was there they brought in the 2 months old baby. It is white enough for a half caste & very pretty little thing, belonging to one of the Sonsorol women.

[A visit to the Japanese schooner]

Yesterday morning about 8 a.m., Joe & I visited the Jap. sch. at anchor below Dunney's Island. They have a neat, clean 90 ton schooner. The cabin is on deck & so low I can not stand upright, except in the small skylight with my head up in the roof. We had a very pleasant visit & it was after 11 a.m. before we left the ship. She is a regular Japanese affair, 18 men on her, 10 of them being forward & that make 8 men to sleep

1 Ed. note: The Japanese schooner was most probably the **Tenyu Maru**, Captain Taguchi, with Suzuki and Inoue aboard.

in the cabin. Most of them speak a little English. They left Japan middle May, called at Guam, Marianas, 6 days & then direct here. From here they intend to go to Pellew, then east to Bonape & to Marshall Islands & if possible start a station there & then direct home to Japan.

I don't believe they will make such a trip pay. That field is already filled besides they have not got good trade for such islands. Their ship is full of cheap Japanese manufactured stuff & they are asking big prices: tinned salmon .50P, a pickle bottle full of candy .60P. I bought a bottle for the children & found the large drops only thin shells—a regular fraud—but a good flavor. Their cloth & clothes all the most common. They have brandy that costs them more than O'K pays in Hongkong. No twist or plug tobacco, beads nor scrap irons, nor small & large files nor knives. They have some Jap. swords & spears & a lot of cheap china-ware & gimcracks [i.e. trifles] & mattings.

The Governor, Doctor, & Captain of troops came on board while we were there, asking for some good silks & good dishes & boxes, but they had nothing like that. And in fact they do not care to sell for money, prefer to exchange in trade for shell & beche-de-mer & shark fins, etc. We invited them to Terang & at 2 p.m. three of them came: the owner, the captain & a young visitor student making a book for the University in Japan¹ & who has been at Samoa & Fiji & Honolulu in a Japanese man-of-war where he made some fine sketches of the people & places. He speaks French & is very dressy with his gloves & white collars. It looks rather odd to see so much exact dress of shirt, shirt cuffs & buttons, shirt collar & necktie, white gloves, neat cloth shoes & stiff hats. I could imagine myself back in civilization to see them so muchly dressed. And how hot & uncomfortable they looked, besides my roomy white suit & Bombay pith hat & slippers. I shall mortally hate white shirts & collars after this long experience of Callao suits.

After showing them over the place & a cup of tea, we all got into their odd-looking boat & took them over to Tomil for a look around. No wind for their small sail & they used their large heavy sculling oars, one at stern & 1 on each side well forward, and they made far better time than our 4-oared boat could have poled & much easier. The men all stand up to scull & the oar rest on a large ball headed iron pin on a movable outrigger brace 1 foot from side of boat. And in motion, we had a regular cradle rock of by-baby style, first one side then the other. The boat was half flat bottomed & much wider at bow than stern. On bottom of boat was a mat to sit on, but was preferred standing or else roost on a narrow brace in middle. We learned they intended a big dance that night, & for us all to come. So we got back home at 5:30, just in time for a good fish dinner. At 7:30 p.m. as I was chatting with you upstairs the Jap. boat arrived with 8 of them to see the dance. Just at dark Falluam called & Joe gave him 1 bottle gin & we carried another along with us.

The natives were very slow about gathering & we had been there for over 2 hours before they commenced. Felloam & a few others were busy drinking & before we left

1 Ed. note: The latter must have been Suzuki.

at 11 p.m. he was jolly full. They called Joe & I out for half an hour gamming & drinking (+++)etc. and I got full up of the affair & disgusted & being tired & sleepy. It took very little to make [me] growl & cross. And they will not get me overthere again so late, in a hurry. It was near 12 o'clock when we got back. But this morning I made up for it by sleeping late & 7 a.m. when I turned out, killing 3 big mosquitos that had fed on me all night. And then this morning I find my coat & pants nicely covered with their yellow *rang* from the mats we were sitting & laying on in the big house. This large dance house is all open on the sides, only the ends enclosed by fancy work & carvings of large fish & 2 devil fishes. On the east side of Map I. we passed several small carved figures of wood in front of big house & at one place a life-sized woman was standing on the rocks near the water in front of a big house.

It is now near 4 p.m. Joe called at the ship this morning & the student accompanied him to church with his own prayer book & string of beads. So long, for this time.

Wednesday July 2nd 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

10 a.m. Seated in my ship chair, down on the wharf, to catch the light westerly breeze. One of the Sonsorol men is fishing near me & has such nice ones in his baskets, flat fish, mostly, about 6 to 8 inches long & good eating [when] roasted over the hot coals of the coconut shells, making far better than our nasty Chinaman's grease. We had fried fish for our 9 o'clock breakfast (Mr. Parliament & myself. Joe away in boat) that was brought to Terang last night by Degore people. It spoke so peculiar to my Snyderian membrane that I was suspicious & left it, making the rice, & yams answer for that meal. Generally we have fresh fish or fresh pork. The latter I also let alone now.

The "Sail ho!" flag is raised this morning on the mountain & we all are wondering if it can be the **Santa Cruz** back from St. David's, as she is due now, or it may be the Japan sch. which left yesterday noon, with a fair wind out & for the Pellews. I trust it is O'K returning. Am anxious to be away to the Pellews & then back to Hongkong, so I can get some place new.

Sunday we had our last chat, I believe. That day the Japs did not call at Terang. Afterwards I heard they attended a dance in Ruul. On Monday morning, they came over & had their bills along & Joe settled in full with them for what little stuff that he & Dollova had bought. She then gave them presents of 2 fine Mogmog tapa dresses, 2 Sonsorol dresses, 1 Yap petticoat, coconut shell necklaces & bracelets. And the clerk, kindly presented me with a cheap guttapercha colored sunglasses (worth about .25P) of American made, which I declind with thanks, as I was fully stocked in that line, with something that surprised him when I got them out, along with my 2 pairs of gold ones. I don't believe they have any first-class articles in their whole trade on board ship. Towards evening Joe & I sailed over to their schooner & he bought 2 more mosquito curtains & a Jap. dressing gown for \$10. They gave us Jap. tea & also lemonade to drink & showed us a lot of poor pictures for sale. Gave Joe 2 strings of beads for presents (worth about .05P) one being for his **wife** & one for Dollava. Ha! ha! how I did smile to myself at such return presents after such good ones given them by Dollova.

During the afternoon the Padre from Goroore called & I spent 2 hours on finishing his teeth nicely with my engine. The Father Daniel accompanied him & they both did some business with Joe, after I let him out of the chair, and they all had had a drink of beer. They are both very jovial & pleasant. And I anticipate a pleasant companion in Father D. if he goes with us to Pellews, as he talks of doing.

Monday was clear & hot & the night the same, making it hard to get to sleep. Yesterday came a little better & I was lazy to turn out in the morning, but the sun comes full into my bed the first thing over the tree tops at 6:30 a.m. & that generally routs me soon after, if not before. All hands were late & lazy that morning. After breakfast & just as I was getting in the boat to visit the Canteen Store, the Jap. boat came sculling to Terang with a very polite note to me, in English, to my surprise, saying that as the wind was now fair to go out & to sail [to] Pellews, they would leave at once, etc. etc. Will give you a copy of same by & by as a sample of Japanese English learned in Japan. Expect it is similar to the French spoken by the young student & newspaper reporter, who is with them for observations for the Jap. university.

It was near 12 o'clock by the time they got outside & soon after they were out of sight southward, behind the trees, as I stood watching from Canteen.

It was extra low water at noon & dry land clear across from store to the German island of Dunny. Before day Joe had left for the south end of Island accompanied by the chief Fellaam, as I have been down there twice I did not care to go again. And yesterday morning the steam launch took the Governor, the Doctor & 2 Padres to Goroore, to see how the church building is getting along. All hands expected to return today & then the Doctor give me some new medicine tomorrow & at same time I shall finish my work on his grinders. Pity I can't speak Spanish, as he & Governor are jolly good men & the Doctor is always trying to joke me about one thing or another, and says that "I can't talk English" & that he speaks English to me & I no savey? And then I retort by saying he no savey Castilian Spanish, & so it goes, most of the time we are together.

It must be near noon now—the flag still flying. The boys have shot twice for chickens for dinner. Yesterday 4 p.m., it clouded up & at dark it rained hard until after 9 p.m. It is trying hard to rain this morning; every little while a sprinkle falls. And I think, more better that my pencil fall, until I get something worth bothering you with. So long.

Thursday, July 3rd 8 a.m. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

Hurrah! for our side. Here is the **Santa Cruz** in sight & would have been inside eve this hour, only the light winds & calm spell are dead against her. Half an hour ago, Joe returned from his south trip, with 4 good bobbies (pigs)¹ & a lot of young coconuts for drinking & says he "will not have Mister Fellaam along in the boat again, not he! **too much rum** drinking all the time."

About as I expected. Hark! There goes the breakfast bell.

1 Ed. note: A term more usually applied by the English to young calves. However, the word is here derived from *babuy*, which means pig in most Malay-derived languages.

It is near 10 o'clock & raining again. And just as we finished a slim breakfast on tinned stuff some natives brought a nice basket of fresh fish, just too late for our meal. The cook & men have killed a bobby & all hands on the excitement of O'K's landing. The house flag is raised, a white one with the letters O'K in black, large-size. He's not allowed to fly any national flag on the land, but flies them on his ships. The **Jenny** the Stars & Stripes & **Santa Cruz** the English flag. The **Santa Cruz** is trying her best to come in, but the wind shifts badly & she must be at least 3 miles outside reef & 4 from Terang. Yesterday p.m., I overhauled my big trunk & found some of my clothes spoiling; also found some of those Fiji tortoise shell rings with silver sets & gave 2 of them to Dollovu & a young Degore chief wants one of the others & is to bring me curios & shells first & then we can exchange.

9 p.m.—The **Santa Cruz** outside yet. But O'K with Jenny, her brother Harry & the King of St. David's arrived in the six-oared gig that Joe went out in about 11 a.m. & it was about 2 p.m. when O'K landed, leaving Joe on the ship. All hands are well & he had a splendid quick trip, 6 days down to St. David's, 5 days loading, laying off & on there, & back here in sight of Yap 5 days ago.

We had plenty to talk & he is not at all pleased with the "Act of Parliament" past handling of **Santa Cruz** & the way he has misused the ship & time, etc. etc. And again he declares he found the chronometer 30 min. incorrect, which he fortunately discovered before leaving sight of Yap & testing & proving the same. And immediately he sees W. he tells him about [it] & at same time wanted to know why he left his private certificated papers on board, etc. etc. And now O'K dislikes the man more than ever, while I'm getting tired hearing the affairs. Only I am satisfied that O'K had done the best thing for his own interest & that I would have done the same, if not more so. By this you can see we have a little excitement occasionally here in the Happy South Seas. But all's well that ends well, and nobody is killed yet.

O'K says he got nothing of any account for me, only a few small shells. Soon after our 3 p.m. dinner upstairs (W. alone downstairs), O'K being uneasy about ship, pulled back again & now all is quiet as usual. Only the children play upstairs here. A lot of Mogmog & Yap chiefs been here this p.m.. Full moon. No wind.

9 p.m., Friday July 4th, 1890.

Our national big powder day. Long may she wave! With us here on Terang, it has been a long busy day. When I turned out at 6 a.m., the **Santa Cruz** was not far outside making for the passage. Twice she tried to come in before 9 a.m. & assisted by 3 boats towing after our breakfast, we could see them starting again. So we sent out another boat with 8 men using paddles & afterwards O'K said they were just what he needed. And by hard & close work they made the entrance & on up the passage to her anchorage at 2:30 p.m.

Safe at last—after sighting Yap last Monday. After having dinner & a short rest for all hands O'K hoisted the Stars & Stripes at his foremast & that was all the Fourth of July blow-out we had today. They then landed the 25 pigs & 3 dozen chickens with

some other traps to clear her decks. In the morning I assisted the carpenter to boss the men in handling the lumber out & in the house again, after fixing the stringers that Joe foolishly took(?). Balance of day reading & watching the ship. And now, O'K talks of going to Pellew & then direct [to] Hongkong in **Santa Cruz & the Jenny** to follow him 4 or 6 weeks later to Pellew & Hongkong & I can take my choice of ships. Just so. Good night.

8 p.m., Saturday, July 5th 1890. Terang, Yap, Carolines.

This has been an extra long day to me, and am tired & sleepy & half headache. O'K & one or two others are complaining with headache also. This morning just at daybreak he called me up, after my Eno's Fruit Salts, they being completely out, & how they use as much is a puzzle to me. At any rate that got me out of bed to unlock my trunk. The house lamps were still burning in the large front room, also in O'K's sleeping room & also one dawnstairs in dining room. Most of the folks were up & I was ashamed to turn in again, although 2 hours ahead of my usual time. You will say, it made a good start? True, it did so, & the early morning is the best part of the day, if one has any work or traveling to do. But when one is only killing time, it's another thing. By the time I had my bath & he O'K had the Sch. alongside the wharf & soon after the Beche-de-mer came up in large baskets & then they commenced unloading the copra, shoveling it into bags, weighing 3 of them at a time on the wharf & then a few yards more & empty it into the copra house.

All day long they have continued this, but with no over exertion or hurry. They expect to take 3 days to unload & possibly we may say farewell to Yap on next Wednesday or Thursday, bound to Pellews, where he will try to give me 5 to 7 days to see a little.

Father Daniel & assistant & servant also go there for their first [visit]. And from the present plans, it's more better I continue along with O'K to Hongkong. I am anxious to hear from you all. It will be 5 months, by that time (1st. Aug.) since I heard from you.

After breakfast we all visited the Governor to introduce the ex- King of St. David's who came up with O'K in order to certify to the Spanish authorities, as to the justice of O'K's claim to the St. David Group. And which claim the Germans are trying to get for themselves. We called at the Store on my San José countryman who is temporarily running it & sorry to say we found him complaining sick. Next called at Father Daniel & had a look inside the church at the Manila painter's work, which was extra well done & the place is quite a **show** in such an out-of-the-way place & ought to make or attract converts, simply to see the artistic play of colors & wonderful designs & pictures. The Father "set up" some fine Muscatel wine for us, but drank very little himself, & I less still. From there across to Tom Shaw's, then he "set up" 2 bottles of German beer. That was so bitter that even Joe gave it best. I investigated the garden of melons, pumpkins, potatoes, bananas, mammeys apples, yams, pineapples, etc. None of them in condition to eat. So I took none. And we soon after started down the hill, for home, reaching the

Governor's. A good rain squall made us stop there for half an hour & it was 2 p.m. when we pulled back to Terang.

About 3:30 the Doctor came up & I gave him the finishing flourishes on filling & grinders, & now he is happy. Several Yap canoes have been here today & Joe & I captured 2 combs, while Tomam (one of O'K's traders) gave a coconut shell necklace & promises to come back Tuesday with a Yap house model & other things. We gave 2 boxes matches for one comb. They are nothing as nice or ornamented as the Samoa comb. But these folks express a greatil [great deal?] by these different combs & the style of wearing them, as I have already mentioned.

My not returning here from Pellews is going to upset some of my plans for shells & curios & I will have to take just what comes handy. I got one small necklace from one of the Sonsorol boys & gave him an old vest. O'K gave me a St. David's hat, made light & wide trim, out of pandanus, & looks much like a Panama. It's just the thing & looks plantation style with my fine light blue silk scarf for hat band—quite the Swell. You see? Shall I send you a photo of it & my beard from Hongkong? Well, we'll see, but we are not there yet & I'm tired. So "Buenas tardes", no, no! I mean "Buenas Noches".

Sunday 9 p.m., July 6th 1890.

Very close & warm night, just the kind for mosquitos & equal to a hot Turkish bath. You will not get much out of me tonight. The day has been nothing but unloading copra from 9:30 a.m. after our breakfast & O'K, Joe & children had returned from early mass, until 6 p.m. The men worked very well indeed for such a warm day & O'K's men were assisted by extra Yap slaves. The English sailors worked none, it being Sunday.

They will have her finished early tomorrow, as all the bags are being filled tonight. Then the loading beche-de-mer commences & we may get away Wednesday. Hope so... Our cargo will be all fish & shell. The copra makes a nasty thing to travel with, especially under a hot sun, & then the small copra bug gets into every thing.

The talk is now, we call in at Manila, where the Act of Parliament will be landed & paid off, & perhaps may sell the fish at better price than Hongkong, same as he did last trip.

We are having plenty chickens now on the table much to my satisfaction, but fruits are not plenty here, by any means. All hands are playing cards on the ship with one of the neighbors for the beer, & I'm going to play quite. I've nothing to say, so [I] say good night.

Monday night, July 7th 1890. Yap.

Another day gone & 2 days more is all I expect to have in Yap. If the wind allows we sail Thursday. This has been a busy day for O'K & Joe. For me, it has been long doing nothing much. I packed my iron trunk this morning & feel as if I had made a beginning in the direction of a change. The copra was finished early in morning & the loading has commenced. Miss Jenny is not going with us, so that will make us 6 in the small cabin as far as Pellews. All day there have been plenty of canoes & Yap men here.

From one of them I bought a long necklace made of coconut shell, also a small ear ornament & the same man has promised me some other things tomorrow.

Early this morning the two Friscanions [Franciscanos] Fathers called & the one from Goroore brought me the other 2 stone axes newly mounted on handles. They are very heavy & crude implements & the axes is made from the large *Tridacna* shell. O'K gave me 2 large cone shell wristlets, that sell for big money in Yap & were formerly worn only by very big chiefs, but now many of the biggest chiefs will not wear them, because too common. The shell is 4 or 5 in. long, the outside ground down & polished smooth, the inside all cut out & the small end cut off & the opening in the side made only large enough to work, pull & force the fingers & hands through & up onto the forearm & usually you see a small protecting pad of leaves or cloth under this minor edge. These are the first I have seen of such an ornament.

I believe I have mentioned the similarity of these, Fiji & Marquesas, in their shell horn made of the long Triton shell, with the blow hole near the small end. The spear is the only ancient fighting weapon that I can hear about in Yap. They fasten fish bones on the points in such a way that they remain in the body when the spear is pulled out.

There was almost a fight here this forenoon. Giltimo was here, when 3 of the men from west side, who had stolen that woman from him in Tomil, came to see O'K about business. Giltimo had a chisel axe in his hands & O'K took it away from him when he saw his eyes looking bad & told him he must not do anything on Terang & so stopped the fun. Joe tells me we will have some 40 Yap men to go Pellews. Good night.

Tuesday 9 p.m., July 8th 1890. Yap.

Nothing of importance to chronicle in this day's events here on Terang. It rained & blew like the old Nick last night & the rain flying into my bed from my open window succeeded in waking me about 3 a.m. I reached out my left arm & closed the said window in part & then crawled out on my right hand side of bed to see if my other open window was leaking likewise. Nothing of the kind, I was glad to find, as I do love plenty of fresh air while sleeping. I was soon asleep again & in the morning was astonished to learn that O'K had slept through all the storm—something very unusual for him.

Joe said he was up two or three times during the night. It rained some during the day & no sun has shown itself all day long, making it damp & miserable & outdoors necessitating heavy clothes.

After our 9 a.m. breakfast I was busy until 2 p.m. packing & arranging my traps & what few insignificant shells & curios I have got. A Ruul man brought me a small stone (shell) axe today unindented, & Felluam gave me 2 or 3 small shell (one being a rare kind) & a pair of small ear ornaments made of tortoise shell & beads. Dollavu gave me 2 sleeping mats & 3 small baskets, one mat from her island home (Pleasant Is.) & the other from Sonsorol.

Joe & I got out the ship's stores & some trade for the Pellews, but it was too damp to venture loading the beche-de-mer today. But as it is all in small baskets, it will not take long to handle it, when once started. There have not been so many canoes here

today & yet the China cook's room has been entered at the small front window, his box broken open & \$2.00 in money stolen. I notice that the Sydney sailor, who was drunk Sunday & yesterday was at work today & O'K declares he would prefer Manila sailors any time to white men, & especially under the English flag, where they have too much red tape, by half, to suit him. Most all of them seem lazy enough from what I see.

I had better say Good Night & trot off to bed. I'm half asleep now. O'K has come up from the ship where I left him playing cards with Joe & Mr. Cox, the Mate. All is quiet in the house, as I sit on verandah. So I presume all asleep. It looks & feels rain to-night. So long & good night all.

Thursday 8 a.m. July 10th 1890. Yap, D. D. O'Keefe's.

This is a lovely morning. The sun came up clear with a cool breeze, giving every indication that the beche-de-mer can be all loaded today & no fear of rain. Yesterday was very changeable & light squalls prevented much being done in that line. The wood & water were got aboard & the white seamen have got the new jib boom all fixed & also the rigging.

There will be at least 50 Yap passengers to the Pellews. We can't go tomorrow & now it looks like a start on Saturday at the soonest.

I wish we were going today in order to get all the time I can in Pellews, as O'K must land the "Act of Parliament" in Manila or Hongkong & pay him off by the 4th of Aug. Now he says it will be in Manila & allow Mr. W. the chance of paying his own \$50. in a Str. to Hongkong. This W. is the biggest egotist & big **I am** of an Englishman that it has been my good fortune to meet on shore. And if on **his ship**, I could hardly predict it, my good fortune to be his passenger from all accounts I hear of his doings. For instance, while eastward to Olie [Woleai] & another islands they had a wind funnel come down into the cabin to make it cooler & this the Capt. lashed **into his own bunk**. & one day while he was on deck Joe changed the canvas funnel so as to blow into his bunk, as the day was very hot & close. By & by when the skipper came below, he kicked up a fuss about Joe's meddling & replaced the canvas himself to his own bunk, notwithstanding that Joe asked if the wind funnel was not intended to cool the cabin & not to be appropriated into any one bunk. And there were 5 other persons in cabin besides his Lordship.

At another time he made a fool of himself completely as a navigator or seaman. They had been two days without the sun while looking for a low island, when Capt. Boddy (acting as pilot) pointed to a land bird flying past & jokingly said that the bird must be making for the land, etc. W. concluded the **bird** must be better than his compass or his navigation & immediately changed the ship course **after the Bird** and actually lost two days by that bird business & had to return to his old course before reach[ing] his island called Ifaluk.

Is that correct navigation, I wonder, in old England or Australia, to alter a ship's course for two days to steer after a land bird's course? And yet he has confided to me that he could give O'K points on navigation any day of the week & he did consider him-

self a first-class navigator, with first-class certificates & could "turn to" & sail any ship in any part of the world. But don't you forget it. Bro. Benj., we're bound to have some fun over these 2 little events before we drop his wonderful big head in Manila. We'll see plenty of compass land birds on this voyage to Manila, and will also ask if anyone wishes an air funnel in his bunk... But let's drop that subject, until I can give you better news on some fun over it.

Yesterday I was reading a novel most of the day & was not away from our little island. A few Yap canoes called & Joe got me one Yap necklace of coconut shells. Am afraid my collection of Yap curios is going to be very slim, not much coming in as yet.

I wonder if you & family are off on a camping trip to the mountains. Wish I could be up there in the pine forest with you. I think they are far ahead in health & beauty of anything one sees in these South Seas.

Think I shall go down & take a look at the ship & see what's being done today. Besides it must be breakfast time. I'm hungry, Jno.

Friday, 11 a.m., July 11th. Yap.

Another day on Terang, but if all holds good we may get away tomorrow. Yesterday was only half favorable for work & last night & this morning it has been raining again. The sun is out clear now & very hot, with not much wind, & that little dead ahead for getting out of harbor. Am getting very tired of this idleness & often wished myself back to Hongkong. Yesterday afternoon we had plenty Yap canoes alongside of island & they have brought plenty of food for their trip to Pellews—baskets of yams, pumpkins, watermelons, mammey apples, chestnut & old coconuts. O'K says he will take only 20 in **Santa Cruz**, the balance can go by the **Jenny**. The reason O'K is leaving Miss Jenny behind is on account of the Franciscan Fathers. Their own Rule of Order will not allow them to sleep in the same room as a female. And as O'K cannot put them in the hold with the beche-de-mer, nor allow them to sleep on the open deck, he is compelled, much against his wishes to leave Jenny for next trip. Today we expect to visit the Governor's to get passports & ship's papers & I may find something there to chat about.

9 p.m.—OK & Joe are busy settling paper for the crew's wages & getting personal things for each of them. As we are all ready for sailing tomorrow. About 4 p.m. we all made our last visit to the Governor's for ship's papers & passports. Mine was only \$1.00 & I see they have placed \$1.00 worth of Spanish stamps upon the back of my original paper. That means that the Governor charges nothing extra for his trouble & licking said stamps. While the 20 Yap men going to the Pellews have nothing to pay, so says this Governor. But the one before charged each Yap man .20P for the privilege of going to the Pellews. That's another squeeze for money. The present Captain of soldiers here carries on considerable of a business privately in provisions & liquor, & is known to sell his Manila soldiers gin made out of **Kerosene & alcohol**, all of which is against the regulations of the Colonies.

This evening Ranaby (one of the big chiefs) informed O'K that Capt. W. has been offering to buy beche-de-mer at \$5.00 per bag & also has learned that two bags of it left very very mysteriously by the last steamer from one of O'K's agents. The Germans pay only \$3.00 per bag, but O'K raised the price to \$5.00 a few weeks ago. He does not sell his pots, only loans them to such of the chiefs who wish to make beche-de-mer for him.

We found Mr. Edwards & Millet at the Store, both on the sick list, with the Doctor attending them twice a day. We then marched up the hill to bid old Tom Shaw good-bye. He wanted to open some beer as usual, but they both kicked against that German stuff, besides they had just drunk beer at the Canteen. Upon our return to the Governor's in two hours all our papers were ready for us & we left from Madame Bartola's wharf after a short chat with her, & her giving me a small bamboo box for *Rang* & another one for carrying their firewood or pith that they light by striking a piece of flint with a file & mostly used to light their cigarettes. They all beg for tobacco & matches & seem to expect you to hand it over to them as a matter of course. They look surprised to hear that I do not use nor carry either such articles. This eve, our China cook got down up a little by his falling out some way with Giltimo of Tomil who came & told O'K how the cook had taken bread, flour, meat, etc. to Tomil several times after women & so he has been stealing all the time, in that way.

Saturday, July 12th 1890.

5 p.m.—On board **Santa Cruz** & away from Yap at last. It dropped out of sight about an hour ago & we have a light fair wind & very pleasant & cool now & the sea has been quite smooth so far. Just now the wind is getting stronger & our ship makes a little motion, but too much, as she cuts through the water like a race horse, in comparison to the sch. **Jenny**. Only the cabin being below decks is close & very uncomfortable & I have given up my bunk to the Padres as far as the Pellews. And I think I shall elect to sleep on deck anyway. The beche-de-mer smell fills the cabin so much & my stomach is none of the strongest just now & has not been good for the past three days. If I don't get a little seasick this trip, it will be a wonder.

I had a good sleep last night, unmolested by the drinking of the sailors & the carpenter's company.

At 6 I turned out & found O'K and folks doing their final packing, & after my last comfortable bath (that I shall miss) & a cup of tea, I did the same & was not long in getting everything ship shape. O'K gave me one Mogmog tapa dress, the only one I have secured & it is the article I desired the most of & expected half a dozen at least. They would do fine for stand & table mats & are the best things these Eastern Caroline Islanders make & are about the size of an ordinary towel.

We just had another meal & the little I ate has made me feel better, but it is almost dark & I can't chat with you much longer today. O'K is at some of his yarns & I must give him a hand as the "Act of Parliament" is hanging around.

Monday 7:30 a.m., July 14th 1890.

I did not get a chance to chat again on Saturday & yesterday was a wet nasty day, light rain squalls from 7 a.m. until about 3 p.m. No sun all day & we don't know where we are exactly. The sun is clear now, but no wind & we simply lay here rolling most of the time & we are not much more than 100 miles away from Yap, on our course toward Pellews. O'K says it is only 240 mi. across to the Pellews & it's a pity we do not get a good fair wind as this vessel would take us across in 1-1/2 days easily & now no talking when we shall arrive. At noon if we get the sun, we will find our position & then can tell about the currents as we have been carried by them most of the time. They have got the awning overhead, much better.

9 a.m. Just had breakfast. Our white Australian cook far better than the old Chinaman on Terang, & I do full justice to each meal so far. The calm is still with us & the old ocean water is very smooth as far as the eye can reach. The 2 Fathers are occupying the only deck chairs on board, both of them seasick & can hardly stand it to go below in our close cabin.

Yesterday was a nasty wet day. Calms & squalls until middle of afternoon, penning the four of us (2 Padres, Capt. W. & myself) below for an hour at a stretch. It's bad enough down there with the skylight & ladder way open, but when all are closed tight, it's enough to make me prefer the outside & rain. So I fished out my long rubber coat & umbrella & popped on deck at the first chance. The cabin is below decks altogether & very little chance for ventilation. And not built for such a climate as the South Seas. The **Santa Cruz** is about 30 years old & was formerly the **Southern Cross** missionary vessel.¹ And now they should have used this vessel with her present cabin, etc. is a wonder.

I could not venture on sleeping below. So last night & the night before I have stopped on deck in my canvas chair, with my overcoat over me. Fortunately only a few drops of rain fell on the first night & I managed to rest better than I expected. And with my sponge bath each morning at daylight on the forward decks is the only wash we indulge in all day long. I did not try to write yesterday & it was all I could do to even read my novel or get a half dry place to sit down, as my chair got soaking wet. Our cook is having a hard time of it all alone, as the experienced boy whom O'K intended to bring along could not come—his folks had made a bad *match-match* the night before & made it out that he would die, if he went in the **Santa Cruz**. The Capt. has given [the] cook one of the men from the Pellews passengers & has dubbed him the "French Yankee Cook". He has a few English words & saves the cook many a step.

There are 23 passengers for Pellews along with a lot of Yap grub for themselves. O'K gives them one meal per day & the balance they must find themselves. During the rain they all disappeared down the small forward hatchway. It is amusing to see them assisting the 3 sailors & Mate pulling the ropes, most of the time they grab the wrong rope

1 Ed. note: See notes about this ship in Nicholson's Log of Logs, page 493. She was a Melanesian Mission schooner from 1855 until she was purchased by O'Keefe.

& yank away at it for all they are worth & oftentimes the Mate be yelling for them to drop that rope & pull some other one. And then if he yells too cross at them, they get scared & down the hatch they go to be out of sight. Our 3 little kittens are all right. I tried them with milk yesterday but they would not touch it. At supper we offered them meat & they went for that fast enough. And this morning they have made a square meal & we are all over the cabin, much to the disgust of W. who would not allow any cats, dogs or pigs on his ship if possible to prevent. For a wonder, he is assisting at several little things & keeps an extra civil tongue on board ship.

It's a toss up, even yet, if we go to Manila or Hongkong. I vote for the latter place, as I am anxious for your letters & besides I must get to my professional work again or I will not be able to pay my way home again. You may be sure to expect me for the World's Fair at New York in '92. O'K says, if the Committee write him favorably, he will make a trial of my idea of a cannibal village of 50-60 people. If he does, it will be a sight worth seeing & give you a chance to see their dances, houses, canoes, etc. etc.

On Saturday before we left, the Spanish Doctor brought O'K a package of mail matter for Manila. The wind was very light & puffy all the time. The 6-oared gig towed us clear out to the Entrance Reef & there cast off & we soon got clear of the reefs & out on the ocean swell. The wind held steady, but light & about 4 p.m. Yap was below the water & we standing almost on our course. This vessel is very stiff & a fast sailer & we hardly feel a motion, whereas the **Jenny** would have bobbed up & down badly. The **Santa Cruz** is 90-odd tonnage, very long, narrow & sharp, with her bow straight up & down like a steamer.¹ Our deck is badly lumbered up with 2 large sail boats & our canoe for the Pellews & another large boat swings over the side by the davits & up there I see a lot of bananas & pineapples that I must make a raid upon if our cook does not save me the trouble today at the noon meal.

The natives have plenty nuts & some cooked chestnuts, along with some other cooked food that is spoiling & some they threw overboard this morning. They all seem very patient & take things as they come. Just now I can see only one of them as he sits under the shade of one of the boats on the deck, chewing betel nut & leaves with the lime. Every chap has his own basket & carries it about with him over the ship. A few of them that are with the Padres stopped back under the awning the first two days, but today they are all forward or down the hatch. At least they are out of sight now. They all wear combs, so they can't be any slaves among them & a few have coats or shirts to put on at night time.

Dead calm yet & I'm sleepy. Can't you send us a good wind or at least whistle for one. This is provoking to say the least.

Tuesday 11 a.m. July 15th 1890. Sch. Santa Cruz.

About halfway between Yap & Pellews, laying becalmed the same as yesterday & hardly moving since daylight. It has been jolly hot all morning, until half an hour ago

¹ Ed. note: In 1855, she was registered as being of 70-ton capacity.

it culminated in a light rain squall that gave us a welcome breath of fresh cool air. Besides catching a little fresh water from our canvas awning over the cabin. The rain & wind have both passed over & the sun is out again & the Mate (Mr. Cox) at the wheel is now drying himself as the shower was more than he expected, just enough to wet him thoroughly.

I felt tempted to strip for a rain bath & envied the Yap men with no clothes, standing in the rain rubbing themselves & when finished one man took a rope's end & went overboard for a little swim to **wash the first water off**. Yesterday after my morning's chat, I got so lazy & it was so hot & discouraging in this calm that I could not muster courage to even read. And as it is impossible for me to stop in the cabin, I go hunting the ship over for a shady place. Just after our noon dinner I stumbled over a good place forward made by the three seamen & I planted myself there with my book, laying on my back on two boards slightly inclined from the anchor windlass & something else, 2 feet from the deck. A bundle of old sail cloth answered for a pillow, and another piece reached for a piece(?) awning, while just overhead was the flap-flapping jib sheet, a regular polka for me. Wasn't that a good find & it must take a sailor boy to make himself comfortable in all places. And I counted it good luck just then for me to find such a place ready for me. My bare feet were elevated on high one at a time over its mate's knee, until that got to be tiresome & my half-sleeping Yap companions laying thick under the shade near must have sent me off in the land of dreams, for the next thing I was conscious of was Mr. Cox calling 8 bells & the next watch from their cellar hole below. By that time my soft board had turned into a hard one & I crawled out of that feeling rather sore on one side.

Today I left off my extra pants & am seated here as of old with my thin cotton pajamas, feet elevated on the skylight & ship hardly moving. Once in a while a light puff of wind comes, just enough to keep her head on. They got our position yesterday noon, about 120 miles from Yap or half way to Pellews. And I doubt if we went much since then. Last night was calm & clear & I slept on deck as usual. Only, I was no longer falling asleep in my chair & at 3 a.m. I took the deck for it with mat & blanket, where I could stretch my legs for the first time. It was just day[break] when I woke up again & O'K on deck. About sunrise, we had tea & soon after my morning sponge bath.

This vessel will be very comfortable when O'K gets his new cabin on deck in Hongkong. One of the Padres' Yap man is reading a Spanish paper near me, one that he is teaching & a bright looking man he is. Also speaks a few English words. The Yap men are still puzzled about these Padres & their missions. They don't understand what kind of men they are nor what they are after & with such a different dress from any other white man visiting Yap. They have not had much trouble here with the natives, nor tried to push themselves & religion upon them. But, they will find it some different in the Pellews & not have the Spanish so near to back them up. Besides they are a more fighting set.

Taking Yap, all in all as I saw it with its 12,000 people, it is a thickly settled spot of ground, considering the amount of barren uncultivated hill land, volcanic in character,

all the low coral parts about the sea are very rich & thickly covered with coconut trees as well as native trees inland a little ways. They have no regular close villages, like all the places I have seen & this is one of their most marked differences from the Samoans or Fijians. They have the same liking for the white cowrie shell as ornament on canoe or house, but nothing as numerous as a Fijian. The Yap chief's house is better than any other's & his best canoes the same. The Yap man has no idea of a religion, outside of a general Devil in the ground, etc. Their government is a sort of patriarchal, as far as I can learn, for they do not pay much attention to the numerous big chiefs that lay claim to such in the different settlements or villages, if they can be called such. They are badly scattered amongst the coconut trees, mostly on the sea shore. Still there are many villages in the interior. I have already mentioned their having 2 classes of slaves, the owners of which can do as they like with, even to having them killed for any trifling thing. And these same slave people look just like the rest of the Yap people & I could not tell a slave from a free man, if it was not for the comb in the hair of the King's men. How they tell the women, I don't know.

There is far more of the Malay than the Papuan in these Yap men. They have the quietness in part of the Malay, his long hair; you can see it partly in features of most of them, then comes the Samoan shade of skin, almost as large a race of men, but women much smaller.

Over at Mogmog & the other eastern islands of Caroline Group the people & fully as large as Samoans & mostly as light color, with long black hair. Here the men pride themselves with long hair just the same as a woman, & spend much time over dressing & drying the same & take turns in picking out its inhabitants for each other & eating them. Ugh!! You don't believe? Yes, but seeing must be believing?? It's a pity they do not lime their head same as Fiji.

I have often compared Yap with the Marquesans. They physically are almost the same, perhaps the latter's hair is more kinky. They both have high foundations for their houses, use the Triton shell for a fishing horn. But the Yap man almost lives in his canoes & is a much smarter man every way, & never tattoo in the face. But this slave business is the only instance of the kind that I have ever heard about in the South Seas. And again these Mogmog canoes visiting Yap every year to pay tribute to certain chiefs & places & where they stop for several months are nothing much better than slaves & can not go any place about Yap except by permission.

In the Pellews O'K says the small places are almost slaves as the big strong places make them do just as they say & if not, fight them into it.

It is almost one p.m. & dinner is called. O'K says we are 90 miles to Pellews. So we are gaining a precious little all the time. The poor Fathers have not eaten below since the first day & eat but very little on deck.

The Yap people have done much good work in building large stone wharfs for their big houses out in the water & also in many places for their canoe harbors & fish pens. Their stone roads are numerous about all their large places & most of the houses have the light bamboo fencing, also often a hedge of the crotons alongside of some old &

deeply-trodden pathway. I should place Yap next to the Fijians in the scale of intelligence & superior to the Solomon or Hebrides or New Guinea [people] who are all Papuans, or mop-headed & small race of men. And if you will notice, the largest race in all these islands as a rule are found on these low coral ones such as Tongans, Pamutoeus [Tuamotus] & East Carolines. Fully as large a race as the much-vaunted Maroa's [Maoris] of New Zealand. Mogmog, Bulli [Pulo Ana], Maria [Meriere], Sonsorol & St. David's [Mapia], all coral atolls & large men, with a similarity in dress & words enough for this ex- King of St. David's (Marawathy) now at Terang to be able to talk a little with the Mogmog & Bull men, but not the Yap or Pellews. The Yap women are the only ones in Caroline Group to wear this grass leaf petticoat the same as in English New Guinea. All the rest wear the plaited mats, made of fine leaf of pandanus & banana.

4 p.m. Wednesday, July 16th 1890.

Sch. **Santa Cruz**, Capt. D. D. O'Keefe. 40 miles east of Pellews.

Becalmed for the past 3 days & getting more than full up of this sort of thing. Soon after ending my chat with you O'K sang out to me to **Look at the birds!** —**Land birds?** says I, & jumped to his side of the railing & in a few moments I caught one poor tired bird trying to alight. He was slightly web-footed & looked very much like a pigeon. I gave him to our Yank Pellew assistant cook, as he said "he good kiki". 3 kinds of small fish had been following us all day & they have had a line after them for 2 hours. I took the line & in half a minute I landed a queer- looking one on the decks. The only fish caught so far. Just now Father Daniel is trying his luck with the line. I saw they had skinned the fish last eve & that's the last of it & don't know what became of the bird. I spent last night on deck as usual but had to go below for an hour at midnight for a light rain. I made up for that by a 2-1/2 hour sleep in cabin this a.m. All day has been clear & hot & hardly moving. The Padres seem to be over their seasickness. I do wonder how much longer this is to last. At any rate this log can't last & I might as well say my farewell to this volume & [to be] continued in a future work on the Pellews—price 2/6 & to be had of any first-class establishment or big house on the Pellews, copyright reserved.

Your fratz, Rabe of Frisco.

[End of Diary N° 25]

Document 1890C

Dr. Rabe's diary of 1890—Part 3

Source: Manuscript Log N° 14 covering the period from 17 July to 22 October 1890. This journal is catalogued as N° 27 in the Van Dyke Collection now kept at UH Pacific Collection in Honolulu.

Notes: The front endpapers are taken up by a manuscript map of the Pelew Islands. This map is copied from the Spanish map of the islands published at Madrid in 1877. However, Dr. Rabe has added the track of the schooner Santa Cruz as it approached the islands from the east on 17 & 18 July. On the inside cover, the author has incised his name and address as follows: "Dr. Jno. Rabe, D.D.S., Frisco, Cal. 1055 Oakland, Cal. Broadway". For another note later on, I think that he himself had lived in Oakland and that his brother, Dr. Benjamin Rabe, had just moved his office from 1055 Broadway, in Oakland to another address that he did not remember; however, he kept using the 1055 Broadway address as his forwarding address. Anyhow, he called himself "The Frisco Tramp". He must have intended publishing his logs as a book, because a note says: "Mr. Norris.—For making manuscript for about 400 pages print \$100, of adventures."

The Palau journal of Dr. Rabe, 1890

Sch. Santa Cruz 90 tons Capt. D. D. O'Keefe.

4 p.m. Thursday, July 17th 1890.

Dear Bro.

We are now close into the entrance of Korrer Harbor. Last eve at sundown the land was sighted from aloft and this morning we had a good view of the north end. After a heavy rain, cleared away from it. It shows a high continuous mountain chain with several slight peaks, the highest some 1,890 feet or so. As soon as O'K got sight of the north end he knew his position & we must have been 20 miles out from land.

During last night we had light winds & two false alarms of rain that were just enough to awaken us & get on our feet. But unfortunately this day has been the same old story—very light breeze & calms & sun awfully hot & all of us dodging around to escape it.

About 11 a.m., I was so sleepy & laid me out on the soft wooden bench seats in our small close "well of a cabin" and almost asleep when O'K sings out to "come on deck & have a look". I had just caught a few previous words about **bottle & drink**, etc. and concluded they were after the brandy or beer & I was laying on top of where it was stowed. Of course I was hard to waken & all that & sang out if they wanted a **drink**?

That busted my siesta for this day. But on coming on deck I was surprised to receive some nice pineapple.

The wind has left us completely & we are just outside the Korrer entrance. We came on southward & at 1 p.m. a sailing canoe came off to us with 3 men. They tell O'K that Jim (one of his traders) has met with an accident, got shot through the hand by his insisting on a native shooting through the opening made by his thumb and first finger. The Fool! He must have been drunk or mad. They say it has poisoned his hand & gone on up his arm to shoulders & O'K wants to know if I could cut the arm off if found necessary? That's out of my line & never seen any[thing like] it done. Hence I'm not going to try such a game. Besides, I don't believe it is half as bad as reported. All natives magnify such things beyond belief.

They say the Japanese ship has been here for the past 10 days & doing a good business, & now we think we can see her at anchor up at the settlement.

About an hour ago O'K sent the canoe off with a large lamp, rope & anchor to mark the passage tonight if the wind comes. He kept one of their men & placed 3 of the passengers in his place. We can see that they are almost half way to the land already. Their canoes are long & very narrow & **decked all over**. The outrigger log is short & thick. The sail is a large mat & well made & the ornament shells are the same white cowrie shells of Fiji & others. The top & platforms of boards are all nicely squared & arched & nicely done & differ greatly from any others. This one was made from a solid log & could not have been more than 18 to 22 inches deep. I will have to measure one while on land. They are faster sailers than the Yap canoe but not so safe nor comfortable.

Half an hour since we saw 3 large whales blowing between us & the reef & Capt. W. said he saw some of the whale killers jumping out of the water by them. He says they are a good-size fish that kill the whales by some jumping out in the air & striking them on top while others strike them from below. That's the first time I have heard that yarn & give it [to] you for what it is worth.

We have drifted around & now head seaward. The Mate was going to hoist a flag, but stopped & now getting ready for another light breeze coming. Away out to sea [to the] NW the sky is black from a coming storm. The canoe seems to be stationary near the reef & from here the different islands can be seen nicely & they all look thickly wooded & high ground. An immense number of birds were fishing just south of us this p.m.—a regular cloud of them. Heigh no! that rain is advancing fast & almost onto us. Most of the day the rain has been falling at some part of the islands.

5:30 p.m. Friday, July 18th 1890. Santa Cruz.

At last we are anchored on the Pellew reef just at the Entrance. It was about 4 p.m. when we succeeded. Yesterday about the same time we had got within half mile of this small anchorage spot, when the approaching squall from NW made us get out the large boat & pull out to sea, as we lay in a bite between dangerous reefs with strong currents. The squall came up quickly & lasted about 1 hour. The boat was pulling us all night long & barely kept us off the reef. O'K was very uneasy & W. assisted him materially

during the night. This morning we were 20 miles outside & it took us all day to get back here. Our Pellew canoe came out to us at 3 p.m. & after we anchored a Yap canoe came alongside & are here now. We have just got up from tea or supper & too dark to write.

We had a night of it—rains occasionally & most of the time sleeping on deck in chair. Did not rest very much. And now that shooting story has resolved it[self] down to a very simple affair of Mr. Jim Sims, while showing off his powers with a gun, shot at his boy's hand; the ball never struck the hand but the powder burnt the hand some & nothing serious or much.

Sunday 8 a.m. July 20th 1890. Sch. Santa Cruz, Korrer Harbor, Pellew Islands.

We reached here yesterday about 11 a.m. & dropped anchor at the usual grounds & a nice place it is, located between high wooden islands on all sides and only one house in sight here at the foot of a high hill, the big chief of which is a large man with a fine beard & moustache, with good looking children, but the house a poor affair. But the best of all is the fine spring of soft water just back of the house. Several men-of-war ships have been here & some of their Doctor's pronounce this water highly medicinal. At any rate I found it extra nice for my bath in the middle of the afternoon & this morning at daylight.

We had a slow & hard time to get up through the narrow winding passage in tow of one of our boats with 14 men paddling from 7 to 10:30 a.m. It was against a strong current that kept the man at the wheel busy to keep up with O'K's continuous string of orders. I was standing on the high side railing in the rigging where I could see all sides & the dangerous reefs.

At daylight we had a cup of tea only, after a poor sleep in my chair & I got more than hungry before we had breakfast at 11 a.m. And soon after we let go anchor alongside of the Japanese sch. that had been piloted in by the big bearded chief living here. We had several boats alongside with Mr. Gibbons, the West Indian colored man, father to William of the *Jenny*. Also Mr. Jim Sims himself in his boat from a 4-day trip around the north end of the big land. He was dressed in white & very presentable & plenty to say to O'K his employer. He & Gibbons claim that his actions in coming to the seat of war in the south was the means of averting a serious war & that the Spanish Government ought to give Mr. Jim much credit for so doing. But I had better wait & get the full accounts later on. Just at present I must only give outlines as very little time is given me to scribble.

Several chiefs came & also the Big Fat King of Korrer (the fighter) called while we were at breakfast. All afternoon was busy getting the deck cleared & the Yap men away & at 4:30 I had a short tramp on shore & up the hill with the young Jap. student & after dark we called on board the Japan ship. And again I slept on deck in my chair & no rain.

Thursday July 24th 1890.

At King's "Abba Thule" house in Korrer, where I have been domesticated as one of the family since Tuesday. The first night I was placed in a bamboo house to sleep, belonging to "Kalangan". He telling me that it was the same house that he first spoke about for the Padres' use & that it had a regularly-made bed "all same white man". In fact, had 2 of them & I could have the use of whole house. But the use of that one bed was too much for me. It was raised 3 feet from floor & made of split bamboo. A small 14 in. window opened out [of] it. Every time one would move, the creaking & noise would indicate a threatened collapse & then the mosquitos made me growl more than once. The rain fell for half an hour & drove them in faster than ever. Fortunately, the roof held tight & I did not get an expected wetting. No, I don't want any more of that wonderful bed nor mosquitos. So we changed last night & hang it all, we found ourselves at the other extreme & into a small plank house just large enough for me to stretch out in & not over 5 by 7 feet inside. But this time we had my mosquito net & managed to sleep much better on my flat plank flooring than on that squeaky bamboo. But would much prefer a large house, if I'm to continue my residence here much longer, & no telling as to the day we shall sail, as O'K finds he has to collect in his tortoise shell & beche-de-mer himself, the natives having got down on Mr. Sims & Mr. Gibbons about this fighting [at] Angor [Angaur], in which the Angor people repulsed this king & then asked Sims to purchase their island for 150 dollars & live with them & so keep them safe from "Abba Thule" & Mr. Sims went there & raised a flag.¹

All of this trouble now to O'K has been caused by Sims who is now gone south to the Pelleliu place after pigs, etc.

Two days ago, the Fathers were landed & are now located in their small bamboo house down near the edge of hill in the bush by themselves, with no other house in sight.

Yesterday I went down to the ship with the king & Kalangan & expected to stop overnight but finding the cabin still full of trade & visitors & alas Capt. W. having appropriated considerably of the cabin space, gave me no chance to get at my hand boxes nor my trunk, as I desired very much. I got this log & a few clothes & to be out of the ship's way I came back with the King before dark. This is giving me a good chance to study their habits, the Royal Family in particular & I can assure you that they are entirely different from the Yap people, although resembling each other in appearance, the most of Pellew people are a shade darker, but the King & many others is as light copper color as the Samoan.

The king has a book on these islands, written from the Journal of Capt. H. Wilson of the ship "The **Antelope**", belonging to the East India Co. & wrecked on Pellew Islands in Aug. 1783, printed in London, 3rd edition. It is written in the old style spelling & at first hard to understand readily. Very interesting & in most parts, true to their customs of this date. Has 15 illustrations, besides portrait of the Capt. Wilson painted 1788, and presumed hard to get now. Name is "Account of the Pelew Islands". It be-

¹ Ed. note: The word "American" before the word flag is crossed out.

gins with their departure from Macao, China, June 1783 & on Aug. 10th she struck on the Pelew reefs, where they were received kindly by the natives of this very spot, and permitted to save all of their ship's stores & build a new ship, in which they arrived at Macao Sunday Nov. 30, 1783.

I wish you were able to read or secure that work as it goes more minutely into these islands than anything that I have seen. I have just been reading his account of being made a Rupack or Chief of the Order of the Bone & I will give you a copy of the ceremony.

The present king & many of the big chiefs wear the bone. The 2nd king had to lose the first joint of 2nd finger to get his bone over the hand. It is the vertebra of the large black fish & scarce.¹

1783. November, Monday 10.

In the morning the King sent a message to Captain Wilson, desiring him to come to him at the watering place; and on his arrival acquainted him that it was his intention to invest him with the Order of the Bone & make him in form a Rupack of the first rank. The Capt. expressed his acknowledgments for the honour he proposed to confer on him, & the pleasure he felt at being admitted a Chief of Pelew. The King, & all the Rupacks then went & sat down under the shade of some large tree, & Capt. Wilson was desired to sit at a little distance. When RAA KOOK receiving the Bone presented it, as from his brother Abba Thulle, wanted to know which hand he used in common; this the general wished to ascertain by putting a stone in his hand, which he desired him to throw at a distance; finding it was the right hand he naturally used he was again requested to sit down, & the Bone was applied to his heft hand to see if it was large enough for his hand to slip through; being not found sufficiently so, it was rasped away, till judged to be wide enough, when Raa Kook, The Chief Minister & all the Rupacks, proceeded to the investment in the following manner. The General made a string fast to each of the fingers of the Capt's left hand & then lubricating the hand with oil, the Chief Minister placed himself behind the Capt., holding him fast by the shoulders; Raa Kook then passed the different strings through the Bone, & giving them to another Rupack, they endeavoured to draw his hand through. Raa Kook at the same time, with his own hand, compressing that of the Capt. into the smallest compass he possibly could so that the Bone might pass over the joints.

During this the most profound silence was preserved, both by the Rupacks who assisted, & the people who attended as spectators, except by the King, who occasionally suggested in what manner they might facilitate the operation. The point being at last obtained, & the hand fairly passed through the whole assembly expressed great joy. Abba Thule then addressing Capt. Wilson told him, that the Bone should be rubbed bright every day, & preserved as a testimony of the rank he held amongst them; that this mark of dignity must, on every occasion, be defended valiantly, nor suffered to be torn from his arm but with the loss of life.

¹ Ed. note: It was the vertebra of the *dugong*, the manatee or sea cow of Palauan waters.

The ceremony ended, all the Rupacks congratulated Capt. Wilson on his being one of their order; and the inferior natives flocked round to look at the Bone, & appeared highly pleased to see his arm adorned with it, calling him "Englees Rupack".

We have just had dinner—we as [in] & Co.—the Royal Family. I wonder what this fun & high-class living is going to cost me when finished by my presents to be given at leaving. Yesterday his Royal Highness said he "wanted pair shoes, stockings, pants & shirt to belonga me". Just so. That's only a beginning. So far I have given him a gold ring & several other little things. But O'K says that does not count. The pay is what I give in leaving. But I tell him (O'K) that I must see first if the King is going to give me the curios that he has promised me. I begin to question it, as I have seen nothing of them.

Just now, the second King is here & also a Manila man, both speaking English. The King also understands a little, as I get along without much trouble. Would you like to visit me now & my Royal household & have dinner. That meal was rather slim at both ends today, being only small sardine fish fried brittle in coconut oil—scales, insides & all—with taro made the meal. 2 dishes & mine was placed on two China plates, knife & fork & brought over to me where I was scribbling to you. Lucky for me I was not hungry, as our breakfast was late, substantial of a large crab, yam & taro greens cooked nicely. When about 2 hours later while I was visiting a Club House to watch the women dyeing their new dresses & making baskets, I had to sit down & eat with 3 of them, a nice breadfruit & scraped coconut, and calling at Mr. Gibbons I had some bananas & a coconut to drink & that with an orange or two, I was not hungry. I must stop my chat for this time & get outside, as the King has callers & besides I can't write half my time from talking.

I hear that O'K yesterday eve discovered the cook had been stealing & he gave him a licking & then put him in handcuffs. & O'K lays all the blame to the interference of W. The cook had been drinking & told O'K that he did not recognize him as the Capt. of **Santa Cruz**. With that, O'K went for him rough shod until he concluded to recognize O'K as the Capt. of ship, etc.

Terang, Yap, Caroline Group. Aug. 24th 1890. 6 a.m.

Dr Bro.

No doubt you will be surprised to see me back in Yap? So am I, besides being much disappointed there in, having expected to have been in Hong Kong before this date. But Capt. O'K found his business affairs in Pelews in such a state that he had to remain there himself trading for one month & then on Saturday 16th inst. sailed for Yap. Arrived yesterday morning. Wind no good for entering. Mr. Joe & Edwards came off in a sail boat, taking O'K, the 2 Padres, 5 or 6 Yap men & myself on shore at 10 a.m. The ship is still outside & I'm back here in my old quarters & again under the medicine treatment.

I could not think of working on the Log, since my last chat with you, exactly one month ago. Have been too miserable. Am better now & must try the back track with

you in the Pellews at once, or you stand a slim chance of ever getting any yarns of that interesting place & people, who differ greatly in their habits from the Polynesians or any people whom I have yet seen. Even Yap is not like Pelews. I have left a blank logbook with a Mr. Gibbons in Pelew, who promises to fill it with his 36 years there & then mail the same to me home.¹

We go back to July 24th, our last chat, seated in the Royal King's house, Abba Thule, on Korrer where a council was being held by some one or other, every half hour. Later on in the morning we breakfasted on a fine large crab & taro & taro leaves in the shape of greens. Not much of a meal for a hungry man. These people live mostly on taro & fish, using dynamite very much since the traders have introduced it. They use a few fish nets, coarse & large & the spears. But I see no fish fences or pens, as are so plentiful in Yap reefs. Plenty of fish here for the catching.

About 2 p.m., Mr. Gibbons returned from the ship, saying O'K wanted me on board as soon as possible. Dead low [water] at that time & no boat nor canoe about the place. I could not get down [to Malakal] before morning. I am not much use for walking, a boil coming on my left foot where my shoe had chafed it & another on my left hip & they stuck by me for over one week. They tell me they were the regular Pelew sore & that almost every person had them on first arrival. A few days after while lancing my foot & using carbolic wash the natives looked on amazed at my being able to hurt myself in that manner. They are great cowards in that way; [they] don't like to see blood of their own. I failed to reach or see the hip sore & consequently had to let it cure itself by longer time. But confound them, they were hardly in condition to allow my sitting in a respectable condition until another one came on the right hip. Job's affliction & I begin to think I'm catching payment for past sins. You can easily understand my impatience under all this restraint.

[The rock islands]

Here I was in one of the most interesting group of islands north of the line with every chance of getting about, could stop over if I choose, etc. etc. & **unable** to get outside of this one village or the boat & no tramping over the numerous rocky islets on all sides of the ship harbor & where the Yap men are cutting their stone money, I never got up to see them, although only 2 hours from the ship. These islets are bare rock, mostly high, sharp & the surface all weather worn into pockets & needle points, almost impossible to climb up on over, unless well shod & very active. They are all covered with trees & dense underbrush & I see plenty ferns & several kinds orchids on their sides as we pass by in the boat or canoes. The water has undermined all these rocky islets in a nice curve as much as 10 to 15 feet, making a good shelter from rain at low tide which rises 5 to 6 feet here, with strong currents. These islets are most beautiful in appearance

1 Ed. note: Mr. Gibbons did complete the logbook with the oral history and the customs of Palau. This logbook is also held at UH Pacific Collection in the same Van Dyke Collection, as ms. N^o DU4.R33 nos. 31 & 32 (See Doc. 1890G).

in their many tints of green, towering tier upon tier from the water's edge almost to the very top 100 to 300 feet high, the home of many kinds of sea birds & the pigeon, that feed on the numerous shrub berries.

Cobarrie [i.e. Kubary] the naturalist spent several years here in Pelews, I am told & he was all over the land & these rocky islets collecting everything successfully. Don't know, if I have spelt his name correctly.

I found that Wm. Gibbons had not collected any land shells for me as he had promised me on board the **Jenny**. His old father got him out two or three days & he with his little brother got me 4 or 5 match boxes full of shells, 5 or 6 kinds, the largest¹ a trifle over an inch long & only 2 of them. On top of these islets, he got me a small white shell with horns all over it, something new to me. Mr. G. says there are about 20 varieties of land shells, mostly all small, & some very hard to find in the mountains.

That night at Korrer I slept in a new place again & this time it was a good bamboo house that made a comfortable bed & plenty of room to turn around in. Kalangan had promised to call me at daylight & both go to the ship early, but the scamp never came near me. Afterwards I learned that this half-caste chap is one of the worst liar in Pelew. He is married to the old Queen's daughter & can hardly call his head his own, & can not do a thing before asking the King.

About the Padres, when the King first heard they were on the **Santa Cruz**, he declared they should not live in Korrer, etc. etc. but when he learned that they were also the representatives of the Spanish Governor of Yap, he sang another tune and finally after 2 or 3 days the King gave them a house to live in (bamboo) located in the trees by themselves & during their stay he often sent them food of different kinds. The Padres had 2 Yap & 1 Pellew boys & the youngest Padre was sick all the time even worse than myself. And upon their return they brought 5 goats, several pigs & a lot of chickens, with oranges, bananas & curios in plenty. O'K had about 100 pigs on deck, 2 of them pet ones & allowed to roam the deck with the goats at their sweet will & what a sweet smell & sounds our deck cargo produced. O'K also had 3 tame sea birds (cranes), any amount of chickens loose in the hold & about 20 Yap & Pellew men, making a full deck and no mistake... The Padres' returning was rough on me, as I had no bunk & so had to shift the best I could on my canvas chair on deck or hard narrow seat in cabin. O'K put the Padres' pigs & chickens with his own after counting them, thereby making the ship stand all the loss of any dying on the passage which several pigs did.

I believe I mentioned my indiscriminate eating that day at Korrer, plenty bananas & such? Well, that night about 2 a.m., I head from them with a vengeance for about an hour & my companions were wondering why the Doctor could not lay still. In the morning, Kalangan not appearing, the King sent 2 boys in canoe to take me to ship, after indulging in a small drink of the Pellew tea, made of warm molasses water. The mo-

1 Ed. note: This word is followed by the small sketch of what looks like an auger shell in the manuscript.

lasses is made in quantities from the coconut toddy in the Pellew & is quite a commercial commodity amongst themselves, selling at a good price.

In the King's house there was a good-sized native pot, always boiling & making molasses. They make plenty of different-size pots of clay & sun-dried, also a good lamp for coconut oil that give a good light & very serviceable¹ using a cloth wick or cotton. I secured two of these, but the pots are too large & fragile to think of packing. Confound it, I forget that there were several days before this unaccounted to you & my first impression of Korrer village, etc. If I have already told you, it will not matter much if I do repeat, & better that than none.

(Monday morning 7 a.m., Aug. 25).

(2 full boats have gone out to pull the **Santa Cruz** inside. Am much better this morning. So now for a good long yarn.)

It was on the eve of July 16th 1890 that we sighted Pelews from aloft. That same day I had finished my Yap log for you. The next day we gradually approached Entrance to Korrer Hr., the best one in the Group. A canoe with 4 men came out to us and O'K sent them back with a large lamp, anchor, ropes & paddles with 3 of our men to assist in marking the dangerous & narrow passage. One of their men stopped on ship. As O'K said the rascals would run away with everything if he let them go alone & they looked rascally enough for all that & then some. We got within half a mile of a small outer anchorage spot, when unfortunately a heavy black cloud came up in the north that made us about ship. The boat & 20 Yap men had been towing the ship & now they had to pull seaward the faster. The squall was a dirty one & very hard, with the current strong onto the reef. All hands on deck & the boat pulling all night, barely kept us clear of the reef as we made southward. O'K said it was a close shave & at one time, when I was half asleep he called out to me to secure my most valuable articles & be ready in case we truck! Ugh!

There were the 2 Padres & I shut close in the cabin. W. was assisting on deck I believe. I knew I could not get at my small gold box, if I tried. So turned over on my narrow bench bed & had another sleep. But in the morning, I really felt alarmed to see where we had been during the night & it was only the boat that saved us. We were now 20 miles from the Entrance, becalmed until 11 a.m. Then a light favorable wind. At 3 p.m. our first canoe got back. They had stopped in passage until 11 p.m. for us. Another canoe came out with 5 men. By 4 p.m. we reached the anchorage spot & after unusual delay with chains, the anchor lay home on the Pellews for first time for **Santa Cruz**, July 18th.

At 5:30 a large Yap canoe came with the Yap stone men to see their friends & relatives on board & what a time they did make of it. And our deck jammed with natives all night, leaving very little room for us whites to sleep there. While 2 of the Pelew Chiefs slept in the cabin.

1 Ed. note: There is a small sketch of a typical Aladdin-type oil lamp at this point in the manuscript.

The 19th we were all up by daylight & from 7 to 11 a.m. the large boat was pulling hard against the tide in getting us inside to the usual anchorage at the island of Mallaga [Malakal] that was formerly owned by an Englishman who [had] bought it of the Korrer King, lived there for years, until the natives killed him.¹ The island is a good size with a high sharp hill, some 600 ft high, is half wooded & half open land, half of the latter being rich & good volcanic soil—all hills, no low sandy levels. I saw the spot where the Englishman had his comfortable house. The view was grand from there on all 3 sides, the other being the high wooded hill or mountain.

Down at the water's edge, near the anchorage stands the only house on Mallagan [sic] also a small coral stone wharf, & a N^o 1 spring of water that runs from a wooden spouting from the small ravine. A Doctor of an English man-of-war declared its mineral water with healing properties for sores. Just so. We found it one of the main attractions for us in all the islands & I used it as often as I got the chance & also did my own washing at the same time. O'K wanted me to give the wash to the cabin boy along with his clothes, but I preferred to do that little myself.

O'K has the papers relating to this island, the affairs of which I believe are still unsettled. Not far from the house, southward, there is a large grassy track where nothing in [the] shape of trees will grow. A few small stunted coconut trees have been trying it for years. A small gully separates this track from the good land, where the sugar-cane & nut trees flourish.²

On all sides of this [Malakal] island & harbor are the "rocky islets" forming a deep U-shaped Hr. with Mallagan at the bottom at least 5 miles from the reef. This spring water is worth having & too bad it is not on Terang in Yap.

Korrer Island is about 1 mile NW [rather N.E.] & the village of Korrer—KIng, Abba Thule—2 miles. Can go there from here only at full tide & have to pass in between the rocky islets or gateway, which shuts the ship's view out in that direction. Korrer Island is mostly open country of level plains & low rolling hills. The 5 or 6 villages all located in the woods. Several small springs & running water for their taro patches.

The sea view of the Pellews from the eastern side, shows up very well. The land running in a general line about north & south [rather west & east] with only one or two high points—above the general backbone ridge. As we got nearer the absence of inhabitants & all indications of them struck me very forcibly—after [what] I left in Yap. Here nothing but hills & woods, woods & hills & as we got southward the passages between the big land & the other islands opened out.

I had been perched up in the forward rigging during our slow entrance & could plainly see the narrow & crooked channel. At 11 we had breakfast, & as I had drunk no tea in morning I was "good hungry". By that time Mr. Jim Sims & Mr. Gibbons, with Wm. had arrived—all agents for O'K—plenty native canoes. Soon after the King

1 Ed. note: He is referring to Captain Andrew Cheyne.

2 Ed. note: I wonder if this gully is not in fact a fault zone. Perhaps Dr. Augustin Krämer did see it in 1908-1910? Check.

came & I was surprised to see him so fat he can hardly walk comfortably any distance. His long hair [is] **yellow** from the Pellew *rang* which is much better than Yap[']s]. This is the first & only instance I have seen of its being used constantly on all the head of hair & must be a mark of his Royal Highness. His ugly black teeth [are] half gone in front & those remaining wobbled about at every word he spoke. His face [is] smooth & not bad looking at all, only his eyes indicate cunning & duplicity.

There he sat on his haunches on deck with only the usual homeopathic breech-cloth—lava lava of some dirty yellow cloth. These people are very careless with their lava lava & expose their person [sic] over half the time. Many of the Rupacks & old men do not wear it properly, but simply have a flap or short end hanging down in front from the narrow waist string. They are a dirty set in that way & seem to have no shame nor morality, the King, Abba Thule, being an exception, as he always wore the lava snug close.

The King & several of the Chiefs speak a little English & I left them all talking together. The Japanese called on board soon after we anchored to see O'K.

2 p.m. I landed in canoe for my first bath & general wash at the spring. The big house was full of natives, plenty women & Arricoco's family down to stop a few days for the ships. The Yap men were busy landing at a spot below the house, where they built a temporary house & shelter. The Japs. had their hot water bath tubs all here at the spring, where they parboil themselves each day, one after the other **in the same water**, perfectly nude & not 15 feet from the house & another small bamboo house, where often were plenty natives of both sexes watching their actions. One day I happened to see the same & the "boss" politely invited me to take a **hot bath** & that after I had seen 3 or 4 of them in the water. I rather smiled & told him I preferred the cold spring water for me & there I always had a bamboo door placed as a curtain. And when the Padres came off to bathe, O'K sent a sail to be rigged up for them.

At 5 p.m. I got the little Jap reporter to take a walk along the beach around northward & returning over the hill & down by the spring just in time to escape a wetting. The next day...

Sunday 20th, up at day[break], after a deck sleep. On shore with Mr. Sims for a bath & wash clothes. Back by 6:30 & had tea. The sun hot today. Father Daniel had morning mass in the cabin & about noon I accompanied them in boat to Korrer to call on the King. They wish to see about a house to live in during their short stay in Pellews.

From the water, only 3 houses could be seen. The first was only a bamboo house at lower end of island called the **Bullocks' plains**—a large level track where formerly there were a herd of 12 or 15 bullocks first introduced by the English men-of-war. And when any man-of-war came here they usually killed one (the ship) but the **German** man-of-war was not satisfied with one or two & had to kill **all of them**.

(3 p.m. 25th. The **Santa Cruz** got a good wind just as the 2 boats reached her & by 10 a.m. she was alongside the wharf, and following her came the Germans' 3-masted ship from the Marshalls. Cool & pleasant now.)

This first small bamboo house is used by the women when at work in their gardens above here of sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, bananas. The second house belonged to the town & not finished building. It stands well out in the water at edge of the thick mangrove, upon a miserable small wharf. This is to belong to the King's soldiers of the Right wing & the Right wing has 2 other houses. The Left wing or side of village is not so strong & have only 2 soldiers' houses.

While passing in front in boat or canoe of this new house every Pelew man must sit down, under penalty of a heavy fine. The water is very shallow here & the bamboos are always in use by the men standing up. But down they must squat & do the best they can.—

[Palauan canoes]

We landed at the King's main canoe house just at the beginning of a 1-1/2 mile [long and] high stone wharf built away out to deep water, that I never took the trouble to tramp over. The canoe house is a large high building, all roof & ends enclosed part the way down, the sides mostly open. The large corner posts were carved figures 10 to 12 feet high, the men true to nature, while the women had the Pellew dress, all decently.

Then the long stringers at front end were all carved their full length with the human face. Under this large shed were 4 new sailing canoes building. One man was at work painting with some native red paint that is very durable & which is made out of volcanic clay from the big island north mixed with coconut oil. Their canoes are radically different from the Yap [canoe]. It is cut out of one piece of wood—these were fully 3 feet deep, 1- 1/2 feet wide & 45 feet long. The ends both alike & sharp & the edge made to lap inside 3 in. to walk along & also [to] hold grooved deck boards for sea sailing; on the outside runs a strong round rod 2 to 3 in. diameter, full length of canoe.

The outrigger is a short chunky square piece of wood, pointed at each end & attached to the canoe by well-made curved piece of wood. All parts of the canoe, even to the bamboo masts, [are] well made, smoothed, polished & painted & even ornamented with inlaid pearl shell & small pieces [of] looking glass near the upper edge. The mat sail is triangular [in] shape. They also make a regular wooden bailing cup, about 1 foot long & 6 in. wide & every article & part must be **just so**, according to ancient Pelew customs. I failed to secure a model canoe.

At the right of the canoe shed was one of their old Club house. The doors of which were full of curious heads of the men & prostitute girls watching us. For a wonder this house had no indecent women statues at its ends outside. I let Mr. Kalangan & the Padres go ahead of me to the King's, a little ways, so I could look around more at my leisure, but that did not work as I found them waiting for me. They have a good 15-foot wide stone pathway from the wharf 1/4 [of] a mile up to the village.¹ across a stone

¹ Ed. note: The author revised his original estimate of 1/2 mile, by later crossing out the word "half" and replacing it with 1/4.

causeway or path averaging 10 to 20 feet wide, at different localities, & in length about 2 miles north & south, from edge to edge of the timbered land.

The houses have no regularity in location & have no enclosures. Common houses have bamboo flooring, which all natives prefer. The fireplace is built up with stone & dirt [packed] solid.

We found the King at home. His is a N^o 1 house, well made & strong, flooring half bamboo & balance smooth planks, sides & ends planks, all native material & work. Inside rafters high enough to allow one to walk upright (a common house has only 5 feet to cross beams). I left the Padres there talking business, & called on Mr. Gibbons. His house [is] very low & small. Wm. had got me some shells today, small white horny ones, new. The little boy accompanied me on my way back to the Padres, after having an exploration in the neighborhood & finding that the village is located on a low rolling wooded ridge. I came to the King's **Big Council House**, the largest building in the island & quite new. They have 6 or 7 women there, 3 of them very ancient. Alongside of this building were 2 others same length & almost as big—90 to 100 ft. long. No women in them.

All these houses had on each end wooden figures of naked women life-size & plenty small 1-1/2 foot figures of naked men & women with dress. The balance of these smooth planked ends are covered with drawings of fish, ships, canoes, men fighting & other designs. Inside all the timber are squared & smoothed, painted over with regular stories & histories in Pelew signs.

While looking at these buildings, only 100 yards from the King's House, who should sing out to me but the Padre Daniel, ready to return to the boat. He came over to me from the pathway & we both looked at all the 3 houses at south end, but he did not venture inside.

After bidding the King good day, we went back to Gibbons & then on down to lower end of island or Bullocks' plains 1-1/2 mile, where the Padre said his boat & Yap men would wait for us, as now small water.

3 p.m.—Arriving there, found his servants had gone on to ship. Afterwards I asked one of them why they did not stop & he said they **were hungry**, etc. Confound his rascality it kept us waiting at the point for some time & finally Kalangan got a small canoe & managed to get us to the ship just at dark & nothing to eat since morning. In crossing the deep channel the young Padre, who can not swim got much alarmed at our shaky & deep canoe. The boys all got over board & swam, pushing us. At the gateway it came on a heavy rain & we got under one of the small islets where the undercut kept us perfectly dry & here we picked up Wm. in his canoe, dressed Pelew style, looking happy as you please. He had been after land shells for me & also had a "box"-fish, the first I ever saw & a queer-looking customer he is. Good eating they say.

Here we were stuck for almost an hour. Near the ship we met our boat just starting after us. We were all ready for a good feed & no mistake.

The next morning early...

Monday 21 July.

I was on shore for my bath. Breakfast at 8 & then off to Korrer again with O'K & the Padres. It seems the Padres had been disappointed in what Kalangan had said or promised, as he could do nothing without first asking the King.

O'K soon arranged the house business & they immediately returned to the ship, while I was after butterflies in the bush—3 or 4 kinds in plenty—one gray spotted kind, I could not catch, & had my net several days on shore. Gave King my good leather belt, one gold ring & a few other little things. And he gave me an eastern Caroline shell belt for holding the women's dress & asked me at that time what I wanted for my presents. Told him, nothing. But before leaving I wanted to buy some curios, which he understood. Had noon lunch on Bobby (pig), fish & taro cakes. And at 2:30 a good meal with Mr. Gibbons that Wm. cooked—chicken, & rice & taro—no bread. This I relished well. The day before I was astonished that Mr. G. had not asked us to eat when he saw us leaving so late. But it seems he had asked the Padres & they said they must hurry on to the boat, etc. etc. After dark I returned to ship in canoe with Kalangan & Arricoco, second king, half headache & mighty glad for a piece of bread & butter.

22nd July.

Turned out early, rested poorly, but my good long bath & wash at the spring made me in a better turn & so I accompanied the Padres to Korrer, with all their traps & provisions, landing in through a covered canal in the high mangroves, that brought us close to the foot of hill & their new house. It was the same channel that I had gone out through the night before, when I could not see its romantic beauty as an evergreen arched highway. I had my net again today & did much tramping with it, also had a long turn at the King's copy of Capt. Wilson's work on Pellews, that I have mentioned, had a sort of dinner & supper at King's.

2 p.m. had a long walk over new ground northward W. [i.e. northwestward] clear through the village & woods & out into the open grassy rolling hills.

4 p.m. O'K arrived & [it] seems that the Padres were all safe in their house & expected to remain all night himself, but after getting me nailed to remain, by speaking to the King who was anxious for me to stop with him as long as I like. I at least consented & after I had turned in at Kalangan's small bamboo house, [he] who belongs to the Royal Family, married a daughter of old Queen. We had plenty mats & here was my first experience with the Pelew Blanket. It is a large thin & finely plaited mat, full size of blanket & is a capital covering to sleep under in this warm climate.

K. the rascal had told me that his house had a regular raised bed place & fine place to sleep "Mister Doctor!" Before morning I felt as if I could raise him one higher & not half try. That bed made me think of its bro[ther] in the Marquesas, that I got caught with one night. It was about 3 feet from the bamboo floor, was 4 ft. wide & 7 long, but the longest part was the infernal noises at the least movement, besides those bamboos were not well mated, [i.e.] of the same age, same size, I mean & the highest one was always directly under some of my bones & seemed to take particular spite to keep up with

all my turnings. Yes! we had a window in this house & it was at head of this bed, 1 foot square, & minus any glass, door, or curtain. Of course, it had to rain in the night & there was no closing my window not much. But it was used all the same by **friendly** mosquitos. Oh yes! I liked that bed, so awfully well that I gave it best & it knew me never again.

Next morning Kalangan & my Royal Host & Hostesses (3 or 4 unmarried daughters & 3 married) seemed surprised at my mention of visitors & dislike of that improved bed. I had turned out early, but not early enough to catch Kalangan in his wife's house 10 steps away. His wife gave me soap & the little boy took me to a water hole close by, where I had a short wash, as it looked too dirty to be relished. Used handkerchief for towel.

Had a fair breakfast at King's on fish, pork, taro, bananas & oranges, young nuts for drink. These latter are scarce here & considered a luxury. After catching a few more [butter-]flies I got back to ship at noon.

Here I found O'K had returned last night. I was jolly glad to get back to the ship & our fine water. I was on shore [at Malakal] instantly for a long bath & wash clothes, & on board just in time for 1:30 p.m. dinner in company with King & his niece. It was a relief to get on ship & good cooking, my half headache soon passed over. Found my trunks packed in bottom & unable to get anything & old W. had got his big wooden box into the cabin & under table, also all his other baggage in top bunks. That's a nice how-do-you-do for my things & hand bags & I wanted to know if he "wanted the whole cabin, etc." and these were things not wanted on passage. I had arranged my mats in bunk which Padres vacated & expected a good night's sleep here. But that would not work. Back I must go with the King & Kelangan in boat at 3 p.m. Just so. But I took precious good care to take my mats & mosquito bar & small hand bag of stuff & clothes & I should have included some ship's bread, tea & tinned meat to have been comfortable & kept my stomach all right. The latter I abused so badly that you will see later on how it brought me up with a round turn & a whole night picnick that has kept me from half eating suice [suet? sauce? juice?], no fruit of any kind & today

the 26th is the first meal relished. But, I'm ahead of the horse, decidedly this time, and should not be surprised at our saying I'm on all sides at once with these mixed up notes & log items. Can't be helped, Old Man Bro. Dear... You must take it all as it comes & sift out just what is of any amusement to you & I'll warrant that will be much quicker done than it takes me to log it.¹

It was small water & we landed at Bullocks point & after a short rest there for the fat King, we walked to the village, taking another rest at edge of woods where the stone walk commenced 5 feet wide, for [the] first quarter of a mile & a miserable ankle turning road for any shoes to tramp over when wet. The natives always go single file & keep in middle where the flatest stones are generally laid in a line. Once off of this narrow

1 Ed. note: Meaning, to rearrange in proper chronological sequence.

line the stones are all slippery from a fine moss & mould that lays on all their wide stone yards in front of each house, & also on the roads.

I had on my rubber [shoes] old & worn & slippery, but I kept my feet easily, while the natives carried my things. Just dark when we reached the King's house. Had their usual fish & taro supper & King always gave me his silver fork & knife to eat with.

This night he asked if I sleep in small wood house or large bamboo house. My ignorance choose the small wood house & when they took me to it, in front yard of his wife's house, it was a **small** house & no mistake, about the smallest I've ever slept in, 5 ft by 8 inside, heavy smooth planks with door 1-1/2 foot by 2- 1/2, floor raised 5 feet from the stone pavement, plenty ventilation at eaves of thatched roof. I made the boys clean out the cobwebs & dirt & then fix my mats. At first I got mad, & started to kick it all overboard, but concluded to give it a night's trial as the hour was late & all hands sleepy. That was a snug fit. No chance to roll out of bed & it was all I could do to swing my shoulders up edgeways & crawl into my mansion & too high up for any inquisitive pigs, while my net kept out all bills.¹ I put in some good sleep (+++) that night & it was daylight when I woke up to see the Old Lady quietly sitting at her door post & one or two young people about. The people were passing frequently on the roadway some 30 feet from my small mansion, which had a slight suspicious smell of copra formerly. A similar house at his King's Palace is used for powder. I voted **no more** small wooden houses for me. One experience of such is ample.

(This brings me up to the 24th when I lodged some in King's house, intending to keep it up each day on the ground as I know I could have amused you much better. It is now after 9 p.m. O'K is on ship playing cards. I'm tired, so let's stop for this day & say good night. It's been raining & still cloudy & dark.)

(Good morning. Aug. 26th. Rained hard last night. Clear today & ship discharging cargo).

24th July.

On that morning I inquired of Arricoco for a better place to bathe & they sent a small boy guide who took me NW out of woods into open hills where I had been with Wm. Gibbons. We descended into one of the grassy gulleys & there I found splendid running water, clean & pure & nice small pool to bathe in, with 2 bamboo for seats in the water. This was fine & I took my time over that wash, the water was cool, but nothing as plentiful as on Mallagan at ship. But this place is worth the long walk, to get a clean wash. I had already found where the natives wash, while out with young Gibbons after butterflies. It is close by to Gibbons' house on the eastern slope of the low ridge & at edge of the grass & long slender reeds. Not more than 20 feet or so above sea level. Here were two separate holes under the overhanging bank & reeds about 50 feet apart, one for the men & women and the other for water [to drink]. I had looked at the drinking water &

¹ Ed. note: Or billhooks, an allusion to the proboscis of mosquitos.

then walked around to where I heard voices at the other & saw it was a woman & two children. Afterwards I was told that on approaching a bathing place one must always sing out & if answered, must wait until place is vacant. I could not see this water running any & concluded I did not care to bathe in that place with a good share of the village. But my place out in hills, is too far away for the village people & so suits one nicely. Just below my bath the ravine opens out a little & the women have a taro garden there, plenty sugar-cane, native fruit trees, bananas, etc. growing in plenty. Here the women do all the gardening & the woman who grows the best taro is always thought the most of & stands very high.

Later in the day Mr. Gibbons informed me that O'K wanted me on ship—no canoe & small water. I had to wait for morning as I told you. And so I had my 3rd night's sleep on shore & this time in a large bamboo house & on the bamboo floor, that was even & was surprised to find it so comfortable. The only trouble I had was from my mats slipping down to my feet on the smooth bamboo & I woke up once to find my shoulders on the bare bamboo, with the cool air making up between.

July 25th.

In the morning 2 boys got me to ship early with my traps in canoe, in plenty for a bath, before a good breakfast. After dinner I left with Mr. Sims in sail boat for his station at Manlakiokee [= Melekeiok] on the eastern side of big island or main land, about 20 miles. Mr. Gibbons goes along in his own boat to investigate the chiefs there about the robbery of Mr. Sims' house. Also Alex (another of O'K's traders) goes with us in his own boat, in order to take charge of Mr. Sims' copra & carry it to his station on O'K small island at north end of Group, the most fertile part of all the islands & the most coconuts. Am sorry I did not get up that far, on account of my sickness & bad feet. We had head winds all p.m. and our 3 boys bamboed & paddled us up past Korror & then out between the big land & small islands to eastern side, where we took to sailing & beating our way. Our cook gave us a fearful slim grub supply—7 or 8 ship's biscuits & a little cold pork, no butter, some cold taro. We had young nuts to drink.

About dark I went off to sleep comfortably on the wide seats of the boat & at 1 a.m. a roller sea came over my side at stern & drenched me through & through & awoke me in a hurry. That was the only water we caught, but it was more than enough for one man to catch it all. S. was out nearer the barrier reef than he thought for & said he never saw nor heard this sea coming, at all & never seen anything like it before. That's all very well to tell a fellow after he's all wet & no company in his wetness. Fortunately we were within a mile of Sims' house & we could see the long stone wharf, from his place to deep water. I got a bamboo & used it the balance of way to keep warm. We landed under some coconut trees, upon a small sandy beach. One of the boys carried me to dry land. We found Alex & native wife had arrived before us. Mr. S.'s wife did not show up before morning. Close by was a good bathing place from a bamboo water spout & after a wash there, by the light of a torch, I got into dry clothes. We had some hot tea that S.'s 2 Bonape [Pohnpei] boys made. S. has a comfortable European bed, made by Char-

les Lichard when he was Agt. for O'K. He made me sleep there & it was a N° 1 bed. S., Alex & wife took the rough slat floor.

Saturday, July 26th 1890. Manlakiokee, Pelew Is.

It was late when we turned out. I slept well. I had another wash at spring & only half a bath, as there were about 20 men & girls watching me. S.'s wife came down this morning along with her father, who is one of the richest men in Pelews & will be King here, when the present old invalidated King is dead. This is a lovely little spot for a station, only a small level strip of beach sand covered with coconut trees. At the north of house a small ridge of rocks extend out to water's edge. Back of house 100 yards commences the high ground & the stoned roadway. Another 200 yds. up stands the first house of the village & large club house, second or third class. A little further & higher up on the right side of the poor roadway is a larger & better club house. From here it is some little distance to the top of ridge, where stands the 3 large council houses, all old & all empty & all the indecent images & figures had been knocked down by the English man-of-war that punished this place a few years ago for robbing one of O'K's vessels that went on the reef near here.¹ The man-of-war ordered them to put up no more figures of naked men & women. This village is badly scattered & I only saw one roadway to it.

Early in the morning Mr. G. made an exmination of some of the chiefs & I wrote down their story as to what they knew about the robbery—simply, that the house had been cut into during Mr. S.'s absence & goods taken according to S.'s account of some \$350 in all. Who did it, they don't know & there it ended. The old King was too sick to come & too far for us to go to him through the mangrove water & my foot so sore now I can hardly step in slippers. And so ended the investigation committee. Mr. Gibbons was sent a piece of native money to bribe him to make it all right with O'K, but as S. & I had seen the money Mr. G. got highly indignant at their trying to bribe him in such a manner as that.

About 3 p.m. We all went with S.'s father-in-law to see the big dance by the women, that has been going on for several days. It was over a mile to the place. Had to go up & over the main ridge of the village & down the other side into a huge garden tract of fresh water taro fields of immense size, like a small swamp. Plenty [of] orange & lemon trees on the high dividing walls of earth. We wound our way down through part of this to small bamboo house in the gardens where a large crowd of women & children were gathered, and only a few old men.

[Palauan women's dances]

They all seemed glad to see us. And then upon a raised staging 50 feet long, we could catch glimpses of busy hands at work on their toilet & dress. By-and-by, presto! Up goes the coconut leaf covering over the shade & made an open shed of it, held by a few bamboo uprights. The staging was 2 feet high. Some 30 women & girls, all dressed in

1 Ed. note: A reference to the shipwreck of the ... and the subsequent visit of HMS ..., Captain ...

their finest N° 1 yellow or black dresses, *rang* all over their faces, arms & body, in each hand a light bamboo stick 2 feet long, with pieces [of] white paper in each end. Stood a long line beauty shoulder to shoulder waiting the signal to commence. In the middle of [the] line was S.'s wife & sister, the leaders of the affair, & in front of them stood the old woman, the Director or Boss.

Presently 3 handsome girls came around the house & marched up within a few steps of the line, each dressed up fit to kill any Broadway dude with envy, & each carrying something. The first had a large wooden model of forest bird. A young man took this from her hands, said his speech & then hung it to a string on a bamboo in front of dancers. The other two messengers had something like covered dishes. They said a few words, placed them on their heads, turned in their tracks & marched back around the house & immediately the line broke into action with all hands going, head, neck, face, arms, legs & body keeping time with the tongue & sing song chant that they kept up.

Just then the long threatening rain came. Mr. G. & the Chief got into the house which S. & I squeezed ourselves small against the end of house amongst the old ladies, rather than miss the dance. Only a little rain struck the dancers at lower end when the roofing did not project over enough. They never stopped the dance for the rain & it getting too hard for us & the old women jamming us too closely & rubbing their *rang* & coconut oil upon our clothes. We had to clear into the house & watch from the doorway.

They gave two kinds of dances, both standing & both with the ornamented sticks. When they stopped for a spell & a chew of betel nut, at is [done] constantly. Their betel nut are not so large nor plentiful as in Yap. The rain had almost stopped, only a drizzle, when Mr. Gibbons said he would clear out as he did not approve of Pelew dancing & this is the first women's dance he had attended for years. The big Chief & all the rest of men got up to go when I asked if the dance was finished? They answered: No, another dance to finish, but the men generally ran away from it, on account of its extreme bestiality, etc. I told them if it was allowed for Mr. S. & myself to remain, I preferred to do so, & see it out. So, after due consultation in which they planned to leave out the worst features (so Mr. S. told me afterwards) they started in, slowly at first, but gradually faster & faster, louder & louder, wilder & wilder, until some of them worked themselves into the wildest passions. Down off the stage they all gradually jumped & most of the 100 no dancing women joined in with them in the end. One old woman who represented the Devil had certain parts in the dance. Some of them came jumping into the house & all around us, broke 2 or 3 of the bamboos in the floor & for a while it looked as if they intended to mob S. & myself. They carried on "high jinks" with[out] any gloves & no mistake & so awfully indecent in some parts that I can not write them. They kept their dresses on, because I was there. S. has witnessed the dance several times when every thing is thrown off. All the (Tea bell) ... (7 p.m., Aug. 26th) time they are singing words that are as bad, if not worse than their actions.

Finally they wound the dance up by a regular ceremony around one leader woman that I could not see and the dance finished & all hands sat down exhausted & panting.

Food was immediately served around in wooden plates—several kinds of sweets that I tasted, plenty baskets of taro outside. This being a feast dance of some kind they are holding. I took my leather slippers off & walked back to Mr. S. much easier. I found Mr. G. waiting at the Chief's house for us. This house was not what I expected to see for such a rich man. It had regular bamboo floor, but was full of all kinds & sizes of wooden plates, bowls, & tubs, etc. We stopped only a few moments, while S. drank a coconut.

Sunday 27th July. Manlokioku [sic], Pelews.

It was wet most of the night & all day long it has been squally & wind dead ahead for us to go to ship. We were all up early. I had my old bed while Jim S. & wife took the floor. Alex had been loaded yesterday & gone on home. While out washing at the spring the girls asked me by motions to take off my pants & get under the falling water. This crowd here about the water are all prostitutes, in the proper sense of the word & belong to the two club houses on the hillside in sight. They are all young girls & fine forms mostly. In this district & in fact all the main land club-house women are girls who go there of their own free will. And if any married women wishes to leave her husband she goes into one of these club houses, if only for half an hour, it constitutes a divorce. But she must stop there until married out again or until a certain time has been served in them. The women I saw at the dance were all respectable—no club-house prostitutes allowed there & the two classes do not mix at all, excepting the club girls often go out on pay for some woman to work in taro patch or make mats or dresses.

Down at Korrer the club-house women cannot be called prostitutes, for they do not go there willingly. They have been taken or forced to come from Angorr & Pellulew Is. as tribute money in former years to Korrer & Abba Thule, they often went down there, made war on purpose & captured women & stole native money & all the valuables possible. And this present Abba Thule is one of the worst kind in that line during his 30 years reign. He would go down & catch every man he heard had any money, string them up by the thumbs & finger until the money was given up. [He] would take the wife or daughters at fancy for the club-house men. And this is what caused the late rebellion of Angorr & their asking Mr. Sims to buy their island & come and live with them as a Chief & an Englishman for their better protection. They are now well armed & fortified & declare they will fight Abba Thule & Korrer to the last man, before allowing them to land on Angor as an enemy. (And I wish them success to hold their independence by arms.)

They gained it in their last fight by whipping & driving the Korrer canoes away, being the first time such a thing has been done by Angorr.

This place where I am now with Mr. Sims, Rockly is King's name.¹ He & Abba Thule are the two strongest Kings & places in Pellews & the only two ever recognized by the men-of-war. All the others are small places & have their own separate kings each.

1 Ed. note: The name of the Big Chief of Melekiok was generally written Arraklay(?)...

Capt. Wilson in his work estimated the population at 10 to 12,000 [in 1783]. Today Mr. Gibbons (who has lived here 36 years) says not much over 2,000 all told. Mr. Sims [says] 3 to 4,000 people.¹ Mr. Sims tells me there is a German book on Pelew & he has a copy.²

Sunday 27th

was so wet [that] we were compelled to stop in house all day long. S. paid out a little stuff on old debts. Plenty of natives here all day & they seem sorry to see S. leaving them. He gave his good-looking Princess wife a good-bye present & also the same to the Chief her father, who was the owner of this house, which O'K had only rented. The cook house & drying shed were all built by S. He has plenty of chickens here in the bush, but unable to catch them quickly & must leave them behind. My foot & hip sore getting very painful today.

July 28th 1890. From Manlakiokee to ship 18 miles. Pellews.

In morning light squalls that kept us in house most of the morning. About middle of p.m. at big water we loaded Mr. G.'s & S.'s boats with part of S.'s trade. Had to leave another large boatload & one of his Bonape boys in the house until his return.

No ripe bananas here, plenty oranges & taro. Poor wind when we started an hour after Mr. G. & it was a long slow beat. When we got down to the lower end of main land I dropped off asleep & we were at the rocky islets gateway when a light squall woke me up & the first faint indications of day in the east. The ship light was shining dim & when we got on board they were just getting up.

Mr. G. had arrived a little after midnight, he having come down the east side all the way & fortunately got a fair wind the last half. All quiet on ship. I got soap & towels and off immediately for the spring, after a short cup tea. My poor Job's boils are giving me fits today & no use for me to think of tramping or wearing even slippers for a while.

Got back for 8:30 breakfast & found the King there. Asked if I was going to his place today? He left by the same tide about noon & at 3 p.m. he sent me 3 baskets of young nuts & also O'K got the same number. Sims & O'K made a quick trip to Korrer in the evening to see about the Angorr trouble. At 5 p.m. I had another good wash & afterwards turned into my bunk early for a good long sleep.

1 Ed. note: The Hamburg South Sea Expedition found a large number of abandoned and ruined villages in about 1910.

2 Ed. note: As will be confirmed later, it was Karl Semper's work entitled: *Die Palau-inseln im Stillen Ocean*, published in Leipzig in 1873.

**Santa Cruz, anchored Mallagan Is., Korrör Hr., Pelews.
Wednesday, July 30th 1890.**

It was late when I woke up, after my 1st sleep in bunk in **Santa Cruz**. Foot very painful. After breakfast, had a bath & washing on shore & then a read & sleep in the house upon mats until noon.

Hear that there is to be a big celebration tonight in Korrör over the finishing of that new club house on the wharf for the soldiers. **I must see that**, foot or no foot... & I accompanied O'K, Sims & W. in the sail boat at 3:30 p.m. We called at the Padres a few minutes & then at the King's where O'K learned that the dancing would not commence until after dark. The affair had really commenced by a discharge of cannon at 4 p.m.

O'K would not stop so late to see the dancing & he with W. returned to ship before dark. Mr. S. & I concluding to remain one night with My Royal Host & Hostesses they gave us only cold fish & taro for supper. Fortunately, we were not hungry. The village is full of visitors from another island, here to do the dancing.

It was late when S. & I went over to the King's club house, only 4 or 500 yards away from the new building. Here at 10 o'clock the King & Chief men had a big feast inside the house, served up to them on wooden plates each man, the big-house women acting as waiters. Much ceremony is used at these feasts in a club house. The King sits at the coolest doorway by himself or perhaps one other Chief close by.

S. & I happened to sit down first by the 2nd King called Arricoco, who is Master of Ceremonies as well as general of the warriors. Any message for the King brought by a common man, is first given on the outside to some petty chief in a stage whisper. This man does the same in telling it to a Rupack Chief, who stands high enough [to] carry it to Arricoco or to the chief go-between of the King's. In passing before or in front of a superior rank, they always walk in a low stooping position & must always sit down & look away from the King or Superior Rank while delivering this message in a whisper. All the talk in Council in club house is done in stage whisper & we were sitting there for almost an hour before the feast commenced, waiting for a large iron pot of Bobby (pork) to cook. And during this time no loud words were heard, excepting between Mr. S., Arricoco & myself.

The walls of this long & large house were lined with men, waiting for the feast to commence, all patient & chatting or eating their ever-lasting betel nuts. No women present excepting the club-house women & they in their finest paint & dresses & smiles. Arricoco gave the signal & the feast commenced by some kind of fish soup, then plenty of well-cooked goat, pig, fish, taro & several mixed Pelew dishes that looked very good.

Molasses water for a sweet drink. Very few Pelew men drink rum & gin like most of the Yap men do. While eating, the singing & dancing commenced at 10:30 p.m. outside on the wide stone causeway & stone yard in front of [the] house. Most of the chiefs use a tortoise-shell spoon or a spoon made from the Nautilus shell. For meats & taro they all take the fingers.

I soon got outside to see the dancers near 200 of them standing up in a close mass, without any order, perceptible to me. In their center seated on the stones were 4 of the

big-house women doing nothing. Just in front of them were 2 spears stuck in the ground. It was a wild-looking sight to see all of these men, swinging arms, clapping hands on arms or hips to make a noise, stamp their feet hard & make a hopping jump & then finish the chant-like song with a **yell or yowl!**

We stopped there until 2 a.m. The dancing & singing was all in 2 or 3 different kinds of tunes. One was made up about the Spanish man-of-war going to sea. They went through the motion of pulling ropes, etc. for such an affair. Another time, 4 men took the center & gave a song. After them came 3 others with a song & dance. But the dancing always seemed to be hopping from one foot to the other with bended knee & body leaning forward & the arms going in all directions, all keeping in unison. It was nothing as nice as the women's dance up north & as it would be no different style all night long, we cleared out & back to the King's house 1/4 mile away. Got 2 bed mats & mat blanket & soon to sleep upon the smooth plank floor.

Thursday, July 31st 1890.

It was hardly daylight when S. punched me up, in order to witness the grand **finale** of the celebration & firing of big cannons down in the new building itself. We had to tramp along fast, the firing was near finished & we could hear the noise & yells of dancers long before we got carefully down the 40-foot bank, where a slip upon the damp stones meant a serious fall, went past an old club house at edge of water & then had to off rubber shoes as the high water was partly over in the narrow stone wharf in places that lead out to the house. There the house was jammed full with dancing men, & smoke from the guns. They were ever-lastingly on the rampage & tried to pull me up into the doorway amongst them. While looking inside, it must have resembled pandemonium let loose. Boom! went the gun again, when all hands stopped, & **finished.**

And we waded back to dry land & up to the King's where we found Abba Thule had just returned from the Club House where the feast had been held & where he had stopped all night long & no sleep for any of them. They gave S. & I cold fish, pork & taro for breakfast which we hardly touched. I preferred to wait to [eat at the] ship.

We got away early with Mr. Gibbons in his sail boat & a little after 9:30 got to ship in time for a late breakfast that we appreciated & could eat. Next thing was a bath, washing & a sleep on shore. Boils opened & much easier, but I can't sit upright.

News came that Mr. Charlie Bluchard [sic] has arrived in north Pelew with his new schooner called **Doña Bartola**. This man was formerly in O'K's employ, as well as a Mr. Emery who is with Charlie. They are down here to contest O'K's monopoly of this Yap stone money-making business. O'K has a regular lease for 20 years of all these stone islands where the Yap stone is made & no other vessel but his can take any such stone away from Pellews. The same white crystal stone is found in Guam island & the Yap natives formerly went there to make it & bring home in their large war canoes. And in those days, if the stone was lost at sea, its value was not lost to its owner. All he had to do was to give proof of his having made & shipped such a size stone for Yap in his canoes & lost at sea in a storm & he got credit all the same as if he held the actual stone

itself & could sell those measurements of string for the stone. That was in time of canoes. Now that O'K's ships carry all the stone, there is no such an insurance. And they must pay O'K certain prices for certain sizes of stones landed in Yap at Terang. O'K claims that if it was not for this stone-money monopoly, it would not pay him to trade in Pellews. He pays King Abba Thule \$50 worth of trade for every ship that loads with stone. And this is all clear gain to Pellew, as they lose nor do nothing in the business.

[The first Japanese trade with Palau]

The Japanese bought O'K's tortoise shell, a job lot, today. It was a poor lot & they paid good price for it & paid in a check on Japan Bank. They are doing a little trading & getting some beche- de-mer off the natives. The little reporter works all the time with his pencil & I envy his sketching.

About 3 p.m. Sims & Alex left in the big boat to get balance of S.'s things at the Station & they got back to ship in exactly 26 hours—quick trip indeed. Canoes about the ship all day long. By the time O'K had bought in from the natives considerable of beche- de-mer, plenty pigs & chickens. Yesterday & today have been clear & hot the

Morning of Aug. 1st 1890

opened cloudy & rained before dark. It was late when I got up & did not go ashore for bath until after breakfast. After a good soaking I used the lance on my foot to the surprise & wonder of the natives that I could do such a thing to myself. Used carbolic wash & after another week had the pleasure of seeing it heal up. The others I could not reach & they had to take care of themselves. But they always made me **take care** when I went to sit or lay down. Had a sleep on shore & at 1 p.m. a canoe was sent off to me for dinner.

At 11 a.m., the **Doña Bartola** sch. came in Hr. & anchored, with 30 Yap men. Had landed 40 at north end of Pelews. She came in from West Entrance & is flying the American flag, with a German as Captain (Charlie) & in employ of the German Firm at Yap. At 5 p.m. another good bath on shore, although covered with prickle heat. All the rest of us bathe every chance we get & some also first have a swim in salt water.

Sat. Aug. 2nd/90.

Clear & comfortable. Turned out of my bunk at daylight by the noise of our 2 kittens. We had 3 on leaving Yap, but a few days out the cook accidentally stepped on one & killed it. And on our way back to Yap, another one disappeared one night mysteriously & now the ship has only the one on arrival.

At 7, O'K & I on shore for bath & after 8 [a.m.] breakfast he went up to the King with Arricoco to see about Charlie's Affair. I seems that yesterday O'K wrote a notice to the **Doña Bartola** notifying them that he held a lease of these stone islands where the Yap stone was found & that if he landed men in the Pellews to work or make such money for his vessel to carry to Yap, he would claim damage for 5,000 pounds sterling, etc.

This morning Charlie replies with a note *that he does not recognize O'K's claim of a lease of all stone islands & also writes that Abba Thule told him & Mr. Emery that he had made no such paper, etc.* " And furthermore, that the King had accepted his Yap men's presents & had sent the native large casco¹ to land their stuff on Mallagan. Which they were busily doing all forenoon. Heigh ho! here is a fine chance for a picknick. And the old King will soon be made to face all hands & stick to one side or the other, for Padre Daniel is here acting as the Spanish Governor, & the thing can be settled before him officially.

This morning Alex & S. left for the former's station at the extreme north end of islands after old coconuts for the pigs. Most of the day found me on my back reading; can't sit up. In the evening I made a stretcher with my canvas chair, the same as I did once or two nights on our way down, viz. each end of frame resting on a box & that let my body swing down on canvas—like a small hammock. I wanted to turn upon my right side & while doing so r-r-rip! Bang!! goes the rotten canvas & down I went 2 feet upon the deck, amidst the laugh of half a dozen onlookers. No canvas chair for me that night, so fell back upon my bunk.

[The ownership of Angaur I. and Palauan politics]

The other day when O'K had Mr. Sims up at the King's place about the Angorr affair, he told the King that the stuff (trade) that S. had paid for Angorr was his (O'K) trade & hence having given Sims credit for the amount the purchase [of Angaur] belonged to himself (O'K). And now to place things back on their old footing politically, as far as he himself (O'K) or any of his traders, he made him a present of Angorr claim, & wished no more to do with it, as he (O'K) had always made it a rule not to interfere with any of the natives' politics, rules or customs, in any islands. All he wanted was to trade & do business with them & nothing more. Let them govern themselves their own way & fight their own fights amongst themselves, etc.

But as things now stand in Pelew islands, it's urgent duty of the Spanish Government to place a governor there with a strong hand to compel them to stop fighting, free all slaves— & prostitute slaves at that—who today are held in bondage in Korrer away from their husbands, fathers & mothers of Angorr. Common humanity & decency's sake claim even that much & they ought to break down all such club-house women business & plurality of wives—which lays at the root of such a scanty population for such a big land. And very few babies & children are seen amongst them & what few there are, many bear the marks of deterioration in their teeth & little forms. But the Spanish have not done a thing in Pelews since their annexation & from all appearance are not in any hurry to do so.

1 Ed. note: A Spanish word used for a sail-equipped lighter in the Philippines. The Palauan boat in question could even have come from a Spanish man-of-war.

Aug. 3rd.

Up early. Spent most of the day on shore bathing & washing. Also called on Japanese ship & after some talk, I exchanged 4 strings of Savage Is.¹ yellow shells to the reporter for two Mogmog tapa dresses. They always have refreshments of tea up cups about 1-inch deep, also a kind of lemonade drink. They talk of sailing soon for Bonape. They expect to get back to Japan about New Year, and for me to call upon them in Tokyo.

Late in the afternoon O'K asked me to accompany him to Korrer as his witness in the interview tonight with the King, Mr. Lichard [sic] & Emery—Padre Daniel sitting as the Judge & for the Gov. of Yap. I'm so miserable I tried to back out of it, unless he really deemed it necessary. But finally went & it was just dark when we arrived. I stopped at the King's, while O'K called on the Padres & Mr. Gibbons. Padre arrived some little time before the others. When all hands [were] present, O'K asked the King if he ever signed this paper (showing him the lease or a copy of same) about the stone money here for 20 years, etc. The King answered "Yes? that is true" & so on until he acknowledged all that O'K claimed from him was true, a Manila man named Rosario interpreting to the Padre all the time. Then Charlie & Mr. E. made their plan, that the King had told them the opposite yesterday morning, etc. etc. The Judge decided the lease as good & holding & the affair was ended. And the **Dofia Bartola** can only do a regular trading business in Pelews and all hand adjourned. I stopping all night in a good bamboo house, but very late getting to bed. I had brought my "swag" along & made a very good bed. In the morning

Aug. 4th

I found myself not so well & my hip boil opened with some relief (++). I made for my good bathing spring & had a long soaking there & washing pajamas. Caught a few black butterflies in morning. Breakfast was the same old fish, pig, & taro at King's. But I made up for that at 1 p.m. dinner on ship, as I came down with Mr. G. about noon, along with his 2 sons. After dinner we visited the Sch. **Dofia Bartola**, as all is friendly now between the two ships since the lease question is settled. The Sch. is patterned after the **Jenny**, only a little larger & nicer built & cabin... I bought box of soap .50P with a little Blue Stone² Charlie gave me & which I afterwards divided between Mr. Gibbons, King & Arricoco, as each of their children had Pelews sores that must be burnt to cure.

4 p.m. On shore for my bath, when word came down to Arricoco that the old Queen of Korrer was dead. It was only this morning that I had made my only call on the old Lady, as I was returning from my early bath, Rosario meeting me on the causeway in front of her house, I asked him to take me in and introduce me, which he did. Had no idea she was so feeble as the result proved. She was half laying on some mats on the bamboo floor, with two women serving her. She was very fat, much heavier than the King, with a face not at all pretty or queenly. And yet this old woman had as much

1 Ed. note: More generally known as Niue Island, position 19° S and 170° W.

2 Ed. note: Hydrated copper sulphate used for medicinal purposes.

power here as the King & he could do but little, if she set herself dead against him. These princesses of rich families like Kalangan's wife & others have considerable freedom & rights. For instance, any princess can throw her husband off at pleasure & **he dares not marry again** or rather he can not get any woman to marry him. They would be afraid of the princess having her ears cut off, etc. This Kalangan's wife got jealous of a certain big-house woman & catching her she cut her ears off, slashed her nose & gave her an awfull beating. For this revenge she paid some big money (she is rich) and all was settled.

Now that the old Queen is dead, the new Queen falls to this Kalangan's mother-in-law, a rather bright & pleasant-looking old lady. But she is not of the same family as the King.

In one moon after the funeral or death of Queens the new Queen is installed with the usual Pellew ceremony of a big feast & molasses present.

The only good point I can hear about this King is that he is a **virtuous man**, the only one in all Pelews & has only one wife & she a fearful-looking specimen of an old, thin & bleary-eyed woman. They have raised a big family. One girl of 15 years is going with some chest complaint, and a big lad is gone in the head half silly. The women in Pelews hold a much higher position socially than Yap, are also much cleaner, better built & better looking & their dresses of 6 or 7 kinds, cleaner, better made, a different shape, that takes far more work & more expensive.

They all make the taro gardens & potatoes & bananas. A common woman's daily life may be [as follow:] she gets up early in the morning, makes a breakfast on taro & scraped coconut, she may have a little cold fish or she may not, tramps away a mile or so to her patch, where she works all day, in water up to the knees, comes back at night, cooks her bite of supper & her husband's & children's who always accompany her, taro & scraped coconut again. If her lord & master be not at house, his taro is placed at one side for him. Generally the husband belongs to some club & prefers to sleep there with some of the younger & better-looking girls & as the club house is far more quiet & more comfortable (no children there) every way, most of the men generally sleep there, where they can have plenty company & socialibity & where the wife **can not** come. So far, this is exactly the same as in Yap. The poor married woman is only the grub or taro grower of the family. But when it comes to the rich or royal families, the Queen & Princesses work or not at their pleasure. Generally they play at working by superintending their working women in the gardens or when cleaning the stone causeways.

Abortion is practiced to a great extent, generally by compression with a cord, & babies are given away & adopted, something like the Marquesas' custom. The woman's dress is in two pieces about 15 inches wide & 1-1/2 to 2 feet long, held up by a string cord about the hips that is covered by small black wheels of polished coconut shell. The rear piece of dress has 2 extended end strings 3 in. long with a ball end that is slipped under the holding belt. The front piece slips the whole upper & thick end about the belt & underneath this the women wear a small finely-plaited pouch 5 or 6 in. by 8 to 9 long—for carrying finely-cut tobacco for cigarette or other small articles.

They also wear a strong string—bullock's hide if procurable—tightly around the body just above the navel. No comb or hair ornament worn. Their long black hair is done up & tied in large knot back of head. The men wear combs. Both sexes wear the same ear ornaments, made from the clear white tortoise shell in heart shape, square & fancy designs, but the most universal style is a small dark tortoise shell [in a] half circle with 4 white beads, & the same in Yap.¹

[Palau money]

The royal family women all wear around the neck [a] piece of Pelew stone or crystal money & the young children also, both as ornament & safe-keeping. A piece of yellow money 1-1/2 in. long & 1 in. triangular shape is some \$600 or \$800. A Pelew dollar = \$20 silver money & will buy its equivalent of anything in Pelews. Up north, I saw the little son of that rich Chief wearing a complete & full necklace of different kinds of money.

[Palau female attire]

I have now mentioned all the Pelew woman wears, [i.e.] her dresses are made from different materials, the finest from a kind of hibiscus bark & are dyed yellow & cardinal, others jet black with yellow border. At some places for a while the black was exclusively the Royal Color. Others, blue body, edges yellow & common, [i.e.] the natural color of leaves or of plaited pandanus or banana. A fine N^o 1 dress is \$2.50 silver amongst themselves, but double that to a stranger, according to Mr. Sims. But that scamp Kalangan told me \$10. price for N^o 1 dress.

[Palauan personal care]

Many of the better class keep their heads free from lice & nits. I could not believe it until I examined 2 or 3 heads. They constantly finger over & pick out the vermin & eat it, from each other's head. Once every day they all bathe in fresh water & are fond of soap, as I found to my cost, of their always begging mine, & which they will steal at half a chance. A Pelew man if he has been in salt water always likes to finish in fresh water, while the Yap man is just the opposite.

Of course, I must see the Queen's funeral, sick or no sick. So after tea on ship & the tide was full I went back to the King's with Mr. G. & his boys. Very cloudy & dirty & we expected a downpour all the way up but fortunately it did not come.

O'K has decided to return to Yap with **Santa Cruz**. If the **Jenny** should come before our departure in a few days more, he will transfer his bech-de-mer into her. Also old W. & crew & myself if I wish to go & sent her direct to Manila. D-mn that sch. **Jenny**. But one thing we would have a good cook. I don't like this delay & changing at all, for we should have been in Manila or Hong Kong by this date, when leaving Yap.

¹ Ed. note: There is a tiny drawing showing an earring in the shape of a tiny headset, with two earphones each.

But I have to take things as they come & let my desire to get to a good Doctor & civilization bide their time, to my constant misery. But excuse me, for digressing in this manner, I know my grunting is not desirable reading. I mention it, as a partial excuse for this miserable scrawling log.

[Funeral of the old queen]

It was late when we arrived at Korrer. I called at King's & then went down to the Queen's House. The body was laid out in state upon a 2-foot high bench or table, with the head & shoulder in the middle doorway. The body was dressed in usual Pelew dress & yellow *rang* over the hair, face & body, which lay upon a thick layer of many mats, then white & red English blankets & one or two fancy table covers & on top of all this & next to body was a layer of N^o 1 yellow- & maroon-colored dresses. Upon the top of [the] body & dress were 2 or 3 extra fine clear tortoise-shell plates, 5 x 7 in., plates that they will not sell or part with at any price & are handed down in the family. Near the body were hanging two lamps, along the back of room 4 more lamps, while outside were 3 lamps, one a very large one.

I, by invitation, took a seat in a doorway next to the body, where the King's wife was squatted along with 3 other old women in the rear. There were 2 old women on each side of the body, as chief mourners & who with the members of the family seemed to take turns of weeping & talking & crying over the head, breast of the Queen, kissing or rubbing the face & breasts, each from 8 to 15 minutes' spell. During the intervals the old women in the house chant a very effective dirge tune & chew betel nut & eat *kiki* whenever hungry, as all night long this same thing is kept up. The family were not in the house; they stood on a box or bench outside (over which a light shelter had been made) & would lean over the back of head to mourn & wail. No men did any mourning. They all sat around outside along with hundreds of women. The men of the family were busy giving each visiting woman one or two coconut bowls full of molasses & during this funeral they gave away 4 or 5 large jars of molasses. Had plenty to eat of taro & pig & mixed dishes that were sent in from the King's & other royal branches. All that night & next day.

The stone-paved yard in front of each house is the graveyard of each family. Just at the edge of this & elevated 6 feet on a bamboo frame were 2 immensely-large taro plants, roots & top complete, with the root pointing towards the Queen's head & yellowed all over with *rang*, signifying that she was an extra good woman, because she made good taro.

Korrer, Pelew, Aug. 5th 1890.

The rain drove me to bed last night. Slept at my old place in good bamboo house which they make more comfortable for me, now that they understand what I prefer, & I wish to goodness the old Boss would do the same about *kiki*. That alone almost makes me sick & declared I will not stop with His Highness's family any longer. Nearly every day I give some of them a present. He saw me with handkerchiefs one day & I passed

one to him, when he remarked "Doctor. Suppose give me, I like, pair pants, socks, shirt & coat, before ship he go. They to belonge me?" Hello! Thinks I, we will get at his desires by-and-by & told him I would look & see about clothes. But about my curios, I have seen none yet? "Oh! By 7 by they come. Me send all man look about?" And when I told him about my teeth & medicines, he wanted me to give him some of the kind to make sleep & medicines (either) & also the kind to paint arm, so he can cut (tattoo) & no hurt ([i.e.] cocaine. I took precious good care **not to be able** to get at my medicine chest, down in the hold... (for him...)

(Thursday, Aug. 28th.—All quiet on Terang. Yesterday eve Joe & I called Hutter, the German Agt., my first visit on Dunnage Is., & then they are very comfortably fixed. Everything clean & in its place. Mr. H. gave me a cowry-shell *mappa* from Bonape.¹ Met a German, Mr. [blank] from the Sch. They will fill the 3-master here & send her direct home [to Germany]. They pay O'K 11:5:0 in pounds sterling per ton for copra & take it themselves & they commence this eve or tomorrow. **Santa Cruz** is out at anchor getting ready to return to Pelew with the white crew & then go Hong Kong in Nov.)

Korror, King Abba Thule[’s place], Pelews. Aug. 5th.

Daylight did not catch me asleep & I was off to my bath north of village at an early hour & alone barefoot. Had a long bath & clothes washed a little.

At 7 a.m. I stopped at Queen’s upon my return. Everything the same as last night. The 4 rear lamps in house still burning & the old mourners & singers sitting in same spot. Molasses distribution all the time to the comers & goers, who carried it away in large coconut bottles with string (3) handles with sliding cover of tortoise shell. But the King’s folks had a large 2-gallon covered iron pot, 100 baskets taro brought & placed in road in front of house, an extra large Bobby was killed this morning.

At 8 a.m. I got back home at the King’s & found Charlie there trying to make some private talk or terms with the King—Kalangan also present.

8:30 had only a little cold fish & taro for breakfast; that provoked me so much that I did not eat half of it & cleared back to the funeral at 9 a.m. Nothing new until near 11 when the men dug the grave 8 feet in front of house & about 4 to 5 feet deep & full length & the sides lined with cut stone 2 feet high so as to lay others upon their top & over the body as it lay on its right side, head northeastward.

O’K arrived at 11 a.m. stopping only a short time at the Queen’s house with Mr. Gibbons & then at 4 p.m. he returned to ship.

At 12, I ate in the Arricoco big club house, close by the Queen, where the King & big chiefs all had a big dinner & they have the same for the next 7 days in honor of the Queen & for the same length of time the women must keep their watch & mourning day

¹ Ed. note: The Map cowrie, *Cypraea mappa* in Latin, is uncommon and therefore a popular collector’s item.

& night alongside & on top of the grave. And if it rains, they have a light house roof to place over the grave.

I made poor eating out of their numerous dishes, although sampling all of them to learn their flavor, & that was usually the one thing, of the coconut. You may imagine my pleasure when Mr. Gibbons came after me, saying he had been waiting dinner for me for an hour. That was a good meal of chicken soup & rice curry & tea & taro cakes, so well cooked by Wm.

The funeral [rather burial] took place at 4 p.m. Padre Daniel & I the only strangers there. The King & all the chief rupacks present, the chief mourners & children had a last hard & long cry over the fast bloating face & form & one little daughter of 12 years cried & rubbed as if she really meant it. This child is very light of skin, tall & well built, not a blemish on her skin, pleasant & bright features, beautiful black hair, and is by far the prettiest young girl, or woman in one year more, of all Pelews. And, even dressed as a European, [she] would be considered beautiful in civilization. There are a great many different styles of faces & features here in Pelews. That indicate a great mixture of races in former years. You can see the Malay, Mongolian, Papuan, a trifle Spanish & English castes very often. Kalangan's wife has a boy over half China caste & K. says that it was caused by her getting badly scared by a Chinaman, while carrying the child a short time before birth.

The chief mourners carefully wrapped the body in mats, blankets & a large cotton comforter which was nicely sewed at the ends & edges by the Queen's white-headed brother. During this time one woman squatted at each end of the open grave & burnt a 15-inch long torch made of some kind of explosive & crackling pitch substance, 1-1/2 inch thick. It made plenty of loud smelling smoke & noise, in plenty to drive away from the grave all the Devils about the place, as it was intended to do. Next the bench & body was carried out to the side of the grave, resting upon the excavated dirt, while 3 men stationed themselves in line at each end of house, & each man holding by both hands before him a young taro plant fixed in a certain cup-shaped knot tied in a long strip of white banana inside bark 2 in. wide & 3 feet long. This has a meaning relating to the planting or starting of a new life. The leader on the north side said a few loud words & the 3 marched to the south end of house & back again. The south men did the same, marching to the north & back, all the time holding the plant level with the eyes & looking straight at it. Then the future Queen was helped down into the open grave, where she stopped at one end crying & wailing until forced to get out by the entrance of the bulky body, which was quickly placed on its right side. The top slabs placed across & the dirt rapidly filled by the men & built up in a long mound which will be stoned around the full size of grave with well-cut slabs a foot or so above the pavement & sometimes one large slab to cover it, full length. Every house has several of these raised graves in their front stone yards, & [it] makes an ugh sight & must be unhealthy, when they have the grave so shallow. They never make large mounds over their King's & Chief's as the Yap. And then the Yap have regular burying grounds.

When the dirt was all piled up & in shape, quiet was suddenly produced, by a seated rupack [saying] "Arricoco no!", standing up & holding a piece of money in his hand, singing out a few words telling the name of [the] giver & passing it to the 2 best mourners, as the best cryers, professionals, get pay for their work. Quite a number of pieces of money were given them & I noticed that the King & other Chiefs all gave pieces.

And some one notified me that a friend of mine wanted the Doctor to give a piece. Arricoco N° 2 who was sitting by my side at the time told me this & he immediately took a small piece of glass- looking money & passed it over in my name, I presume for the cryer, smiled & looked at me. Presently he held up the money & made the usual speech, when a smile & quiet laugh went all around the place & they all looked at me. How is that for a joke at a sorrow funeral?

The Padre had left some little time [before] & now I left after 5 p.m. just as the big feast commenced for all hands at the Queen's house amongst the women.

During the morning, while raining, the Queen's brother insisted on my getting inside the house & while there several bundles of mat blankets were opened, to select out some for use & the balance to be given away. A fine [one] was selected & given to me, which puzzled me greatly as I did not understand why it was done, nor by whom or from whom.¹ & knowing that it's an insult not to receive all presents in Pellew, as well as full payment if not more is expected in return, I could say nothing, handing it to Arricoco N° 2's wife to keep for me. And that night I got it at her house when her husband & I started in his canoe for Mallagan & the ship. He had already given me one of these blankets for a black coat. It was 9 p.m. when we got to the ship. Found all quiet. I had cup of tea with bread & butter before changing into my sleeping pyjamas & getting ready to bunk upon deck, if the rain does not drive me below.

[A Palauan myth]

The Pelew belief about the first man's origin was that they came up out of the ground, the white man came up in one place, the Chinaman in another & the black man here in Pelews. I can learn nothing of a belief in the dead.

Santa Cruz, Mallagan Is. Spring, Pelew. Aug. 6th 1890.

Clear & cool today, making it very pleasant. We were all up early. Mr. Emery of Sch. **Dofia Bartola** called & stopped for breakfast at 8 a.m.

[Palauan tattooing and other customs]

9 a.m. I landed with dirty clothes & had a long soaking bath & wash & just as I had finished & started to dress, 3 canoes full [of] men & women came from Korrer, on their way to visit the **Dofia Bartola**. 4 of them (women) sang out to me & then came on in for a drink & bath & 3 of the girls slipped off their dresses & made a complete bath, not 6 ft. from where I was dressing, using my soap. But I must say that they think nothing

¹ Ed. note: Were they not distributing some of the dead queen's personal possessions?

of this & take good care not to expose their person complete, where they pull out all the hair (as well as under the arms) & tattoo around as large as the hand in a 3-cornerd shape. They tattoo the wrist & partly up the arm on outside, all the same design. Their legs are tattooed in diffrent styles. Most of them have a string of dots, square or cross, or other small design from the ankle to the hip or dress belt. These are always evenly made and make a good appearance on their brown skins & shows full length as there is a 7- or 8-inch space between the front & back dress. And again some girls had the back part of calf of leg tattooed solid in addition.

The Pelew man tattooes very little on the wrists & lower leg. He is great for pulling the hair out of his upper lip with a small clam shell, same as Yap man. Arricoco N° 2 is a large tall man, well made & strong & has a fine large beard & moustache. I saw several other men with part moustache & very fair beards, which they seem to prize very highly.

I remained on shore all day reading & sleeping; had no driver. Had another bath [at] 4:30 & at 5 O'K came for one & we both got back for 6 p.m. supper.

At 11 a.m. the **Bartola** [had] left for the north. The Japs are ready for sea, but were afraid to follow Charlie out. I learned that Mr. G. had called & brought my Pellew comb that I bought for .50P or 1 fathom of cloth. The King had been on board several hours & had been asking to see my celebrated gun. He wants that now, since I told Kаланган & showed it to Arricoco. But no-one would get it out of my bunk or he might have wished to carry it along with him, as it was all in **the family** so long as I am stopping here or at his house. Just so. But we'll see later on. I'm perfectly willing to part with the gun if he makes it satisfactory, especially as I've been tired of carrying the article for some time. And shall sell one of my revolvers if I get the chance.

Some of our sailors are gloriously drunk today from Japanese rum that they got last night. This is the second time they have done that trick & that means no work for one day & sometimes two. We have a fighting crew, when drunk, & the other day on arrival of [the] **D. B.** a young Russian Finn sailor shipped with us leaving the **D. B.** on account of getting no pay. So now the **Santa Cruz** has 4 white men before the mast.

Thursday, Aug. 7th.

We were up early after a good sleep on the ship. Had tea & bananas & then I ate 3 hearty meals today that brought me up with a vengeance & a picknick¹ until 4 a.m. the next morning. Billions attack, & served me right for indulging in Pelew *kiki*—Bobby & fruits.

Early in morning S. & I had our baths. 10 a.m. the Jap. Sch. sailed, getting away safely. O'K gave them 3 pigs for a little poor taro that they could not use & they had been unable to get sufficient pigs for their own use. Strange, when O'K gets so many & so easily. We have 60 or 70 on deck now & this hot day their stench is pretty loud. And before Charlie left in Sch., O'K made them a present of a pig, in exchange for some

1 Ed. note: Remember that the author uses this word to mean the movements imposed by diarrhea.

onions. We had plenty of visitors today & big Arricoco N° 2 gave me a wooden model of a Bone Bracelet, [it] being a mark of the highest rank to be a Knight of the **Order of the Bone**. It's a good model, but needs more white paint to cover the wood worn bare. Afterwards he gave me 2 Pelew lamps & a wooden plate inlaid with small pieces [of] pearl shell, & I gave him my black pants. They are all asking for clothes, coats & pants. But they are not allowed to wear them on shore, only on the water. Some of them have & use woolen blankets for sleeping & all use cotton cloth of bright colors for their pillow slips, which are filled with cotton that they got on main land where the Germans started a cotton plantation some years ago, but abandoned soon after on when the islands were handed over to the Spanish.

Friday Aug. 8.

Found me pretty well used up & willing to swear off on eating for a month! Towards morning I had dozed lightly in my hammock. Got on shore early & a long wash & soaking made me more agreeable & had no trouble to drop off asleep in the house until noon. Got on board to look at 1 p.m. dinner.

The King sends me 5 baskets taro & 4 baskets young coconut down by both the girls. Now that the time is getting very close to our leaving they will be placing O'K & myself as much in their debt by such presents as possible, and it would be considered a big insult to refuse the taro & grub.

Confounded the old Rascal. Why can't he send me curios & stuff that I have told him I want. They have kept me supplied with lemons (& I paid silver for them) & oranges. Once Arricoco N° 1 brought the stuff to me from Abba Thule & afterwards asked me to give him a fathom of cloth, which I did through O'K—1 fathom blue stuff. For some reason or other the scamp, before he left the ship handed it back to me, saying he [is] afraid of Abba Thule to take it. And he never asked for it afterwards.

This present King did not come regularly by his title. It belonged to another branch of the family over 30 years ago. They have a 2nd King, called Arricoco N° 1. Also Arricoco N° 2 is the King's brother & heir to the throne & will be [the] next king unless the legal branch of the family fight for their old rights, which Mr. G. thinks they will do upon [the] death of the present King, who is always called Abba Thule. This king is not liked by his own people, nor his brother much better. And his own brother would like to kill him. A short time ago, the head of the legal branch of Royalty was mysteriously killed & it was given out that a tree fell over him. But all the whites believe that the King had him killed, because the man (a big rupack) had objected in Council to the King's avariciousness in taking everything paid by O'K for the stone money business, as well as other similar transactions.

In the eve O'K & I took mats & I my mosquito bar & slept on shore. We cleared out all the natives & had the house to ourselves. The wind was strong & so cold that we found our mat blanket none too warm, dressed as I was in my woolen clothes & cap. (+++) O'K kept up such a running talk that we were a long time getting to sleep & my rough slabs got very hard & uneven before morning. And when daylight came I was

the first one under the falling spring water, while O'K paddled to ship, I following [at] 7:30. (Aug. 9th today).

Again the King sends nuts & taro to me, 5 of the first & 3 of taro & I don't know how much they brought O'K. If this keeps on we can feed all hands as well as the pigs on taro. And that is what they are mostly fed on in Pellews & makes this Bobby far the best eating; has none of that oily coconut flavor of the Yap or coconut-fed pigs.

We had royal company to dinner—three princesses. I made a gold earring out of thin plate for one of them & then stole her native ones made of white clear tortoise shell heart-shape, 1 in. size & one ear the small black band & 4 white beads. They do not understand or care for gold ornaments. They much prefer the white silver finger rings or bracelets quite a number of which have been pounded out of silver money by the men. I scratched the Princess' name "Ciriawong" & date upon one side & told her to always keep that as a big Match-Match [i.e. amulet].

The rain kept us all at ship today & could not make our intended trip to Korrer. We are all ready to sail & only waiting for the Padres to come on board with their stuff & the return of Alex with nuts [for] our pigs. As it was we dropped out a little ways to another anchorage. We were so far out that I did not care to sleep on shore but we were so jammed & so close on ship that chose the lesser of two evils & went on shore but could not get O'K this time. But had plenty of company as I found the house full of Pellew & Yap men & some of the big rupacks slept inside, but the others cleared out & I had my old bed place again the same as last night & managed to sleep a little better although disturbed once or twice by the 3 pet sea birds in the house.(+++)
My companions were very quiet & behaved very well, differing from the Yap man's smoking at night.

Sunday Aug. 10.

I was out early & bath as usual. Am eating next to nothing, afraid. After dinner O'K & I visited Korrer in sail boat. And I gave the King a list of the things I was willing to take in exchange for my gun & 100 cartridges. Here in Pellews Winchester cartridges are .05P each. His young Manila Sec[retary], who reads & writes English, interpreted it fully to him. And he accepted the offer quickly, saying he would hunt the things up & bring them to ship tomorrow. We did not stop long as O'K only came to see & hurry up the Padres. Padre Daniel had been on a boating trip for 3 or 4 [days] in Charlie's boat, away to the north end of the main land on west side, & much pleased with what he saw, that being the most fertile part of the Group & the small island of O'K the richest soil possible. Had I been better I should have taken the same trip in Alex.'s boat & would stop over here until O'K's return—he goes to Yap & then back here with more Yap men, to load up the **Santa Cruz** with their stone money, which will take 5 or 6 weeks hard work as the stone is at different places, where the ship will have to go & that would have been just the chance for me to see all around easily.

O'K & I got back to ship before dark. Had good bath & supper after dark, only mine was a piece of dry toast. My right shoulder has something on the warpath—resembles

rheumatism—light shooting pains & I cannot raise my arm up level. Oh, that's nothing, only a Pelew cold, but it was so much of a cold that I could not sleep this night but little. O'K & I were on shore to sleep the same as before. Plenty mosquitos but we under my net were all safe & I could listen to the music in the air, made by the swish-swash of the tide, not 6 feet away against foundation of the house & wharf at high water. The 3 birds roosting & snapping on the big pile of coarse fishing seine or net, & O'K snoring with the small bill presenters. Oh yes, it was a lively time, & I had to make an effort to stop it.(+++). It was a failure, so I crept outside for a rest & to gaze at the stars for a change. Had a drink at spring & bathed my head & eyes, moved around a little longer & watched our Yap boy boiling the ships' taro in one of the largest iron pots. Nearly all the time this cooking of taro is going on, as the ship uses an immense quantity of grub of every kind. Nearly every day some of the chiefs eat in the cabin while plenty of men eat forward & get stuff at the galley. Cook says our flour & bread are almost finished & we had to get other rice & sugar to make them last our long delay & drain. Our cook is the hardest worked man on the ship & W. has had a set down more than once by O'K for his officiousness, etc.

**Santa Cruz, Korrer Hr. Pelew Group. Monday Aug. 11th 1890.
Capt. O'Keefe.**

Had a miserable sleep, that sent me out extra early. My shoulder no better, until I gave it a good soaking in the spring.

The Padres got on board today & about took the ship with their accumulated live stock of 5 goats, pigs & chickens & a lot of Pelew stuff & curios. They seem to occupy the biggest & best part of every thing in the ship & never go below for meals, although fully able to do so. It looks like giving up more than is necessary for their convenience & pleasure & no payment. And O'K [has] done far more that way for the Padres & Church than many a so-called Christian would do. They were **first in everything**. And I'll be hanged if I believe in that. Not me!!

The King brought me about half of my listed curios. None of them extra good & some of them so inferior that I refused them & told him very plainly that I must have N° 1 or better articles or none at all. He saw that I was angry & made all sorts of promises & said he was getting the other things together, etc. But knowing them all to be such liars, I concluded to return with him to Korrer. No wind for us to sail.

It was 3 p.m. when we arrived there in the canoes, taking my rifle & the cartridges, that I had given to the King. The things he had brought me were 4 different kinds of women's dress, a long spear, 5 wooden plates, one long open bowl, a Pelew man's basket & its contents, with lime stick, etc. & one black comb. We took back the plates & I got some good ones at the King's house & also a covered dish cut out of solid by their chisel axes. He sent out & brought me one of the finest dresses from Kalangan's wife, & also a N° 1 child's dress, one old-style tortoise shell fish-hook, a betel nut wooden mortar cup & a large ivory or bone pounder for same. The other day he gave me an ancient shell axe & Kalangan mounted it upon [a] handle. It was a poor axe. Alex tells

me that there are plenty of small stone or chisel axes to be found on O'K's little island at his station by hunting for them in the tall grass, and [he] will try & send me some to Hong Kong.

Last week I gave this Kal. a cheap gold ring for a fine mat blanket & black comb. So now I have 3 of them & no good bed mats to lay on. Both the King & Arricoco were paid for one of them, but I got left. K. sent me a coarse blanket that I used to wrap around the bunch of dresses & the other a common rough colored mat.

[Ancient Palauan weapons]

In former years the Pelew men used a sort of javelin dart spear, about 4-ft. long that is thrown from the hand by another piece [of] bamboo [of the] same length & notched at [the] end. Throwing the dart up into the air so as to strike the enemy from above. That way of throwing would resemble the Queensland blacks' Woolarangs throwing. They also used heavy bamboo swords in fighting.

I forgot to mention the 4 pieces of Pelew money that the King brought me, one of which is a German imitation of the red, which if genuine would be worth \$100 silver to a Pelew man. The small yellow money is a poor sample & not much account. The other two belong [sic] crystal or glass.

This was my last sight of Korrer & I gave 2 of the Princesses some silver to make rings & the King 3 .10c Hong Kong silver to inlay on ends of his bone bracelet. I returned in a canoe to ship 9 p.m. & after some tea & bread I accompanied the Padres on shore to sleep & had my bath first. Shoulder about all right again & had a good sleep alone in my net. Plenty company with Padres & Yap men.

Tuesday, Aug. 12th. Pelew Islands.

We all had a good wash, plenty of time & off to ship for 8 a.m. breakfast. King arrived early & one comb was all he brought me. At 11 a.m. no wind & very hot on ship. Alex arrived this morning, plenty nuts. His wife was wearing a nice dress belt that I bought along with her fine-shaped tortoise-shell plate [in exchange] for my Samoa lava lava of 2-1/2 fathoms [worth] \$1.25, a red silk handkerchief—\$1.00 & .50c cash = here in total \$2.75 I paid.

I gave O'K one box gun cartridges (\$2.50 trade price here), also my pair of skating shoes that I bought at Cooktown. After paying Arricoco for a certain mat & pillow that was here at the Malligan house at spring, he coolly carried them up to Korrer two days ago. Such is the way these gentlemen do business. Did I care enough for their curios I might kick more about it & go after such things myself. Am sure if I have been here alone or independent of O'K I could do much better in the collecting line, as he has not got me a single article here in Pelews. Have had to look out for myself & when doing that it's always best to be alone. He got some fine pearls, that I might have had a chance at & I see he has curios different from what I got. And here I have relied upon his promised assistance both here & in Yap or by his vessels in all parts to but little result practically & as far as getting shells or curios my trip has been a failure, mostly caused

as per above. Of course, had I been well, I could have changed that result. Besides I should have gone to St. David's & New Guinea & Java way.

Mr. Gibbons got my blank log book yesterday, with the promise to fill it about the Pelews & his 36 years experience here, & send to me in Frisco in your care. If he does that, we ought to get some trustworthy information. Mr. G. is a Jamaican colored man of fair education, who was left here by an English ship at his own request.

I was on shore at 12 noon, when the wind came fair. The sails began to make a showing, when I hurried up the Padres & Pelew passengers to go on board to sail. I had my last bath (as I supposed) in the refreshing spring.

1 p.m., anchor up & making slow down the Harbor, when the wind died away & anchor down again at 2:30 in a bad place, that would be dangerous in case of a blow. While getting under way O'K again **sat down** on Act of Parliament, for some volunteered advice that made him angry & he told Mr. W. to please keep his place in future as a **passenger** who has nothing to say. On account of this O'K requested me to stop on board for him that night, as he & Alex had to go to Korrer at 3:30 to see about our ship's boat not coming & he might be late or all night away. The Padres went off early to sleep on shore & as we now lay 2 miles from spring it makes a long pull when no wind.

Wednesday Aug. 18th 1890. Korrer Hr. Santa Cruz. Capt. O'Keefe.

O'K returned during the night. All hands turned out early. I had had only partial sleep & was glad to get on shore before breakfast for a bath, meeting the Padres on the way to ship for breakfast, I presume. Plenty of bathing is about the only thing that gives me relief from these infernal Pelew sores or boils, which keep coming & going & each one seems to be in the worst place.¹

About noon, we up anchor & tried again to get out, no go, the wind fell & had to anchor again in another bad place. The natives broke the windlass this morning & had to use them on a long rope along the deck to raise anchor. Very little doing on board & I see the King does not intend to get me the other articles & to tell the truth, it is about as I expected of him, & so do not care much.

After supper the Padres & I went back to Mallagan to sleep, myself mostly for the bathing. The house was full of natives as usual & the Yap men were having a standing dance when we arrived. The Pelew men look down upon the Yap & vice versa, and on ship board they always keep by themselves & separate.

Aug. 14th, Korrer Passage, Pelew Is.

At daylight I was having my good long bath & all hands on ship again at 8:30 just in time for a fine fish breakfast that had been shot with dynamite. Just before break-

¹ Ed. note: He does not specify the medical term for his condition but it could be a serious skin infection of the type caused by the so-called golden spirochetes, one that now requires an antiseptic cream to clear up.

fast some 40 men & 6 club-house girls arrived in the long casco to tow us outside. They came alongside in a grand flourish of paddles & war dance style & song. Of course, they all had to be fed. The King sent me a bundle of green almonds, that afterwards spoiled by my keeping them in a closed drawer. About 11 a.m. they got the anchor up & for half an hour tried to pull against the tide & get out. **No use!** Only lost ground but got ship to a safer anchorage. At 3:30 our Korrer visitors all left with good wind. Also O'K, Sims & myself to Mallagan for our bath. At 5 O'K went to Korrer & we returned to ship, when the big smell from pigs made me half sick. After our supper, the Padres bundle on shore again taking the ship's boat & then leaving the ship without a boat all night, thereby committing an offence against the law, for, suppose it came on to blow in the night & get dangerous & a boat required. We would have been caught in a trap nicely & all on account of these Padres who don't seem to think of such things & O'K gives them their own way in everything that the Mate (Mr. Cox) is afraid to say much, etc.

Friday, Aug. 15th. Santa Cruz, Korrer Passage, Pelew Is.

Clear, hot day. O'K got back about midnight & said we should have had the boat sent back to ship after landing the Padres & so been on the safe side. They came off to the ship early, but to no use, as we had no wind all day. Several canoes visited us from K. & the King's daughter E. sent me some almonds to exchange for tobacco. As I had none & the ship's all gone, I sent them back to her. And was surprised the next day to see the same package again handed to me, with the word that they were for me, anyway, & if I had no tobacco to give it was all the same. So I kept them only to throw overboard 5 days after all spoiled & rotting from heat in the cabin. That gives you an idea of their style of making presents. It is far cheaper to buy a thing at the start and pay for it, than to accept it as a present. A Pelew man never gives a white man anything unless he expects double its value in return.

At 3 p.m. O'K, S. & myself again landed (3 miles) at spring for our bath. I brought my bed, expecting to sleep all night, but found the mosquitos fearful thick & soon gave that idea up & returned to ship & I noticed that the Padres did not desire to sleep ashore, as usual, & no doubt but these same mosquitos explain that sudden change. Ate no supper, as usual, since Billions attack. Am afraid to try it. Slept in canvas chair.

Saturday, Aug. 16th 1890.

Sailed from Pelews about noon, **Santa Cruz**. I made a night of it in my canvas chair that Mr. Cox, the Santa Cruz' Mate, had recanvassed at O'K's orders. Twice during the night I had to get up and stretch myself & at daylight all hands up, as we had a light fair wind. Had tea & then up anchor with rope, our boat towing & at 7 a.m. anchored on the small patch at entrance of passage or barrier reef, where we have to wait the return of some Korrer passengers.

And it was noon before they arrived in two sail boats, the King in one & Arricoco in the other. O'K gave them only half an hour of grace before saying farewell. I had

bought a fine comb for .50c silver from one of the rupacks & made myself busy reading stretched in my chair purposely to be out of the way of shaking hands Good-bye to these rascals as we had already went through the same performance three times already. But it was useless as each of them in leaving came around to shake.

At one p.m. we up anchor for the last time in Pelews & sailed slowly outside with light winds that at 5 p.m. sent us northward along the Group. Towards dark we had rain squall off & on for two or three hours. No chance for me to sleep in cabin. So stopped on deck & on my feet a good share of the time. Although not feeling at all bright, since noon. Very little wind most of the night & so close to land that I could easily make it out.

This is now Sunday Aug. 31st with us here in Yap. All hands busy getting the German's copra landed. Commenced yesterday & expect to be 5 to 6 days longer. Mr. Sims brought me Dr. Karl Semper's book on Pelew, published in Leipzig, 1873. S. & one or two others here declare the book full of mistakes & incorrect in many ways. It being in German I cannot read it. It contains 8 pages of English, which is a copy of a Commercial Treaty made by Andrew Cheyne, that Englishman who purchased Malaccan & who was afterwards killed & buried at Korrer close to the King's house.

I shall give you a copy of same so you can judge of how business was done in this part of the world 30 years ago [1860]. I hear that the King at that time was a rogue & in with this Englishman on the private, but some time in 1867 or 68 this same King had him killed (shot) in Corror. On this being reported to England a man-of-war came here & demanding the King, he was given up & then they made his own brother shoot the King dead & now the two men lay side by side near the 3 big council houses in Corror.

I

A Treaty of Commerce between Abba Thule, King of the Pelew Islands & the nobles of Corror on the one part & Andrew Cheyne, owner & commander of the British Barque "Black River Packet" & proprietor of the island of Malaccan, Pelew Islands, on the other part.

Art. 1. King Abba Thule & the undersigned nobles of Corror hereby grant the said Andrew Cheyne, his heirs, successors & assigns the sole & exclusive right & privilege of purchasing all the bich-d-mer, tortoise shell & all other marketable productions of the Pelew Islands now worth exporting, or that may be raised from the soil hereafter, such as coffee, sugar, etc. for 500 moons, reckoning from the day of this Treaty. At the expiration of this time this Treaty may be renewed or the trade declared open, as may be most advantageous to the Corror Government.

Art. 2. Whatever unoccupied lands the said Andrew Cheyne or his aforesaid requires for cultivation, shall be sold to him or them at a reasonable price.

Art. 3. No land shall be sold or leased to any foreigner except the said A. Cheyne & his aforesaid, nor shall any vessels be allowed to trade at any part of the

Pelew Is. except those belonging to him or his aforesaid, nor shall any foreigner be allowed to reside on any of the Islands of the Pelew Group, except those in the employ of the said A. Cheyne.

Art. 4. Andrew Cheyne shall be allowed to have an establishment at Aramanewie (Amlimue?)¹ as formerly & to purchase land there & cultivate it.

Art. 5. A. Cheyne binds himself & his aforesaid not to dispose of arms or ammunitions to any of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands except to the Corror Government.

*Art. 6. Any seamen or labourers in the employ of the said A. Cheyne, absenting themselves without leave or deserting from his vessels or his service are to be apprehended & delivered over to the said A. Cheyne, or the Captains of their respective vessels. Seamen deserting from other vessels, which may visit Malaccan Harbour are to be sent on board their ships & will not be allowed to remain on this **Group** on any pretence whatever, except in case of illness, when A. Cheyne will take charge of them & forward them to a civilized part when well.*

Art. 7. Any natives of the Pelew Islands desirous of entering the service of the said A. cheyne or his aforesaid are to be allowed to do so, without let or hindrance on the part of the King or Corror Government & they are to be paid wages for their labour, no part of which is to be taken from them by the Corror Government & they shall be at perfect liberty to leave the service of the said A. Cheyne or his aforesaid, when their term of service expire. It is clearly understood, that such natives, although in the employ of A. Cheyne, are still subject to the native laws of the Pelew Islands.

*Art. 8. Any foreign runaway sailor or sailors or other foreigners now living in the **Erkelthow [Arekalong?] District** or other Districts who are preying on the ignorance or credulity of the Corror Government or people, tell them falsehood with the view of injuring the lawful trade of the said A. Cheyne at these Islands & which will also indirectly injure Corror people or interfere in any other way between the said A. Cheyne & the Government or people shall, on proof of the same, be expelled from the Group.*

Art. 9. King Abba Thule & the nobles of Corror hereby promise that, in the event of quarrels arising between their Government & the rulers of the other districts, the matter in dispute is to be referred to the said A. Cheyne for arbitration, who will hear both statements & give his decision in a just & impartial manner which the Corror Government hereby bind themselves to abide by, & in no case are they to resort to hostilities, unless in case of armed rebellion.

Art. 10. The inhabitants of Pillelew [Peleliu] having procured a supply of arms & ammunitions from passing ships have thrown off their allegiance to the Corror Government & shot some of their people, they are therefore at present a set of armed lawless ruffians, dangerous to ships passing the south end of the Group, as they would not hesitate to cut off a vessel, would they get a favorable opportunity. As the said A. Cheyne can have no guarantee for the safety of his property on Malaccan, while they remain so, King Abba Thule & the nobles of Corror hereby promise to take effectual measures

¹ Ed. note: Perhaps Almongui, on the west coast of Babelthuap.

to have them disarmed, and brought under proper legal authority, the same as formerly.

Art. 11. Should any natives of the Pelew Islands attempt to capture any vessel passing this Group, or kill any shipwrecked people, that may be cast on these islands in boats or otherwise, or kill any foreigner, the parties guilty of the same shall be punished with death by the Corror Government & the town to which they belong utterly destroyed.

And the King & nobles of Corror hereby promise that all shipwrecked people shall be hospitably treated & handed over to the said A. Cheyne at Malaccan.

Art. 12. King Abba Thule & the nobles of Corror hereby bind themselves, their heirs & successors, to aid & protect the said A. Cheyne, his ships, people, land & trade, whenever called upon to do so from all attacks or agressions whatever.

Art. 13. Abba Thule & the nobles of Corror hereby bind themselves & their successors to abide by the annexed Constitution & Regulations for the Government of their people & protection of trade.

Art. 14. A. Cheyne agrees to give King Abba Thule & his Government all the aid & assistance in his power to enforce due observance of the annexed Constitution & Regulations, to support the lawful authority of the Government & to assist in every way to promote the civilization, peace & prosperity of the people.

Art. 15. In consideration of these concessions A. Cheyne agrees to pay the Corror Government ten percent duty on the value paid by him for the produce purchased from the Corror people; also 10 p. cent on the price paid for the production of all other districts, one half of which is to be paid to the Corror Government & the other half to the Governors of the district.

Art. 16. And the said A. Cheyne further engages that in consideration of King Abba Thule & his Government assisting him with men to cure biche-de-mer at Yap & granting him protection while there "Yap being subject to Corror—to pay the Corror Government 10 p. cent on the value of the goods paid by him to the Yap people for the marketable production of that island.

Art. 17. A. Cheyne agrees that so soon as his means will allow he shall provide a competent instructor for the Corror people, & King Abba Thule & the nobles of Corror hereby promise to grant him an allotment of five acres of ground at Corror for a house & garden. In the meantime A. Cheyne shall do all in his power to instruct & assist the people to cultivate the ground, so as to develop the resources of the fertile islands.

Art. 18. We Abba Thule, King of the Pelew Islands & the undersigned nobles of Corror, hereby declare that we have not received any goods, money or articles whatever from the said A. Cheyne, or from any other persons, as an equivalent for granting or to induce us to grant him these concessions, but that it is entirely our own free act & deed, done in the belief that by having a fair & regular system of trade established, it will confer a lasting benefit on ourselves & our people, strengthen our government & promote the ultimate peace & welfare of all classes of our subjects.

Art. 19. And lastly, we Abba Thule, King of the Pelew Islands & the undersigned nobles of Corror, hereby bind ourselves, our heirs & successors to the due performance of this Treaty.

*Signed & concluded by the contracting parties on board the British barque **Black River Packet** lying in the Malaccan Harbour, Pelew Islands on the 5th day of March 1861 in the presence of John Davy, interpreter & James Lord Wilkinson of Hobart Town.*

A. Cheyne

- + Abba Thule, King
- + Eareyekalow, Prime Minister
- + Arrakuoka, Successor to the King
- + Clantrow, Noble
- + Arramuggil, Noble

II

Constitution of Pellew

Art. 1. Abba Thule is absolute sovereign of the whole Pelew Islands, of which the native name is Pellew.

Art. 2. The succession to the throne is to continue the same as it was in the days of our ancestors & now is, as: On the death of King Abba Thule, Prince Arrakuoka succeeds him; Prince Koback of Arakapasan succeeds Arrakuoka & Prince Eyeuke of Corror succeeds Koback of Arakapasan & the next prince entitled takes Eyeuke's place at Corror. This is the order of succession of the Kingdom. The succession of the nobles shall also be as formerly.

Art. 3. Our ancient laws respecting the power, rank, might & privileges of the King, Princes, Nobles, Chiefs & their wives & children & the respect & obedience to be paid them by our subjects, are to remain in full force & are in no way to be altered.

Art. 4. The laws for carrying on the Government & deciding all matters of importance by the King & Nobles in council, shall remain in full force.

Signed as above.

Regulations

*1. Having entered into a Treaty of Commerce with Capt. Cheyne, owner & commander of the British Barque **Black River Packet** & proprietor of the Island of Malaccan, we Abba Thule & the Nobles of Corror hereby desire that, for the protection of trade & the security of our Government, no person or persons on the Pelew Islands are to trade or barter with any ship, or to go on board any ship or vessels, other than those belonging to the said Capt. Cheyne, & that all biche-de-mer collected & cured at the Pelew Islands together with tortoise shell & all other marketable productions at present worth exporting, or that may be at any future time worth exporting, or that may be raised from the soil hereafter, such as coffee, sugar, must be brought to Malaccan for sale & sold to the said Capt. Cheyne or his Agent for the time being & to no other person whatever. And we make known to all men, that no part of the earning of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands shall be taken from them by the Corror Government,*

Capt. Cheyne having in the Treaty of Commerce agreed to pay us a duty of 10 p. cent on all the marketable productions of the Group. Those found in trading with other vessels, or other persons will be heavily fined, the amount to be fixed by the King & Nobles of Corror in Council.

2. For the better security of our Government & fulfilment of the said Treaty of Commerce with Capt. Cheyne we also decree that a Corror Noble or Chief shall be appointed Governor of Pellelew & that effectual measure shall be taken to disarm the inhabitants, who are at present a band of lawless ruffians, dangerous to ships passing near Pellelew & bring them under proper legal authority the same as formerly.

3. Erturo [Aituro], a Noble of high rank who is now Governor of the Aramaneewie [Amlimue] District, shall hold that appointment during his lifetime.

4. A Corror Noble or chief shall be appointed Governor of EyeRye [Airai], Arakanmully District, to prevent the people obtaining arms from passing ships & for the protection of trade.

5. Should the present Governor of the Ngirath [Aibukit] District, & who is a Corror Chief, fail in making his people carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Commerce made by us with Capt. Cheyne, or allow his people to obtain arms or ammunition he shall be succeeded by a more competent person.

6. A Corror Chief shall be appointed Governor of the Urrakalong District, to prevent the people obtaining arms from passing ships & for the protection of trade.

7. No foreigner, Manila man or white man residing in these islands shall be allowed to distill spirits from the coconut toddy, or in any other way. On proof of his doing so, he shall be fined, & repeating the offence, he shall be expelled from the Group.

Signed as above

+ Earatogagee, Noble

I, John Davy, hereby declare that I have faithfully & truthfully interpreted the above Treaty of Commerce to the King & Nobles of Corror, that they thoroughly understood its nature & contents, & that they have signed their names by marks in my presence. I have been residing on the Pelew Islands for the last 25 years, & thoroughly understand the native language.

Signed John Davy

Signed James Lord Wilkinson, witness.

I may be able to get Joe or someone to translate me a little out of this book before I leave. Mr. Sims has a few notes on the Pelew money that I'm promised.

Sunday, Aug. 17th 1890.

Was my last view of Pelews about middle of the afternoon. Daylight found us about the same place as at sundown, standing northward. Very hot today & the awning only a partial protection. It was so hot, it brought us a squall & the puff of wind ahead of it did us a little good.

Our cook has his hands more than full, but has two good assistants now & gives us far better meals & cooking than I expected. During our second night out we [had] plenty [of] rain & I stripped for a rain bath on deck that cooled me & made me sleep better on one of the cabin seats. And Sims slept on my chair & trunks in the hold, at cabin door. We both lay in the draft & next morning Aug. 18th, we both had sore throats.

Wind about half the day & by noon about 140 miles or half way to Yap. Padres laying around our 2 deck chairs far more than on the down trip. We have a very sick Yap passenger & O'K sends him tea & biscuit each day. I myself am on homeopathic diet & notice that Mr. Sims is about the same. While the big bellied Act of Parliament eats more than any 2 of us & that too of the same kind of butter that he **slurred** so much on Terang.

Our happy family of pigs, goats & birds makes a lively smell on deck all the time. 4 to 7 p.m., had several rain squalls.

Tuesday, Aug. 19th.

Slept on bench in cabin. At 11 p.m., I came on deck & Mate told me the Yap man was dead & noticed the body all wrapped up & laying on main hatchway. Thinking he would not be buried until morning, I got my chair on deck & slept in it until morning, when I was surprised to learn that the man was thrown overboard while I was asleep. Becalmed or very light winds all day. Some of the natives are fishing after a shark & managed to hook a small one once & he broke the hook. After supper I indulged in a dose [of] quinine; the first I have taken for a long time.

Aug. 20.

Same as yesterday for all hands on **Santa Cruz**. Becalmed & hot as blazes & getting hotter, & I felt so mean I had no supper for me.

Aug. 21.

About 10 a.m., sighted the Matelotes Group [i.e. **Ngulu**], 60 miles south of Yap, & gradually we got to the northward of them, seeing their 5 small islets, only 1 of which at the south end is inhabited by about 30 people. This is a very dangerous reef, owing to the strong currents here & so little land to be seen. We passed here during the night in the **Jenny** & never saw or heard anything.

Friday, Aug. 22nd 1890. Santa Cruz, near Yap.

It was almost noon before Yap was sighted. I slept poorly last night, but make up for it today, from 1:30 to 4 p.m. By dark we had got well in towards Yap. And in the morning of

Saturday, Aug. 23rd

when I got my eyes open on deck & my bearings, we were off Goroore heading for Tomil Harbor in full sight, where we could see a sch. at anchor.

The wind would not take us inside. But it was not long before Joe & Edwards came out to us in a sail boat. The Sch. if German & from Ponape & Jelluit [sic]. All well on Terang & surprised to see the **Santa Cruz** back. By 10 a.m. we landed the Padres & servants & goats at the Governor's wharf. Saw the Governor & Doctor & by 11 a.m. we were on Terang, all OK, again.

I believe I forgot to mention that King Abba Thule has a couple of fine cattle now at Corror which were given him by the Spanish man-of-war. they have plenty goats, pigs, & chickens, also cats & dogs.

[Palauan archaeological ruins]

On several of the open rolling hills & ridges of different islands one sees a series of steps or regular tiers of levelled lines from the bottom to the top. That must have been made by hand & most likely for irrigation purposes. In the northern part of the main land, Mr. Sims tells me he has seen some old ancient mines that these people have no knowledge about. Says he can trace the outlines of a stone fort of large stones on the top of a hill, besides other nearby, and they all bear a resemblance in general to well-known ruins on Bornape. And which again, according to scientists, resemble those on Easter I.

I judge the Pelew man far ahead of Yap man. He has had for ages or long time a regular government; much better canoes & houses. The family all eat together; the women hold a high grade, especially in the royal branches; the women have much better & cleaner dresses & 6 or 7 different kinds, but all of the [same] shape; all of the people much cleaner & bathing at least once a day in fresh water. In sleeping they all use one to 3 bed mats & a mat blanket over them & a cotton pillow. The Yap man has none of these. But the Pelew man has **less shame** than the Yap & will expose his person very unconsciously, oftentimes using his homeopathic lava lava rag as a single small apron in front (which I have never seen a Yap man do.) They make a business of selling or marrying their daughter or nieces or subject to any man who wants them & pays the price. Mr. S.'s wife was the daughter of the next king on main land & he had to pay plenty of trade \$50 for her to start with & then he told me it was more or less presents each month or so, & then when he left her & Pelews another good present to her & the father. And during his living there he paid for all his grub that he got of natives. But that which his own wife went on shore & brought herself, she would not let him pay for. if he could have had his wife living away from her father (of whom she was afraid) she would have been able to have helped him more. This chief must be very grasping, as we learned something about him at our investigation up there & that was his making all the people when selling anything to Mr. Sims or other Agts. first to give him a **present!** A tax as it were, on all things sold to the trader. Did I mention my buying a N° 1 black dress off S.'s wife, for a ring? The next day that same ring was on the Chief's hand & that's the way it goes. The father or chief takes from any one under him whatever he chooses & the poor man can not accumulate, and I believe is not allowed to own any big Pelew money. As soon as he gets any, it is taken away by his chief.

Their club-house prostitutes & the way they neglect their wives & children is damnable & this the Spanish ought to put down with a strong hand & the first thing. In Yap one sees plenty children & babies. Here in Pelew very few. Both places carry them astride of the hip. The Pelew women carry most of their loads balanced on the head & move very gracefully under them. but ordinarily when walking the young woman gives an extra twist to her hips that sends her rear dress with a stylish swing from side to side. The gracious bend & bustle movement of a Broadway Belle is nothing in comparison to these brown beauties, with long black hair, black eyes, black shining teeth, extra small hands & feet & their yellow *rang* daybed on the forehead, nose & cheeks. A regular swell they are & know it too. The men are all quiet & none act the dandy or fancy buck as is so common in Yap.

Am very sorry I have not a set of photos of both Yap & Pelew. You could learn better from them in many things than all my notes. In Pellew they eat morning, noon & evening; in Yap, once a day or when they have food. And now I shall have to drop the Pelles, having reached the end of my memory or diary notes, excepting a list of words that I am making in 3 or 4 island dialects & shall place in back of book as well as a tracing [of a] chart of Pelews at Governor's & that I will place in front cover. Then, so long & farewell Pelew Group.¹

From Santa Cruz to Terang, Sat. Aug 23rd 1890.

As I informed you it was 11 a.m. when we landed at Terang & very glad was I to get on dry land & where I could see a Dr. In the afternoon he came up to see me & on Sunday I got medicine.

[News of the Pohnpei rebellion]

The German Sch. brings bad news from Bornapee. Another rising there of the natives who killed some 60 Spanish & [Filipino] soldiers & a half-caste Portuguese pilot ran the small Spanish gunboat on the reef. The Spanish Governor chartered a Sch. to take the news to Manila² by way of Guam & it is about time now for her to be in Manila. The Bornapee Governor sent word to send him immediately plenty of help or else he would throw the place up altogether & clear out with all his forces for Guam & Manila, as they were all in danger of being killed. So this will make another crisis in the history of Bornape & no telling how it will end or what the Spanish in Manila will or can do. The Bonape native is a strong fearless man & quick to resent a wrong or insult. He is a different race from his surrounding islanders & nothing like these Yap or Pelew people. They are all educated & all wear clothes & understand the value of silver money. The American Missionary has been located there for many years. The island is the hig-

1 I expected to have more than filled this logbook on Pelew & here it is, not half filled. Ed. note: It was exactly one half of a note-book.
2 Ed. note: The name of this schooner was the **Fowler**, of U.S. registry.

hest land in that part of [the] Pacific & very rich & fertile. It is near 1,200 miles eastward of Yap.

The Sch. **Jenny** left here Aug. 3rd with a large crowd of our Sonsorol, Bull & Maria people to return them home & then to go to Pelew, when O'K had left a letter for her to proceed immediately to Yap upon her arrival. The Chinaman cook is now in jail for some of his trick he has been at during our absence. I had a good warm bath about the first thing on landing & rest 2 p.m. dinner & half hour later O'K & Joe sailed out to the ship outside & back before dark.

Terang, Sunday Aug. 24th.

Clear, hot day. I rested poorly. My old bed & room seemed too closed & hot after the ship's deck & night breeze. At 6 a.m., had my bath & 6:30 was at work for a start at this log. O'K, Jow & children went to morning mass & Joe brought my medicine upon return. What do you think of **20 pills per day**? At 4 p.m., it began to look dirty overhead & O'K went off to **Santa Cruz** with Joe in sail boat, & Joe back at 10 p.m.

Monday, Aug. 25.

Very early Joe sent 2 boats out to **Santa Cruz** & by 10 a.m. she was alongside Terang wharf. She had caught a light fair wind & the same wind brought in a Norwegian 3-master¹ for the Germans from Bornape & Jeluit to load copra. Joe & Dollovan were at the Governor's from 8:30 to 1:30 p.m. on that cook's trial, and it was 11 a.m. before I had breakfast & then had some of the ship soft bread & every day he sends new bread on shore. They sent all my traps to my old room & left W. stopping on ship.

Today Hutter wrote O'K asking if he would sell them copra, as they have none to load ship & as it would never do to let the ship return empty or half full to the old country & cause the company's stock to fall in the markets, copra they must have at any price & this is not the first time O'K has sold to his rival, but always at his own figures & terms.

Tuesday, Aug. 26th.

Again slept poorly, rained hard during the night, plenty natives & chiefs here for meals since our return. We had breakfast & dinner on ship. The Sch. **Dofia Bartola** came in about noon. 3 p.m., O'K & Joe visited the Governor's & Hutter's [to] whom O'K sold his copra at 11:25 pounds per ton in the [copra] house.

Terang, Aug. 27.

Clear & hot. The carpenter on a big drunk last night & O'K discharged him at his request & today Joe paid him his money & he is gone for good. 2 or 3 of the sailors were drunk at same time, also Laro & Fellaam.

1 Ed. note: Her name was the **L. C. Lieben** (see official ship movements, Doc. 1886X)..

Today 80 bags of rice were carried on board **Santa Cruz** & then she was swung out to anchorage. Joe spent most of the day on that cook's trial again. They have Madame as interpreter & seem to be taking plenty of time over that d--mned Chinaman. And now they say he must go back to Manila, as he has no passport & it's a \$50 fine for a chinaman to land without one.

This morning the small clock in dining room is missing, the best times in the house & upon comparing notes we find that drunken Laro (the biggest Match-Match of Yap & a **dead beat**, Joe says) took it last night.

[Description of the German Station at Yap]

At 5:30 I accompanied Joe to Duni [sic]. My first visit there. This is the German Station, a branch of the Marshalls & Bornapee. They have the small islet in nice, clean order. On its top a neat bungalow of a house. At the end of wharf are clustered 5 long low houses, one a wholesale store-room, 1 kitchen & boys quarters & 3 for general storage. Balance of ground all covered with coconut trees interlined with regular gravel walks all over the place. Standing at the house one can throw a stone into the salt water on all sides. It cannot compare at all to Terang I. either for size, fertility, or as a Station Island. Here the Germans are a long way from the deep water channel & their single wall line of a wharf runs out only 1/4 the distance.

Then minutes finished Joe's business & then they talked for over an hour over their beer. I looked at Mr. H.'s shells & he kindly gave me a small *Mappa* cowry for which I sent him a pair of New Guinea land shells.

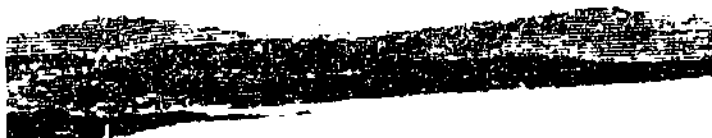
Upon our return to Terang, I was surprised to see O'K vexed at our delay, as he had been waiting for an hour for our boat to send some people to Tomil. Mr. H. at Duni [sic] is very pleasant. the **Dofia Bartola** brought some [news-]papers from Hong Kong & [they] are now at the Spanish Governor's & Mr. Tom Shaw. He's informed us about Bismark's resignation, about some plan or other for reducing the standing armies in Europe with the Pope as arbitrator. Also, that the grand Exhibition 1892 is to be held at Chicago. I must have a look at these papers & to do so I must visit the settlement.

Thursday, Aug. 28th. Terang, Yap.

Most of this day I gave to you. Joe & O'K had to go to that China cook's trial again this morning & they would not have Joe as interpreter. Breakfast today 9:30, dinner 3 p.m., or at least a kind of one, as things came on only half cooked. Could not cut the chicken. Two of the house boys are running the cooking. O'K got vexed at such results & raised a rumpus forthwith & changed cooks, placing our old friend Timiling in charge. The **Santa Cruz** furnishes soft bread every day, but I notice it is getting inferior grade & very dirty & inclined to be lumpy.

 Document 1890D

Dr. Rabe's diary of 1890—Part 4



View of Tomil Harbor
showing the Colony in 1890.



Terang, Yap. Friday, Aug. 29th 1890.

Rained hard last night. Cool & refreshing today with the clouds. I overhauled part of my trunks today. Found another box gun cartridges & gave to O'K. Packed away a few little Pelew curios.

10 a.m. breakfast with fresh fish for the first since our return. Dinner was by lamp-light & we had four visitors to a good meal upstairs. Had 4 kinds of meats, tinned peas, beans, asparagus & cabbage. Mr. Emery & Charlie from **Dofia Bartola**, the Master of the **Flink** (German Sch.) & a Mr. Lewis of Guam, an old settler there & here on a short trip.

Today Master Charlie (the would-be American) tried to bring the Norwegian 3-master to Terang & failed & almost got her on the reef, although he had 5 boats pulling. After dinner, they all had cards & beer. Mr. Edwards & the 2 Capts. came in & they made a long noisy eve of it until 11 p.m. Plenty of music & singing & it was a strange unusual sight to see so many white faces together here on Terang.

I had retired a little early as I was not so well but it was closed & hot in my room & after an hour I gave it up & joined the company for an hour & then getting my ham-

mock I swung it under the coconut trees & lay out there in the cool breeze until they left all about half tipsy. As well as the Chiefs Giltimo & Fillaam.

After I got back to bed I had another torment in some intolerable itching on legs that made me get up for carbolic wash when I made a fine blunder of getting it so strong as to give myself a good-sized burn that made me dance for a while besides keeping me awake cussing myself for 4 or 5 hours. Just as day began to make a showing by the Chanticleer signal & the cook house stove starting up for early tea. This last outhouse is near my back window & I can easily hear the noise of cook & jabbering of his claimants & assistants. He has 2 of them & one houseboy & it seems to keep all four of them busy to get our two irregular meals per day along with all the other hands. Besides, O'K is feeding this Tomil crowd of natives here loading this copra. Each man is paid .50P per day besides his grub & some drink. And this same **drink** means enough rum or stuff to make at least half a dozen of them uselessly drunk every day, while the rest get only a smell I presume. It was 7 a.m.

Aug. 30th

when I got up after my miserable night. They did not try again to get the 3-master to Terang, but brought up **Doña Bartola** as a lighter & besides ran several boats with bags of copra. All hands busy today & I tallied a short time before our breakfast at 10 a.m. when O'K had all hands again to this meal upstairs & the same people to supper or dinner by lamplight, & afterwards, cards & beer & a jolly time same as last night.

Terang, Sunday, Aug. 31st 1890.

Another busy day of loading. It was late when I got up & so took notes, thinking breakfast would be 10 a.m., but it was 12 before we had breakfast & then 7 p.m. dinner after we had returned from a visit to the 3-master, whose Capt. (Andersen) is so mean, his poor ship is suffering badly for paint & repairs, & it hurt him badly to be compelled to open the case of beer that O'K had sent him yesterday, knowing that he would be on board more or less during the loading & so took this method of having his own beer to drink while there, and not for the skipper to carry to sea for his own private use, as the skipper intended doing. Now that they find the man so close & mean, O'K says they will visit the ship often enough to finish all of that beer & any other that the skipper may have. This man owns the greater part of his ship. And in his charter for this trip he contracts to take on board & stow away 40 tons copra each day while loading. His crew is not able to do much over half that amount, & so Mr. Hutter has hired a lot of natives at .50P per day to help on ship & charges the ship nothing for them, with the proviso that they can load & stow as much copra each day as possible over & above the 40 tons. And now it turns out that the skipper refused to even feed this help, after it is given to him. While on the other hand, if he fails to take his 40 tons per day he has to pay the charterers so much rebate money. Such is the Norwegian character every time, according to these sailors' judgment.

Cards again tonight, with champagne for all hands. At 10 p.m. I had my bath & to bed. Everybody more quiet & turned in earlier. Each day I have my morning & evening bath, & it's the only thing that keeps me from scratching all the time. The *Medico* tries to call it the prickly heat but I'll be hanged if I can believe that exactly, but, whatever it is, it's enough to make a saint swear & me wish to get into some cooler climate for a while at least.

Sept. 1st. Yap.

Clear sun, plenty wind & very pleasant. 7 a.m. when I turned out, having bath & tea as usual & then sat down for a lengthy yarn with you. About 11 we had a good breakfast with 3 visitors from ships. The children off to school at Padre Daniel's all day. The Sch. **Bartola** loaded & now alongside the ship discharging & a thankful riddance. She is with C. & E., with C.'s Yap wife & half-caste boy who is a holy term & besides has a mischief of a monkey & the whole family have been quartered here [for the] past 2 days. I got a pair of new cloth slippers today, Hong Kong make & no good.

Terang, Yap. Sept. 6th 1890. Capt. D. D. O'Keefe. 1 p.m.

A clear lovely day, plenty cool breeze, with the night fairly cool & if one could only sleep in the wind, it would be cold enough for a blanket before morning.

I am now seated upstairs on wide verandah. O'K, Joe, Mr. Friedlander & Mr. Lewis are talking over their beer during a spell of weighing the copra, waiting for boats & bags to come back from ship. O'K & the natives are trying hard to finish the loading today & if they succeed O'K is to give Guiltimo 10 bottles rum & if they fail G. is to give O'K 2 pigs. O'K told them last night that they could not do it & it resulted in this bet. That is one of the traits of the Yap man. Had O'K said that he believed they could finish today & for them to make a try of it, etc. the Yap men would not exert themselves at all. But when you tell him that he **can't** do so & so, then 9 out of 10 will do their best to accomplish the work. So today they are working hard & if they are furnished bags & boats in plenty they will win. But the stingy Scandinavian skipper who owns 1/6 of ship does not wish all the copra today, tomorrow & Sunday & he wishes that day to stow & pack the big copra with his own crew & not receive any before Monday, when he will be able to take more copra in his hold by close packing. But this idle day does not suit O'K nor the natives. Hence the rush today. Am improving slowly.

Thursday p.m. I spent down the settlement, calling on the Doctor & Governor. Got more medicine & the April & May file of Hong Kong papers that Mr. Emery brought down. Also called on Shaw on the hill for an hour, nothing of importance there. Borrowed 4 novels to kill time. And then back to the Canteen Store. Also called on Madame Bartola & got all the local gossip, as well as a drink of native champagne—young coconut & lemon. She is to make me 2 Yap dresses & yesterday I sent her a bottle of blue dye for the same.

At the Governor's I borrowed a chart of Pelew Group & yesterday I made a full-sized copy of it, for you & shall mark what little travelling I did in going up to Mr. Sims' Station.

Lewey, one of our Pelew passengers who came to Yap to make beche-de-mer for O'K tells me that he has two wives & that his brother has **four**. I told this to O'K & he says that he does not believe it. Few of them (the big chiefs) may have two wives but very seldom more than two.

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd Inst., all the same: busy loading copra & the 3rd I assisted weighing & tally all day long, Joe being busy in Store getting out stuff for **Santa Cruz's** Pelew trip. O'K is advising me to return with him to Pelew & then on to St. David's, as he must get in as much copra now, in case a chartered ship may come for him from either Sydney or Hong Kong.

Terang, Yap. Sunday, Sept. 7th 1890. 8 a.m.

A pleasant morning, clear with cool light breeze. O'K & children just returned from early mass. They are going to finish loading this forenoon, as the ship can take only a few more boatloads, and then that job will be over & this crowd of natives clear out for their homes. Every night some of the head chiefs are drunk. They sleep around the boat sheds & coal house at their sweet will & receive a large feed of cooked rice & breadfruit each day, besides their own stuff of nuts, etc.

No signal of the Sch. **Jenny** & this is getting too d---ed long strung out & I don't like it by any means, when I was promised sure to be back in Hong Kong [by] the first of July at the outside. I learn to my cost, in more ways than one that promises are **cheap** & far different thing from what has come to pass with me on this trip. Hang it all, I'm heartily sick of it & made a big mistake in ever starting for Carolines. I should have gone to Iloilo¹ or the North Borneo direct & been making money all these past 5 months. I see by the Hong Kong papers that North Borneo is flourishing & the same with Sarawak. Also very good reports from Siam & Bangkok. Now, in going to Manila or Hong Kong this month, we catch the hurricane season & that is often no joke, especially in [the] South China Sea.

Terang, 3 p.m. Wednesday, Sept. 10th 1890.

Under the coconut trees, about half asleep & the other half not much good; too lazy & lifeless to do much else than read the time away with any kind of novels I can find. It is cool & pleasant here in the shade, but the sun has been scorchingly hot for days past & we are suffering here on Terang for water. Two days past they have been boating it from the main land. O'K & Joe have been down at the settlement since our 10:30 breakfast; not back up yet. The two ships are still here wind-bound. Mr. Hutter has en-

¹ Ed. note: On Panay Island, Philippines.

gaged O'K to pilot out the 3-master, as Mr. Constant is sick & no-one else here can do it. So yesterday, O'K spent all forenoon down there with one of his boats, watching for a chance to get her out.

Last night I took little Jim & E. to visit a women's dance in Degore. It was a little late when we got started & I was disgusted to find we had to wait for over an hour for the dance to commence. Little Jim going to sleep on the cool stone & I almost the same. E. was chatting all the time with the natives, as they squatted around on the raised stone pavement on two sides of the big house, each man having [his] back against an upright stone, smoking his native cigarette or chewing the betel nut, half of them would have fire-torch of a dry husk of coconut, and each arrival would be carrying the same with a swinging motion of the arm, or a torch made from the dry leaf of coconut to show the road over their stone walk.

Gradually, the women came straggling past my seat in the dark & just as I was getting chilled by the night breeze, coming down the deep & long wooded ravine back of the village, as well...

(Dinner! Dinner! is calling. So long)

Good morning! This is the nest day, Thursday. I did not get to resume our chat yesterday eve. So by your leave we might try it now. I believe we were at the women's dance & I was remarking how tired out I had become in visiting there so long and under the tall nut trees & so dark that the squatting figures of natives with their small bits of fire looked like so many **imps** of darkness. This extra large big house has never been finished. The low sides & ends still wanted, although 6 years since the house started building.

Just as my patience was all gone, the fires in the house suddenly blazed up in 3 of the small fireplaces, fed by the coconut shell & dry leaf, showing some 30 females standing in line along one side of the house, most of them were old women, 3 or 4 very old & thin, dried up specimens. Two women were large & tall, the biggest specimens I have seen in Yap. Only 4 or 5 were passable-looking girls or young ladies—about the ugliest lot I've seen dancing at any place. Only 2 of the young ladies had on the colored fancy dance dress; balance were in the common every day grass dress, that is, big, clumsy, ugly & dirty. All wore the black string necklaces of Yap, while their grass dresses reached from their hips to the ground, making such a strong contrast to the neat, clean & short Pelew dresses.

We visitors got around in front & middle of the line & middle of the house just behind the middle fire, where the 3-foot ironwood center post of the roof kept the bright light out of our face. Here we squatted, some on the log sills & some on the loose, dirty leaves littered over the dirt floor. There were plenty upright slab stones, used as chair backs by the natives, but which I found too cold to lean or sit upon after dark. The fires were attended to by a woman at each & whenever they had occasion to change position or go from one fire to the other during the dance, they always did it on their knees or in a low stooping position.

Suddenly the leader, an old woman in the middle of the line, raised her right hand, then the left, gave a long low chant & all hands giving in, with voice & the constant motion of hands & arms.

In the next dance they formed in sets of four, slowly & gravely circling around, all the time singing & swaying the body & arms, but so gently that their dresses made very little if any noise. When one complete round had been made in circle, the set faced each other in two's & then the west enders gave some loud singing, replied to by the east enders, while the older women in the middle kept up the body of the song.

The third dance was a sort of soldier's march & drill, and was more lively & interesting. After a short sing, they fell into columns of 4 deep, & parting in the center, they gradually & silently backed away to each end of the long building. Then a shrill cry from the leader in the west side brought a quick & angry reply in song & motion from the east, in which they threw their arms & body in a twisting motion & stamped hard upon the ground. The other side replied in same manner & also advanced a step. Alternate sides had the shrill cry & advance, until they met in middle, when four or five youngsters at far west end sang out several times a line or two of words in the loudest voice, replied to by some soft sounding voices at the east end, outside of house and with a quick loud grunt & stamp with the feet, finished!

Very good time [i.e. timing] is kept in all their dancing & singing & would be a sight indeed for you all in America. After the third dance they took a 10 minutes spell (for drinks) for their everlasting betel nut chew & smoke, most of them perspiring freely & looking warm, vanished outside on stone pavement in night breeze. I was pleasantly disappointed in finding very few mosquitos here tonight, besides the air much cooler than on Terang. We remained until they started again at the dance & that proving the same thing over, I insisted in our making for Terang & it was just midnight when we arrived there, after a slow pull by little Jim & E. Going to the dance, two of the Degore boys pulled the oars. While returning we felt several gusts of warm air from the south & there in the distance were plenty clouds & lightning 3 times. Back of Yap westward was another small black cloud & I was in hopes they would bring rain to Terang before morning. But none came, am sorry to say. In its place another thing came about 4 a.m. that scared the children almost out of their wits & raised the whole house by their screams. I could not imagine what caused such an outcry as I tumbled out of bed & into the large front room, where the youngsters usually slept upon the floor for coolness & comfort. No-one was there, all out on front verandah talking away for dear life & laughing, while down in front of house was the watchman standing close to a poor crippled half-witted native boy, whose feet & legs are shrunken & paralyzed & doubled underneath, compelling to get around on his hands for feet. This wild **impish** looking specimen of humanity with his long hair flying & eyes big, came creeping up the outside stone steps & into this front room amongst the children, when one of them happened to wake up, saw him—as the large lamp burns all night in there—and forthwith the yelling commenced. What he was after, I never heard, but being dead for sleep I soon got back to bed & it was after 7 before I go out again.

There are plenty of bad feet & legs, with horrible-looking sores, here in Yap. Some of them I mentioned in [my] Yap log. That young boy down at Goroore was so bad that it makes me half sick to even think of him. It's something awful these native sores & to see how little the people try to cure them or prevent their spreading. While the native himself seems to show no suffering & takes it all very coolly as far as I can see.

11 a.m. Thursday, Sept. 11th.

We have had breakfast & O'K has just left in the **Eugenie** (9-ton boat) for a trial sailing trip before she sails for Pelew. He is to pick up the Doctor at Settlement, who says he wishes a sail in "his ship" before she leaves. O'K wanted me to accompany them, but [I] preferred to stop on shore & be lazy. I don't seem to get much **vim** or **go** into me in a hurry & in fact not so well since our picnic on the mountain last Monday. I must have tramped too much in the hot sun, as I can't lay it to the beer & wine that was consumed in plenty by our jolly party from the two ships & shore. O'K gave the picnic, and it was about 10 a.m. when he sent Edwards & the boys with the punch & canvas awning across to Degore by the short track to the old lookout tree at mountain top, half a mile almost from the Signal Station. At same time O'K, Joe & little Jim & I went in gig to Dunij where, after a long delay & some business transactions, all hands got started & landing at Canteen's wharf, started for our long tramp up the hill. We had the two ships' Capts., the Mate & supercargo of **Flink** Sch., Mr. Hutter & Friedlander, Lewis & Shaw—11 white men & with Edwards 12.

The Doctor & Governor did not come—too hot, Joe reported, after his short call there to pay a drunken sailor's fine of two days ago & see if they would join us. While Joe was making that call, the party stops into the Canteen for a drink. Although plenty of beer had been circulated by Mr. H. during our stop there. I kept on up the street or roadway to the church & on into the cool woods, with Jim & Mr. Lewis' little boy Harry, [a] half-caste from his Guam mother, a bright little fellow of 8 years, speaking fair English, but a spoiled youngster, with a nasty temper; which he showed effectively when his Papa told him he could not go along, too much of a climb for such a little boy & that Capt. O'Keefe would not let his little Arthur go for the same reason, etc. etc. Not a bib of it—go he would & if he had to stop at home he would smash his Papa's violin laying in their room. Mr. L. is stopping with Mr. H. until he gets a chance to Guam, by October steamer, he hopes. So the little chap had his own way & held his own with Jim & I on the upward trip.

We were all good & hungry, thirsty & warm when we got there. The first thing was for drinks all around & then all hands helped themselves to the cold ham, deviled ham, tinned corned beef, tongue, sausages, cabbage & meat, asparagus, peas, beans, bread, butter, fine biscuits, pickles, jam, beer, wine & tea. Most of the tinned stuff was warmed up a little in the hot water & altogether it was more than a plenty for all hands, along with our boys & the extra carriers from Degore. They had 2 camp stools & my canvas chair, but most of us preferred the long clean grass to stretch upon & after the long lunch & drink to take a short sleep. I had a small novel in my pocket along with opera

glass, the latter in demand by more than one of the company to have a closer look at some of the pretty spots on all sides of us. We got up there between 12 & 1 & left after 4 & during all that time there was rain falling on some part of Yap, either north or south end, but not a drop came to us or over the Harbor.

The Capt. of [the] Norwegian bark is so mean & close that all hands seem to have a contempt for him & take delight in casting intimations in that directions.

The following day, when O'K boarded his ship to pilot her out, he carried him some 50 pumpkins, gratis, and seeing some small casks that he needed for water in the *Eugenie*, he asked the Capt. if he would sell them. Oh yes? \$2.00 & a demijohn .25 = \$2.25. He had the face to charge O'K after his giving him a case of beer & pumpkins & dining & drinking as he had done on Terang. And not once did he ask O'K, Edwards, or anyone to a meal on ship, when they chanced to be there at such an hour on business or a call. No wonder all hands are down on him.

All hands took things easy on the hill & no-one cared to make the climb to the Signal Station. We could easily see by my glass how quickly the Tomil men were tearing the old part of copra house that had just been emptied on the wharf. O'K is going to build it proper with lumber & iron roofing & board floor.

In returning I came down the short track along with Edwards & the traps, reaching Terang a little before dark. O'K & Joe did not return from Dunij until late, long after I had turned in, well tired out.

Tuesday, most of the picnickers were complaining out of sorts & all that.

I see I had a short chat on Sunday morning. Well, it was about noon when the ship was declared "full up" leaving only a small pile of copra in middle house. By dark all of the workers had cleared away for their homes, making it quite a relief to be clear of their noise & dirt. Tuesday O'K paid them all off in trade & it was a little amusing to me to see how the stuff was sub-divided to each individual man—knives, files, tobacco, matches, blue print, turkey red, etc. was the trade & this was all divided by themselves satisfactorily here under the nut trees as they squatted around in the shade.

10 a.m., Saturday, Sept. 13th 1890. Terang, Yap, Caroline Is.

Under the coconut trees... under the coconut trees I sat, do sit, am sitting! How's that for a starter? Don't imagine I sit here all day long. Perhaps I might if the travelling sun did not drive me away & make it agreeable for me to shift quarter out of its warm embrace. And I can assure you, it has been plenty hot here the past week or so & I make it my Gospel to keep in the shade, where it is all right, so long as we have a breeze. Just now the breeze is glorious; came 20 minutes ago... Hark! Breakfast bell. So long.

An hour later.

Much better after our morning meal. My appetite is now back again in full force, but am afraid to indulge it very much. No more pineapples, bananas or other fruits just yet [for] a while. **We are all** out here in the cool breeze. O'K & Dollavu (Mrs. O'K) & little Davie their youngest are stretched out on top of small lumber pile, upon which my stockinged feet are elevated level with my head, a very common position of mine.

1 p.m. For the last hour I have been at Dollavu getting the list of words in her own island language (Pleasant [Nauru] Is.) near the line & eastward of the Solomons, I believe, though not positive as to its location. I find it slow work to get these words, so hard for me to catch the exact sounds they give to each syllable & afterwards hard for me to spell them. I found the Pleasant Island words much easier than the Pelew tongue twisters, or Yap jaw breakers. The Pelew [sic] sounds the softest & smoothest of all.¹

Jemima! how hot it is getting. Very light breeze just now & makes a world of difference, & I no like.

The **two** German firm ships are here yet, wind-bound. The **Santa Cruz** will be ready before many days now for her Pelew trip. The little 9-ton boat **Eugenie** left this morning before I was up, Edwards & Sims sailing her, with 3 or 4 Yap men, one of whom had to be shipped as her "Spanish" Capt. to be inside the Spanish law. They go south to visit that large reef for beche-de-mer & then on to Pelews where O'K will keep her as a coast boat.

O'K gave a "way up" dinner last eve & it was prime A-1. The ship's cook assisted & made plenty kinds of pie & pudding, 4 courses of plates were at each place & the display of dishes, glasses & grub rather surpassed in its variety & abundance. It was lamp-light when we sat down to the soup that Joe had made. I carved the famous **stuffed goose** & afterwards found him toothsome in the eating. Mr. Hutter & Friedlander of the German firm, the Capt. Richter of the Sch. **Flink** & his supercargo were the guests. The mean Norwegian Capt. pleased all hands by not coming. But were sorry that the Spanish Doctor could not come on account of a very sick patient in hospital.

I was down there during the afternoon to see the Doctor & noticed plenty sick Manilla men in two rooms. While there I had the little "Tinneanty" [i.e. Teniente = Lieutenant] (Doctor's assistant) trim my hair & **beard**, both getting too long for comfort in this hot climate. He made a good & **close** job of it & if a fly ventures to light on my head now, I should imagine he would get impaled & a sure death therefrom. Even my light straw hat seems to be on springs all the time. However, it saves time & trouble of combing & is always ready for company.

I returned the Governor's Pelew sketch map & think I have taken a very creditable copy from it. I wanted to call on the Madame Bartola about my new Yap dresses, but it being 3 p.m. I concluded it best for me to get back to Terang as the dinner was set for 4:30 p.m. And having had nothing since our 10 a.m. breakfast, you may know I was getting hungry. And then for the guests to have been so late, it gave much trouble to keep things warm from 4:30 when all were cooked to 6 p.m.

After the table was cleared away they all had cards & beer until after 11 p.m. while I was reading out on the cool verandah until 10 p.m. Then a good wash & turned into my cot. That was one of the best dinners that I have seen in any private house in South Seas.

1 Ed. note: I think he meant that it was the Pleasant Island words that were more pleasant.

Last Thursday, O'K brought the Doctor & Capt. of Prisoners to Terang after the sail in the **Eugenie**. They were pressed to stop for a cold luncheon on sausage & ham, deviled ham, bread & butter & sweet biscuits, plenty beer & wine, I taking tea for their "Saluta" [i.e. Salud = Health] or toasts. And it was some time before they got away & for home in one of the sail boats.

I see the copra cheque of Mr. Hutter to O'K calls for 4,145:12 pounds sterling, a nice little sum that, to make out of that one transaction & no future risks equals about \$25,000 odd. The beche-de-mer that he has on hands now will bring far more than that sum, in Manila & Hong Kong. No signal for the Sch. **Jenny**. It would be a nice job indeed if she is lost. O'K fears that old Bobby (the Capt.) must be on a drunk in the Pelews, and as sure as fate he will try to sell both Sch. in Hong Kong & Manila & then get a steamer, so as to see to everything himself. That was the same talk during our long passage down in the **Jenny**. Hang the whole business, as far as I am concerned. I'm sorry that I ever came, because I'm forced to lose so much more time than I can afford & nothing of consequence to show for it. But, it's all in a lifetime & being caught, I can do nothing but blame myself & no doubt you are uneasy about my long silence. So so.

Terang, Tuesday, Sept. 16th 1890 (9 a.m.)

Here is half this month gone & I'm about as near getting to Hong Kong and away from here as we were two months ago. No signs of the Sch. **Jenny**. The **Santa Cruz** is all ready the last two days for Pelews, but wind dead ahead. The program now is for her to go to Pelews & back & then away for Hong Kong direct & that will be last of Nov. at soonest. With orders left for Sch. **Jenny** if she gets here by the 1st Oct. to make a cargo of pearl shell & beche-de-mer & sail for Manila, by way of Pelews. So you see, if anything has happened to the **Jenny**, or she fails to arrive here by Oct. 1st, I am **nailed** here in Yap until the Nov. trip. The Spanish mail Str. ought to be here by Oct. 20th from Manila.

You can imagine how much I feel like cussing, to be caught in this way & all on account of O'K's not going to Hong Kong when he promised at the outset.

Sunday eve he called old "Act of Parliament" to have a settlement & pay him his full wages for 6 months @ 15 pounds sterling per month. W. refused to settle until he was landed in Hong Kong or some post. And also told O'K that here in Terang he (O'K) had everything in his own hands & he could do nothing & besides he had been treated worse than a Dog! Phew!! That was going it pretty strong, for him to say such things to a man in his own place & that too, when he was boarding the man **gratis** at the same table that all of us sat at, & it is only the last 10 days that we have all sent him to **Coventry**, as it were, for his mischievous tongue, etc.

That's a picnic & old W. will make as much out of O'K as possible, if he can trump up strong enough case to do it, when he gets to Hong Kong or Manila. I have read a copy of the Agreement made by W. & O'K's Agent in Sydney. And according to that, O'K is in the right on his side & W. is simply acting a fool if nothing worse. By-and-by I may be able to tell you how the affair turns out & how it was settled. Just as a spe-

cimen of South Sea life under the English law, they **both** have got me into it as a witness to different things.

We had a welcome rain last night, & it is cool & cloudy this morning. There are plenty of natives about the place waiting for **Santa Cruz** & her passengers' departure. I believe there are some 15 more men going. They lay around all over the wharf & sheds, while the 4 or 5 chiefs make themselves at home eating & drinking here in the house downstairs.

Sunday I got two more suits, cotton pyjamas off O'K, and he told Joe to pay me Mr. Cox' bill of 2 guineas. When I said he had better have Joe make out my bill for clothes & things instead of handing me any cash just now. And so we settled by calling it **square** as things stood. That make the Spanish Captain's wife's \$3.00 the only money that I have received for professional work in this Group. True, I have not been well & hardly in condition for much work, most of the time, even if it was to be had.

I came across a partial list of the curios I was to get from King Abba Thule, which his Manila secretary had kindly started to write down—the Pelew names of articles. I will give you them:

Women's dresses—1st class = Caritel Ryriamal

" " —2nd " " Wang

" " —3rd " " Asuck

" " —4th " " Corodackle

1st yellow money = Barakle [i.e. brrak]

2nd red " = Pongugas

3rd glass " = Cardoyock, and many kinds of glass

Long spears = Terong Abiscang Kacamangan

Short spears or darts = Terong Kacadep Abiscang

4 kinds wooden plates = Ngewang, Abuck, Mangewang, Congal

Black bamboo "Lime sticks" = Dtong cadeleguelick bamboo acaos

Women's small bag = Tedey 'lewang cotungolraardel.

Terang, Friday, Sept. 19th 1890. Mid-day.

Rain, rain, rain all day & last night. Keeping us all in the house & the boys could not go down to Padres to school. I don't mind this much as it's better for me to keep still, & I have put in the time & all day yesterday over those 6 first Island Words, & constant work at that, it was more work to get them from my different papers & into their proper places than I bargained for.

Yesterday was hot as blazes, until near evening when the heat had gathered the clouds overhead & by 8 p.m. came the cooling rain all night the same. Consequently, plenty cool today.

When you pronounce that Secretary's list of names on the last page, mind that he gives the French & old English pronunciation of a = ah [as in] casa & i as e, etc. But in my list I did nothing of that kind, I have tried to spell them as they sound & with as few letters as possible—what is the name they give that new reformed English spell-

ing? **Phonetic?** is it not? At least I found it more than "**Phun**" fun, in trying to catch some of the outlandish twists & twirls some of them give & then the tongue must be stuck between the front teeth & roof of mouth for others. Hang it all, my ears are no good for such work...

Yesterday morning Joe left for a boat trip around south end of Island. The Medico [i.e. Spanish Doctor] would not allow me to accompany him. Not fancying the dining alone with Act of Parliament, I have changed to upstairs with the family, much to the better every way. While Joe & I were at Dunij Tuesday p.m., I made arrangements with Mr. Friedlander to send me 4 small biscuits of soft bread per day. He sends his flour to the general baker at Governor's & has as much bread made per day as he orders. Just now our Canteen boy has brought me the first instalment to give it a trial at our 3 p.m. dinner. Our 9:30 breakfast was very good—fresh fish. 3 large ones were brought to Terang from Chief Laro (presume he asked for rum or gin) after dark last night. Fish ought to be eaten as soon as caught in this climate & I half fancied that ours this morning might be tainted. I prefer them cooked over the hot coals, native style, minus the leaving the insides remain, as they do, sometimes. Our boys catch a few each day at the wharf with the line, a very unusual hook, using no sinkers. They use young coconut meat for bait & throw about a teaspoon of cooked rice into the water with the hook & bait, so they all sink slowly down together. Without the rice or some extra feed that way, few if any fish would be caught. And those that are caught are mostly all one kind. In the water many kinds are seen about the wharf, some being very odd shapes & many colors. I often wish I had a jar of them in spirit to take to Hong Kong & home. But, it's such a trouble to start into, that I've never ventured.

On Tuesday Joe was on a collecting trip, got money off Governor's & also at soldiers barracks. The Capt. of Prisoners had been robbed the day before of \$120 silver out of his & wife's bedroom. The said rum & all the barracks or "Quartel" [rather *cuartel*] are built under one or two long buildings, with slat partitions 8 to 9 feet high—no ceiling. The thief had come over this high partition, fortunately he overlooked a bag of \$400 silver. They caught the man; [he] in his own Sergeant, & found \$90 sewn up in the Sergeant's mattress. \$30 are still missing. The man's highest punishment is 20 years in jail for such a thing here. We got a look at him in the jail in company with our old John Chinaman cook. Joe asked [the] cook how he was getting along. But no answer was given & so we marched out of the open slat room of a jail into the long open hall where the common troop had their quarters & boxes & arms. I noticed a table in center of hall with several slates & books as if lessons were given there. At one corner of yard stood a small thatched store-house that we did not enter. The door was open & nothing but bags & boxes to be seen & not overly plenty of them. Generally they receive only 6 months provision at a time, which I should condemn as very foolish & risky. No wonder Capt. O'Keefe has been the means of keeping them from starving more than once, in such a hand-to-mouth proceeding. The Quartel stands on the top of a small mound, flattened & leveled & perfectly bare of trees or shrubs. [It] has a stone wall 4 feet high all around top with two passageways, one towards the kitchens standing on piles in the

water on eastern side. Here is stationed a sentry or guard constantly. The other is at south end near the Governor's House which stands on made ground or wharf at water's edge. No guard at this entrance, but one is always at the Governor's steps & one also on the wharf [rather causeway?] that connects the island with the mainland.

Now that Joe & Capt. O'K & ships are all gone, it leaves Terang very quiet & a noticeable difference to what it is when O'K is here. Joe is reading that German book on Pelews & I may get some points of him. Here is a copy of Mr. Sims few notes that he made on Pelew money & that book.

Jim Sims' History of Pelews (Copy)

*We find an Account of the Pelew Islands dated London 1783,¹ also an account of the different kinds of money at that date, namely: "Brack, Pangungan, Kalbukeep, Kaldon, Kluk, Adelobber, Olelongl." Also other account registered at Manila by Paul Clain dated 18th June 1697, at which time he visited the [Palaos] in a [Paraos] (a small vessel without a keel) but it seems the Palaos has altered its name to Pelew which I am under the impresssion by foreigners coming to the Islands & pointing to the land to find out the name which the native would answer in this native tongue **Aplew**, meaning the land **Kloa Aplew**, a large piece of land. Therefore the change of name from Palaos to Pelew.²*

The population of the Pelews at Wilson's time in 1783 seems to have been much larger than today. It was estimated then at 18 to 20,000. Today not over 3 to 4,000 in all the group. So that in 100 years there has been a decrease of 96 percent. The cause of which I put entirely to the system of prostitution practiced here. And the means which the females use when pregnant. In 1783 the natives were well supplied with large sailing canoes, some 200. At the present time there are but few such, as they are an expensive item in consequence of the natives being so lazy.

*The red money of the Pelews seems to me to have travelled a very long distance. The only place that I can trace it to is Easter Island³ in Lat. 27°8' S & 109°24' W, the name of which in European countries is Tufa (Tufah) & is found at the mouth of craters at the great volcano in that island, & called Terano Hau. And the yellow, Owedoode [Oudud?], I think is **obsidian**, also found at Terano Hau. This Tufa the natives of Eastern Island used for making crowns to put on the heads of their gods in olden times & the obsidian used for the eyeballs, etc. Of their gods there are a large quantity of enormous sizes there, probably of a highly civilized nation of other ages. At present the natives of Easter Island know nothing of how their buildings & images came there. They*

1 That is, the account of the shipwreck of 1783, Capt. H. Wilson. Ed. comment: See Vol. 15.

2 Ed. note: Of course, Father Clain never visited the islands personally. The Spanish name did not come from that of a proa, but as close a rendering of what they heard there in 1710. Pellew was what the English thought they heard in 1783, etc.

3 Mr. Sims saw an article in Harper's Monthly on Easter Island.

are of the same general structure as that of the ruins of Pornape (Bonnape). It is of the Polynesian type.¹

Mendena [Mendaña] & other pioneers say it was the work of Spanish buccaneers or of Dampier. But all this is believed to be untrue. [This is] how I think we will find out the great mystery of this so-called money, so much prized in Pelews. At present Easter Island remains the greatest mystery of the Pacific & one of the greatest wonders of the world. Next [come] the great ruins of Pornape, which I doubt will remain unsolved forever...²

Finis. The end of the manuscript.

S. got tired & took a sleep or had a smoke & then a sleep. And from that I saw of Mr. S. am half inclined to say he is over half asleep yet. As far as these notes of his go & his locating the stone money of Pelew away in Easter Island, I can say nothing, because I never read or heard much in particular about that island, although I should be mightily willing to pay it a visit if sure of getting plenty of that yellow & red stone. A man could soon have a fortune in that case. Far better dig into the mounds & ruins, if desirous of finding out something about them, I should say. But unfortunately I'm not after ruins, nor upon Easter Island. Not much—I'm here in Yap, Caroline Group, & it's raining hard. Been raining all day (5 p.m. now). Going to rain all night. And I'm going to say Good Eve to you & take a spell.

Terang, Yap. Saturday, Sept. 20th 1890. 8 p.m.

At last, I have some news & can say we may count upon a formal movement in 4 or 5 days. The Sch. **Jenny** came in about 2 p.m. alongside the wharf. Early this morning she was signalled but I could see nothing of her for the rain & trees as late as 11 a.m. I then had some sewing & packing to attend to and just as I finished, in walked the Spanish Doctor with "How do do do". That's his *How do you do*. And the house boy at his heels tells me "The ship he stop wharf".

—**What? The Jenny??**

And, sure enough, there she was almost made fast alongside. Capt. Bodey [Bodley?] & Mate Ohlsen [rather Olsen?] were flying around on deck in a crowd of natives—15 returned Yap men from Pelew stone works, 10 labor men recruits from Sonsorol & Maria. No women this time. They are 8 days from Pelew & two nights ago they met O'K & Boddy went on board **Santa Cruz** for an hour. The **Jenny** has had almost a 7 weeks voyage [with] one month lost in calms to the southward. He was 13 days off &

1 Good Lord!! What can that "type" be? (Rabe.)

2 Ed. note: It is clear that he means the opposite, that the mystery will never be solved.

on at Sonsorol & only got near the place 3 times—no wind & currents awfully strong & dangerous.¹

At Bulli [Pulo Ana] where they landed the castaways & one or two men from here (6 in all), they found no able-bodied men, all having been lost last year in those 4 canoes I have mentioned. There were only a few old men & young boys left, with some 30 women on the island. The return of these poor castaways were like the sudden rising of the dead & made a great time with them. The only young man at Bulle was a late arrival in a drifted canoe from the Excheckers [sic] Group,² way to the east & southward, whereby hangs a tale of murder & cannibalism, that I will chronicle as soon as I master the particular from Capt. Boddy. The man has arrived here in the **Jenny**, talks no English, but some of the Sonsorol men can "Savey" him & that is the roundabout way the story travels to me.

The **Jenny** has brought 56 Yap stone money, 10 tons copra & some beche-de-mer, making a full cargo & full ship. She sprung a leak lately & the pump is used every hour now. The freight on each stone to Yap is 4 bags copra. King Marowitzee of St. David's was a round-trip passenger on the trip. She was only a short time in Pelews & now will be unloaded tomorrow & by Wednesday we expect to sail again for Pelews, meeting O'K there, subject to further orders or changes.

Sonsorol people sent up plenty mats & tapa to Dollavu & others & each of the ship's crew & passengers had some. I have secured some good samples of the women's mat dress & the men's tapa dress, also one of their small bed mats. Capt. Boddy has an extra large Hermit Island mat, 6 ft. by 10 ft. that I'm to have. Mr. Ohlsen gave me a new bed mat, short one. While Tomam (a Yap man & one of O'K's traders) gave me a splendid Matelotus [Ngulu] bed mat. That is the place where the best, softest & smoothest mats are made in the Carolines. Capt. Boddy also gave me a Hermit Is. arm ornament to be worn over the biceps; it is made of extra fine braid pandanus leaf & 2 in. wide, resembling what I saw at British New Guinea & Normanby Is.³ He tells me that Hermit women's dress is very scant & consists of a round bunch of grassy or fibrous stuff, about the size of a saucer for tea cup, or say 6 in. diameter. This hangs like an apron in front, from a string around the hips. Behind hangs another bunch of same material, but shaped like a wide paint- or dust-brush— fibre 6 in. long, with a kind of handle, 3 inches or more—a "rum" sort of dress & ahead of any I have seen for economy. The Hermit man does not indulge in even a full homeopathic breech-cloth, not he! He makes it about half width. And his dirty piece of rag might be 2 in. wide. They have no bows &

1 Ed. note: This reminds me of the experience of the Spanish ship that could not make Sonsorol again in 1710 and had to abandon Fathers Dubéron and Cortil, and their companions there.

2 Ed. note: This Exchequer's Group is listed as L'échiquier in William T. Brigham's Index. These islands were discovered by Bougainville who fancied they resembled a checkerboard. Their NE point lies in 1°6' S, 144°30' E. They are located north-westward of the Admiralty Group, along with the Hermit Islands.

3 Ed. note: Brigham, op. cit., says that Normanby is a name of Duau of the D'Entrecasteaux Group. Its southern cape lies at 10°10' S & 151°14' E. It is just NE off the eastern tip of New Guinea.

arrows there, only the small & large spears of olden times. Today the men all have guns & are quick to use them. Boddy calls them the ugliest set of people he has ever seen & he has been much in the islands.

Today Dollavu told me that the men & women wear the same dress at her island (Pleasant Island) & is made of coconut fiber & reaches to the knees and extends all around the person. On some of the eastern Caroline atolls, the men wear nothing but half a shell of coconut tied close to the body. But the women all wear the plaited tapa dress in colors, that I send samples of. But I must say good night. I'm tired & it must be late. Our clocks are all sick & I have not looked at my watch for months. So long.

Monday, Sept. 22nd 1890. Terang, Yap. 8 a.m.

Good morning to you. We have not many more days to chat in this place. Thursday we expect to sail for the Pelews. Yesterday, although stormy half the time & much strong wind, the **Jenny's** cargo was discharged & a hunt made for her leak, unsuccessfully. Then the loading commenced with cases of small pearl shell that find a market in Manila. Today if the rain clears they will keep on with... Hello! here comes the sun & the beche-de-mer may be handled when a little dryer. We have had much rain yesterday & last night, with the wind fearfully strong just at dark. Showers of rain this morning & I got caught in one while having my bath.

Yesterday morning I made the unpleasant discovery that my instruments were rusting & for more than 4 hours I was busy cleaning & oiling them. It seemed an endless job.

[A skilful Yapese man named Tomam]

I was after some old instruments to give Tomam, the native genius in working iron & wood from a clock, gun to building a house or canoe, a wonderful clever man & with a little experience in Hong Kong would learn wonders in the workshops. He is making me a model of a Yap house that I am anxious to get. He goes down home today after it & some other curios that he intends to try for. Last night he gave me a new Yap comb, while I gave him that old canvas hunting jumper, that I wore on our camping trip in the mountains. One of my fine patented drill stock for the hand along with 1-1/2 doz. burrs & drill bits for it, & about one doz. different files. These are all something beyond price to him, as he can get no such steel here nor [in] Hong Kong. The fellow repairs clocks, guns, music box & even piano—anything in fact that he can see inside of. And he is the only man in Yap that can do such things. He ought to have a lathe, forge, jig saw, vice & anvil. Can't the missionaries do some good & supply these useful articles to him & when to him, it's to all Yap? They would say that such a thing would "be out of the question" or some such answer—not them? to spend the money.

[Criticism of missionaries]

Am sorry to say that my observations of the results of the majority of South Sea missions are far from what you folks at home think they are. To sum them up in a few

words: Any honest & disinterested Human Man must say that they have been failures **if not regular Humbugs. Frauds & Humbugs** at least at this end of the Society in their Agents or **white** missionaries. Why? What do you think of common traders, young men stationed on different small islands in Carolines & other Line Island, turning missionary, because they could **do better**, etc. (make money easier & quicker than by trading). Such is the fact—plenty of such men today. And then look at all the money that every year has been & is **taken away** from Samoa, Tonga, Roratonga [sic], & Tahiti [by] head Mission stations for educating missionaries. What becomes of all this money that the managers handle? Where does it go to, & what benefit do the poor Samoans & Tongans get who today are harder worked & much poorer than years ago & in some places poorer housed & fed, all on account of this heavy drain on them & the wonderful laziness that comes to all Christianized Islands.

It's a regular robbery at Samoa & Tonga & I'll venture it's the same elsewhere. Far better teach the natives how best to live peacefully & healthy & so enjoy the comforts of this life, if we must have a finger in the pie. And that same "pie" calls the white men fools & far beneath themselves & only permit their presence so long as they can make something out of them. A native only thinks of today & his own bodily comforts & when you try to go into a future existence, he is out of his element & does not really understand even when he says yes. **But hang!** that subject anyway. There is so much fraud mixed up with a little honest work & workers that I'm afraid I express myself badly to you. One thing you can understand distinctly that my travels have killed all the romance & goody goody Sunday school talk that we were stuffed & bribed with regularly every month for our ten cent collection. OK, yes? It's money laid up to one's credit to give to the mission cause of South Seas. Turn the peep show around and you may see that this same mission is a fine house, even luxurious place on some island—all the comforts & living as little Kings—servants innumerable for the mere teaching, food (native) of all kinds for the same kind of pay—workmen at pleasure, same pay.

Every so often the fine Mission Sch. or Steamer calls with new native teachers from Samoa or other schools, mails from home as well as the Dear little Sunday School 10 cent contributions turned into some useful article **of trade**... The Str. or Sch. may (as they do now in Brit. New Guinea) carry away valuable curios—shells & other articles got for nothing from natives. Some places in Carolines they trade for copra & shell. Each mission station have plenty boats & altogether they live extra fine & are the Lords of the Islands—while at home they would be mere **nobodies** & such. Ugh!

Let's drop that subject. I had no idea I was going to pitch into it. I have plenty work before me today & tomorrow to pack & label my few curios & then pack my trunks all over. I always hate that job of labelling & cataloging curios unless they are good ones & of some beauty.

Last night I got my list of Mogamog [i.e. Ulithi] words. One thing about these people, you may get the names of one man & meet another who may give you a different word for the same thing. For instance, the coconut has a different name for the young nut,

old nut, sweet nut & the tree. It often puzzle the beginner to reconcile this. But they all talk so well with the expression & motions, as to help wonderfully.

The **Jenny** brought 2 young tortoises, one of them belonged [to] Tomam & he gave me the back complete, which I shall dry & then polish. They look very nice when done in that way. This one is about 12 or 14 inches long & a good color.

Yesterday eve Joe & Capt. Boddy went down to Friedlander & could not get back until 11 p.m., for the storms & after all their waiting got wet.

Time is passing. The boys have brought up my camphor-ood chest to pack curios. Am afraid it's too small. It will not much more than hold the women's dresses & few other of the heavy things. So long.

7 p.m. Seated at the big table in the big room with little Jim & Jenny writing their letters to Hong Kong home & a time I have to keep them at it. The other children are all having their say & crowding close to see the writing. We had the same lessons last night & in time no doubt they each might produce something of a letter. Since my morning chat, I have been constantly at work labelling & packing curios & thankful to say that I have finished the most of them. Have got my camphor-wood chest full & had to leave out 5 Pelew dresses & my Yap dresses. Tomorrow I will cut & bundle up my spears. I find my mats take up plenty room, while the Pelew wooden dishes are nasty things to pack. The Yap shell axes are very heavy & poor affairs that I was tempted to throw them away.

Mrs. Dollavu gave me 3 Hermit Is. fish-hooks made from the pearly cone shell. This is my last blank log book, & can get nothing of the kind in Yap. So today I came across the first log only half full & cut it in two books. That will make a little more room for our chats. Been raining off & on all day & made it good for my work upstairs. Must say good night & stretch my legs a little.

Tuesday night. Sept. 28th 1890.

It must be late. All hands to bed some time ago. I have been busy since our late tea upon my curio list & catalogue & just now finished so far as I have packed up.

This has been a pleasant day, no rain but plenty wind & clouds half the time. They did not load any beche-de-mer today, as it must all be overhauled, every basket, out in the open dry air, where any bad pieces can be picked out before going into the ship's hold, where a few bad pieces would soon play the mischief, spoiling its neighbors, besides making plenty smell.

I have had another busy day. All morning after my early tea & eggs I worked on my 20 spears (11 Hermits, 4 Yap & 5 Pelew). The long ones I sawed in two pieces, labelled & then carefully tied, & wrapped them in straw & then old bags & they ought to carry safely in that condition around the world.

After breakfast the Spanish Doctor called & I accompanied him home in the small sail boat that O'K loaned him for his use as long as he stops in Yap. The wind was light & dead ahead. We fooled away an hour, to little advantage, when I proposed to down sail & the Manila boy & myself take the oars. By so doing, we made headway in the

right course & at 2 p.m. I got to Madam's wharf & landed with my small kit in hand. Tackled the old Lady in her house & filed her lower grinder with platinum alloy. She had her usual company about & in the stone verandah, viz. 2 or 3 dogs, 2 dirty pigs, one half naked boy, the son of our old carpenter of Terang, 2 or 3 Manila servant boys & 2 native women. The latter & herself much talked about selling favors to the choice few among the Spanish. She had my 2 Yap dresses made & ready for me (made from inner bark of tree & no grass), like the Yap women make; hence they will keep much better & not so big & clumsy. She also gave me a good white cone shell bracelet worn by the rich Yap men. Also 2 dozen small Heart shells that I prize highly¹ & a few other small shells. A Yap comb with a fancy ladder top to it, fire stick, *rang* and *rang* box & a Yap bamboo dagger, and a doz. nice lemons.

I was there about 40 minutes, in all, as I was already late for dinner [i.e. the] boat that was to be sent to the Canteen for me & which I found not arrived & it did not come until 4 p.m. (After Terang dinner). We called at Mr. Hutter's, I returned his novels I had read, ordered 1 bottle Eno's salts and, begging to be excused the customary beer, I got away quickly. But not before he most kindly promised to bring me some of his China cook's make of bread, tomorrow eve, for my use on board the **Jenny**. I had told him I could not use the Spanish bread I got off Mr. Friedlander's & also sent word to F. that I wished to pay for the same.

It was 5 p.m. when Master "Tomas", our present Terang cook, got me landed here, and wasn't I some hungry—rather! and could hardly wait for the cold remnants that had been saved for me in the outhouse kitchen. But, such things must be expected, if one must run away from the station, when all hands are so busy & such a head as (J.) for a manager. But this will not do, I must get out of this, the mosquitos are eating me up here on the open verandah. For the last few days we have not had many & this invasion is more noticeable. Hang them! they keep me on the scratch some place all the time with my left hand. If all goes well, tomorrow should be our last day here! We sail off Thursday & I hope we will be able to get started & reach Manila & Hong Kong sometime. Good night.

Thursday night. Sept 25.

Terang, as usual, not away as expected & tonight blowing & storming in dead earnest with distant thunder occasionally. More wind than rain & if it should shift to the southward, Joe says the **Jenny** will have to leave the wharf then, or else run big risks of pulling down the wharf front as was done once before. I believe I would prefer my present quarters tonight than to be just outside in that small dancing schooner. We have had so little sun & dry days that it has been impossible to dry the beche-de-mer enough to finish the cargo. Yesterday & today was changeable & squalls & should this weather continue until Monday then the orders of O'K is for the **Jenny** to go to the eastern Carolines for copra & that will mean for us to wait his return from Pelews, etc. Making

1 Ed. note: Probably Heart Cockles, *Corculum cardissa*, in Latin.

another nice uncertainty to add to the already long list of O'K's & of the weather's making.

At last I have got every thing packed & ready to sail. All day, yesterday I worked faithfully at marking balance of curios & then packing them in with some of my traps—9 boxes or trunks, big & little, all told & a bundle of 20 spears. Today I got a fine Yap spear, the best of the kind that I have seen. Tomam is not back yet, with my house, I presume, on account of the bad weather. But the wind has been fair today & yesterday to sail & it is a shame we can not go. I believe if O'K were here, we would have sailed yesterday. It takes him to make things move here in Terang. His agent don't seem to have much weight about some things.

Last night as I was busy with an Exchequer Island man, getting a list of words from him through the King—Marowithey of St. David's & three or four of our servants—Capt. Boddy & Joe playing cribbage at same table, in walk Mr. Hutter, Friedlander & Lewis, the latter of whom kindly gave my Ifaluk language. He is a natural island linguist & would make a N° 1 man to work up the language of Caroline & the Line Islands.

Mr. Hutter brought me the promised fresh bread that his Chinaman cook makes—brown & 2 white loaves, small, solid, heavy & sour. I was very glad to see it & give a trial & afterwards very glad to see **no more** of it. The black brown bread I can not stand the molasses, while this white, is **no good**.

I let Mr. H. have my old Bartlet Waltham watch, white case, for \$20. It's in fine running order. Shortly afterwards I was showing my gold Elgin, when I found it would not go, and then I was sorry I had parted with my old friend of Ohio days, when I was just out of the Drill College.¹ They remained until very late over cards & beer, but the rain & clouds had cleared & the 3/4 moon & cool breeze made the night lovely outdoors. They are all turned in an hour ago & I must do the same to make up for last night. Am well tired & sleepy & am glad to say that I am again able to enjoy my meals & occasionally eat a banana or coconut.

My! how the wind is blowing. The coconut leaves about the house are swirling & switch at a great rate. And the water must be rough by this time. Will have a look from the wharf & see how the schooner stands to her ropes & moorings.

Today I sent a few of my mats & loose articles to my bunk & tomorrow will finish fix[ing] my bed. Everyone's luggage will have to go in the little cabin & lockers, as the balance of the ship will be filled with cargo. Joe is trying to talk sending the **Jenny** to Manila instead of the **Santa Cruz** from Pelew & so it goes—changing, changing each day, one can depend upon nothing. Good night.

Terang, Yap. Friday night, Sept. 25th 1890.

It's blowing a regular gale since dark & some of the wind puffs are fearful—very little rain accompanies such. Last night's blowing continued until the morning, with con-

¹ Ed. note: A reference to his Dentistry College.

siderable rain. But the wind did no damage holding steady from the westward & north. The day has been cloudy & a little rain. Some of the beche-de-mer was taken on board & if the day tomorrow is the same, the balance of cargo ought to be shipped. The day has passed quickly to me what with my writing & seeing after my traps & a few new curios; it has kept me busy most of the day in my room. I also overhauled my papers & letters & seeing some of your old letters make me more anxious to get to Hong Kong & at some of my letters. There must be a good pile of them by this time.

Tomam came today & has brought my Yap dwelling house model. It is about 2 x 3-1/4 feet over all. He is at work today upon the doors & tomorrow has to put on the thatch roof. It is a true model & well made & I shall do my best to carry it. He also bought me 2 old Yap tortoise-shell fish-hooks, almost round, a fine N° 1 Yap comb with a fancy moveable top for securing feathers or bright colored cloth, a good sample of Yap tobacco in leaf in an old tobacco pouch. Joe gave me a nice egg-shaped *rang*, a fine belt from Sorol, made of square pieces of coconut, worn by married women only & as ornament at the waist & not for a dress belt over the hips & 3 small tortoise-shell knives 3 in. long, for splitting the hard betel nut by the old men,¹ also 2 small tobacco pouches; all belong Yap, all white, the Pelew one being white & black material.

Tomam brought me a large basket of betel nut & another basket of leaves for same, as I wish them for a present in Korrer to my friends. The leaf is very scarce in Pelew just now & the nut small & young. Consequently, they are in much demand there, where every man & woman are constantly using the same. He speaks the best English of any Yap native that I have met, is very intelligent & industrious, but very **slow** in all his work.

[Description of a Sonsorol dance]

This eve, 5 of our Sonsorol boys gave me a Sonsorol dance in full costume of white strips of banana bark tied, 1st a band around head with 2 horns sticking upwards, one around the neck, 2 on each arm at biceps & below elbow, one around hand with 2 solid ends extending over finger points & used as clappers, one around hips, with a long stiff end standing out behind like a tail & two on each leg with long ends & bunch at ankles, and by the candle light outdoors they [i.e. the Sonsorol natives] looked more like Indians (red men) than South Sea natives. The young men have a different dance to the old men or women who each have their own dance. They stood in line & gave a sing song, low soft-sounding sort of a droning & accompanied it with contortions of the arms, legs & body, & keeping the feet planted firmly, finally winding up the different parts by a series of very immodest motions, amidst the shouts and applauses of the native audience. After two or three minutes' spell, they repeated the same 2 or 3 times from beginning to end. The last time one dancer made a slight change by the shuffling of the feet. Next they all sat down on a long [what?] & gave us a sitting dance, with plenty more twistings & arm movements that resembled the first so much that I got

1 Ed. note: A small sketch shows some triangularly-shaped object in side view.

tired of it & walked away with Joe, who told them to **finish now**. Mrs. Dollavu tells me that 3 or 4 dances are about all that Sonsorol people have. It don't amount to very much, what little I saw, still it's ahead of the Hebrides dance.

They have all gone to bed again & I'm left alone as usual. The rain has stopped the past two hours & the wind is light. So long & good night.

Terang, Yap, Sunday morning Sept. 28th.

We've not gone yet & so stormy & dirty looking that no telling when we will be gone. The cargo can be all finished in 2 hours of sunshine. I believe only 30 bags more are needed of the beche-de-mer. Last night & also Friday night were bad storms & very strong winds. Last eve the Spanish Governor said that his storm indicator came within 2 points of hurricane at 8 p.m. Friday. The sky this morning is all overcast & same as past 3 days. Full moon this eve & they all count on a change. This is the Equinoctial storm & the change of monsoons. Whatever it may be, I much prefer my present comfortable quarters here. Hark! Sail ho! Sail ho! Sail ho!

All excitement now, & singing out from little Davey up to the older men. What can she be? Capt. Boddy says it's a ship. They can see her just outside harbor & no signal has been raised on the mountain station. Perhaps this means another upset in plans & delay for us.

When loaded the **Jenny** will have about 30,000 lbs copra & in all about a \$5,000 cargo. Yesterday the big Chief Rannabi came with 4 of his men, to go Pelew. This man owes O'K as much copra as would fill the Sch. **Jenny** twice, and keeps on getting deeper every month. They are the only passengers so far & Joe has told the Chief that there is no room for him in the cabin, if he insists on going it must be a deck passenger, etc. It was at his place that I saw my first Yap dance.

Last eve, 5:30 p.m. Joe had Capt. B. & I down to the Governor's & we landed just in time to escape a hard rain. We did no business after all. I was to witness paying the cook for time on Terang \$10, but two days ago he put in a claim for his full time on Sch. **Jenny** (where he did no work, etc.). But this makes a trial necessary & a delay of ship for him, unless his claim is paid. As he must be taken out of the islands & as it is Capt. O'K is liable to a \$50 fine, which he might have to pay if the case is known or carried to Manila. Just so, & now Joe may be compelled to hand over the \$22 or so. This may be the work of Madam B.'s interpretation, etc.

At dark, we landed at Dunij. Mr. Hutter & Lewis at home & at dinner table. Everything neat & clean as a pin & the tall pleasant-faced China cook served up the dishes in a quiet & graceful style, without any words—something of a contrast to the life on Terang.

All hands declare the ship outside to be the **Santa Cruz**, & if so, it will be a change of program [for] sure... 10 minutes later, & down on the wharf. Here comes the **Santa Cruz**, half way into the Harbor already. She looks to be full of men on deck. Wonder if it can be possible for her not to have been to the Pelews. Some think so & the storms

& hard winds have all been from that direction. Joe is much relieved that the old man will be here to settle that cook affair himself.

Another feature of Capt. W.'s proceedings is showing itself in his saying he can not find his passport, but thinks he will, amongst some of his papers. Without a passport he can not be landed at Manila & then O'K would be compelled to take him to Hong Kong. A nice game to play, which can be check-mated by quietly getting a second passport & holding in reserve.

We stopped over 2 hours at Mr. Hutter's. I was much interested in an article on anti-septic surgery in the Oct. 1889 Harper's Monthly, while the others had their cards & beer. Mine was tea. Mr. H. gave me a Wolei woman's woven tapa dress & Mr. L. gave me a large pearl fish-hook from the Marshalls, and also showed me a large blanket mat & 2 small mats that make the women's dress about 2-1/2 feet square each & nicely bordered in dark color. The woman wears one in front from waist to a little below knees & the other wrapped around the back with edges in front. The man wears one of the same mats, corner wise between the legs & up in front & rear. They are made of banana stalk & very soft & pliable & nicely made. The Capt. of **Flink** Sch. had brought them for Mr. L.'s wife in Guam. Mr. H. has taken my address in your care at 1055 Broadway (I can't remember your new office) & has kindly offered to secure me some curios & extra fine mats from Strong's [Kosrae] Island (where they excel in mats), Pleasant [Nauru] Island & Marshalls. He intends to return to the Marshalls by their next vessel & he can get these articles through ordering from their Branch traders on these islands & then will send them to us at Frisco in one of Crawford's vessels from the Marshalls, say in 7 or 8 months from now, next May or June at soonest. & So look out for them if I'm not home & **pay all charges** for same. I understand that the Marshall natives all **savey plenty** now & handle silver money & drive good bargains. And Jaluit is a regular little head center of island trade. There goes the **Santa Cruz** anchor. The Doctor is on board & Joe has just gone off on board.¹

Noon. After breakfast & all on shore. O'K has had a rough time of it. 3 days they made Pelew & for 8 more days beat up & down it, in bad storms all the time that gave them no chance to get inside the reef. The wind was something awful at times & the Yap chiefs on board requested O'K to return to Yap or they would all be lost. For the past 3 nights, O'K has hardly slept, the squalls so sudden & strong & the Mate hardly experienced enough to master them. Consequently, he is looking used up & needing rest & says neither vessel goes outside until better weather. It is a \$500 fine to the Capt. of any ship who lands a person at Manila or Philippines without a passport. We don't know yet the future program. But you see the original or yesterday's is gone the way of the past.

Yesterday Tomam finished my house [model] & has placed a bamboo frame around it & this morning I got his fine large cone shell bracelet after much urging & paying him big. He tells me that a Yap man is supposed not to sell such a shell, & requested me not

1 Ed. note: The Doctor went on board in accordance with quarantine regulations.

to show it to any of them. You will notice it is large & nicely finished & is one of their best in shape. But, of course, not so valuable as a large shell. I have given him a coat & vest, socks (which the Yap & Pelew men use for holding betel nut leaf), my fine instrument drill with 3 doz. drill points, files & saws out of my dental stock, small Arkansas(?) stone,¹ gold earrings & gold wash neck chain, 3 hand excavators, making extra big pay for his stuff & others he has promised to get. The house [model] stands me \$12. in my traps. I have not seen a good canoe model in Yap, small enough for me.

I made another purchase this morning through Chief Rannaby of 3 pearl cone bracelets, 1 Mogamog man's tapa, a little dirty with *rang* & wear & 1 clean new Yap man's woven tapa. The Mogamog one is about 18 in. wide. The Yap is only about 14 inches & not as fine as Mogamog's: costs \$1.50 silver.

Mr. Lewis says the Mogamog tapa are the finest & softest & best made of all the Carolines, and their weaving machines are about 4 feet long & quite simple in construction, and takes a woman two weeks to make one tapa from the [blank, beginning?]. The Mogamog woman's dress is about 2 in. wider & a little longer than the man's. They all resemble an ordinary-sized face towel with long fringing. The Marshall neat dresses have no such fringing, at edges, but their 6-in. wide bordering on its four square sides make it have a finished appearance & would make a good fancy stand cover. I don't know what the celebrated Strong's Island mats excel in.

[The mats of Nauru]

At Pleasant I., in Dollavu's day there, their finest large mats are made of softest pandanus, well selected & cured. When ready to make mats for the season, 50 or 100 or 150 would go into some large house & stop there like prisoners almost for one, two, & three months at a time, not going to their houses during that time & no man or boy can come to that big house or even speak to any of the women even if it's the wife or mother. Should a man do so, the women catch him, make him fast & then they all go to his house & take everything there & then pull the house down. After that the man is set free. At Pleasant Island they make all sizes of mats & often made mats to order to fit house. Dollavu also tells me of some very small island eastward called Mer-ry [= Marakei?] where they make extra fine & small square mats, very white & soft, mostly for ornaments. A year or so ago, they had a few of them on Terang. They were about 20 or 24 in. & dif. from any others, etc. I can't find such an island on the chart. I must get the position of the islands that stand in my list of words, & if possible a small chart.

One hour later. O'K's luggage has been brought from the **Santa Cruz** & is being unpacked. The rain holds off, plenty cool wind, no sun & very pleasant. I am not so bright today, too lazy by half. In a few days O'K will again start for Pelew with both vessels, finish there & then take **Santa Cruz** on to Manila, etc. By so doing we will just miss the Manila mail Str. if she should come as expected, next month.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps for honing or sharpening instruments.

Noon. Tuesday, Sept. 30th 1890.

Rain! Blow! Rain! Blow! all yesterday as hard as it could. A regular nasty wet day in which we could do little or nothing outdoors. Sunday & last night [there] were very bad squalls & [there] blew sometimes a regular gale, with occasional sheet lightning. Once about 3 p.m. yesterday, Joe & O'K declared they felt a slight earthquake while we were sitting under a shed on the wharf. I did not notice any such indications. They have got the Sch. **Jenny** away from the wharf & as soon as weather permits she goes alongside the **Santa Cruz** to discharge & then she will be beached over at Degorre & her bottom seen to & more copper put on & when that is done will follow the **Santa Cruz** to Pelews. I am well satisfied not to be out at sea during this weather & it's a lucky [one] for the **Santa Cruz** to have got into the Harbor when she did. Several times the booming of the sea from the west coast has been plainly heard here on Terang & Capt. Boddy would hardly believe that I could not hear its roaring—so loud did it sound to him Sunday eve.

At this writing we have had no rain for 2 hours & at 4 a.m. the sky was clear & the full moon shone lovely for an hour. I was up three different times last night & found raining hard each time. Last night the other traders were intending to spend the evening here, but the stormy night must have kept them away. Sunday night O'K, Boddy & Joe did not return from Friedlander's until 2 a.m. & then got a wetting. Consequently, I was very glad I did not accompany them as requested.

Terang, Yap, Wednesday 8 p.m. Oct. 1st 1890.

It seems good to see the sun a little, after so much rain & storms that have been about the largest, severest that I have seen in the tropics & presume I would have thought them more hard had I been at sea.

[Description of life at Ngulu]

This morning the **Eugenie** returned from the Matelotus [Ngulu]. They have had a wet rough time of it & had to give up trying to get to the Pelews after reaching half-way. The Chief of Matelotus has been in Goroore (to which place she is tributary) with three canoes for some time & when the **Eugenie** left he requested O'K to allow him to send some grub & things to his people at Matelotus on her. This was granted & the stuff delivered over upon arrival. But strange to say the people were very unfriendly with Edwards & Sims & their 3 Yap sailors. [They] would give them no water without pay & for 3 small fish they demanded 2 sticks tobacco, would sell them no mats, belts, or curios of any kind, never asked any of them into their houses, not even the Yap men. The only thing they bought was some old copper, taken from wrecked vessels¹ & that, only after a long haggles & talk. The 2 men stopped on board every night, while the Yapmen found an old vacant house where they slept. Edwards says their houses look well made & comfortable & the yard around houses & in front road is very smooth & clean with

1 Ed. note: Which vessels were shipwrecked on Ngulu previous to 1890? Good question.

a sort of white coral stone pebbles. This place is noted for their fine white sleeping mats & I was in hopes they would bring some of them. Most of the men are here at Goroore, only about a dozen at the Group, but plenty of young boys, women & girls. The boat & men were a wet looking sight when they arrived—no sleep much for 3 nights, no wonder they look hard. for a wonder it has been dry all day, with a little sun, so they soon had her unloaded & out at anchor.

Very little has been done today on the Schooners and it looks as if we were never to get away from here, at this rate. Now, it's the talk to wait for arrival of mail Str. this month, etc. etc.

The stars are showing a few & it begins to look as if the bad weather is breaking for good. The wind is very moderate & comfortable, but it has brought the mosquitos most uncomfortable whenever the wind is not strong. Last night & today I have been not so well as usual & makes me all the more grumpish. So I shall say good-bye & turn in early & try to sleep it off. Jno.

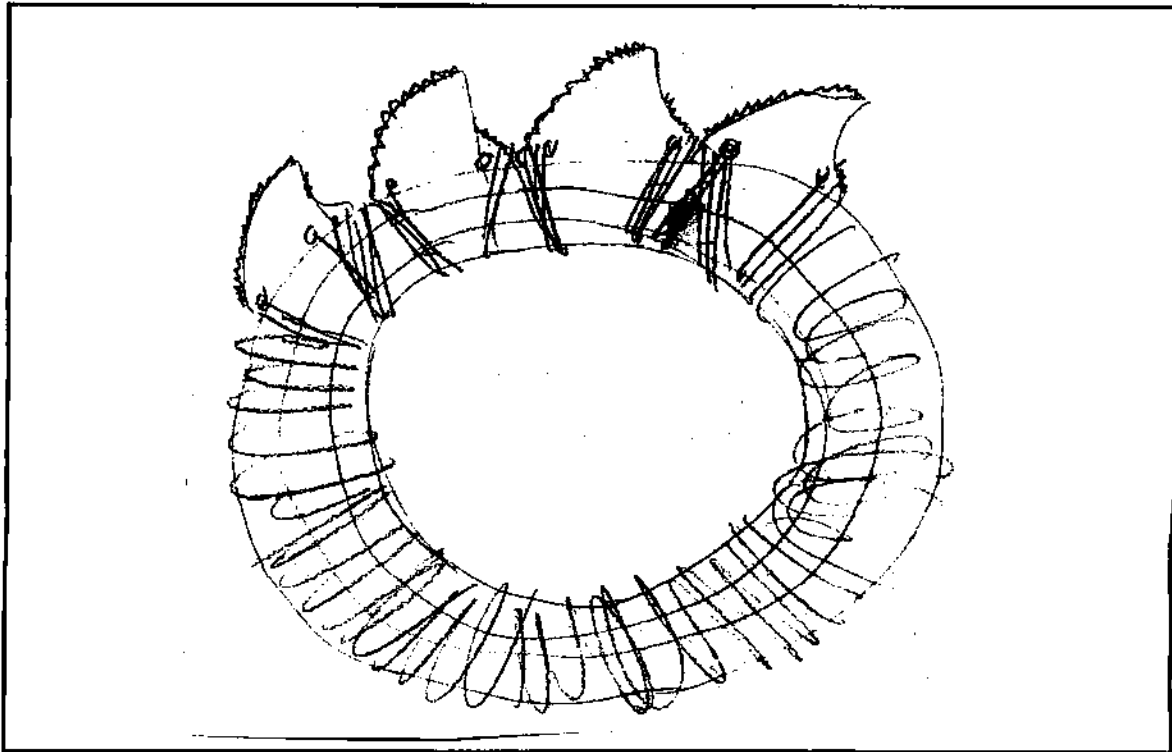
Terang, Yap. Friday Oct. 3rd, 1890.

9 p.m. And again we have the rain with us. About 4:30 it came on with the old style hard blow & driving rain & lasted for half an hour, a regular gale. When it let up a little I had my evening bath. All day Mr. Sims & I have been in the closed store-room stock-taking & I was ready for a good bath after so much dirt & sweat. Yesterday we started at this job, that will last us for several days yet, if we are to go through everything. Joe had started at this job, but owing to some irregularity, O'K was not satisfied with his work. So yesterday morning he sent him away with the **Eugenie** to the Pelew Station [in Yap] & other places up north. And requested S. & I to take stock. Am glad to have something to do, as it has made the time pass much more quickly to me & I feel the better for it.

Yesterday was a clear, lovely day. The same last night & on up to 4 p.m. today. The **Jenny** has discharged into the **Santa Cruz** & away to her anchor. The China cook came on board of her yesterday & resumed duty. Most of the Yap men are stopping on the **Santa Cruz**, who started for Pelews & O'K is feeding them all this time.

Night before last Mr. H[utter], F[riedlander] & L[ewis] came up & spent the eve, arriving so late we did not expect them & about retiring. All the same they had cards & beer until 11 p.m. when they had a fine cold lunch laid on the verandah, I indulging in none & in fact, I slipped away to bed while they were eating. I'm no company in such games & manage to have my novel handy to fall back upon.

Pelew: a Knuckle Duster, full-size. How would you like to be struck with this Pelew weapon? It is 4 shark's teeth firmly bound onto a strong frame & must be an ugly thing in fighting. In general fight it is struck horizontally, but when they intend to kill they strike downwards. O'K gave me this one & tells me they have something of same kind in the Eastern Carolines.



Palauan "knuckle-duster".

9:30 O'K & Dollovu have finished cards. The rain has stopped & good that I stop & turn in. Good night & so long.

Terang. Sunday night. Oct. 5th 1890. 9 p.m.

Another wet day. Rain, rain & rain, until you can't rest today. I tried resting for a while in my bed, reading a novel. Presently O'K & Joe came in to invoice his gold & white lip mother-of-pearl shell that he has packed carefully in camphor chests in pairs. He has some large lovely pairs. They are Ileulu [Iloilo, Panay] shell, near the north end of Borneo, between there & Zamboanga & about the same latitude as the Pelew Islands, and the only free port the Spanish have in all the Philippines, and a place I had been figuring on visiting on my way from Manila to North Borneo last spring. Am very sorry now that I did not go that way, as I am sure I would not have had a year's loss of time & no chance to use my profession, as here. Confound my luck in getting into this mess. Here it will soon be Christmas again & not much time for me to get you word by then. No doubt you are all getty uneasy at my long silence. And to tell the truth I'm the same way about your letters & news that may be laying at Hong Kong for me & now the question with me is when am I ever going to get there? No use for us to kick & growl about not being under-way at sea. Because this bad hurricane weather has set in with a vengeance & would play the mischief with our small schooners in trying to make head-way against it. Far safer on land just now, & as long as the wind is dead ahead, we lose

no time. All the same, my time is being lost & I count such as dead loss from July 1st last. O'K was very fortunate indeed to get in with the **Santa Cruz** when he did. There has been only one or two short spells since then that it would have been possible.

I believe I have told you how highly this mother-of-pearl shell in pairs is valued by these Yap men. It is their current coin (money) & they use all sizes, preferring the black-lip ones.

Yesterday at 3 p.m. Mr. S. & I finished the stock-taking in store-room, leaving the goods in regular store shape & accessible, whereas before they were in a miserable mess & no regularity & no attempt to economize room. Am glad it's finished, too closed in there.

The day had been pleasant, but cloudy & at 3:30 it came on another hard squall. These winds are something terrific & have played bad havoc with the poor Yap men's small tobacco gardens on the west coast & that is the place where most of the Yap tobacco is raised. Consequently, they [i.e. the traders] anticipate a good season for selling tobacco next year here in Yap. After the hardest blow was over, I had my eve bath as it was getting dark & it was none too warm, I can assure you. My old bath house is open at the bottom part for a foot up the 4 sides & the wind has full play around there. Then the flat board roof is something better than lattice work, but not exactly steam tight—the dripping over head & upon my clothes is not the strongest inducement for prolonged bath. However, I managed to stand the wetting & cold & I do believe that I am about the only one now on Terang free from a cold for the past wet season. All more or less are coughing, blowing & sneezing all day long.

Just at dark yesterday, Joe returned from Pelew Station with 31 bags beche-de-mer. The Pelew men made only 10 bags of it & will make no more & are here, wanting to return to Pelew again.

Tuesday morning, Oct 7th 1890. 8:30 a.m.

At last, we seem to have a break in the storm. Last night the moon managed to show its face just before morning & the sun has been out about half the time. The winds have returned to the ordinary pleasant breeze & the air is much lighter & pleasant. And I trust we have seen the last of these hard blows & gales.

Yesterday was about as nasty a day as any of them—several squalls & plenty drizzling rain—that interfered with everything outdoors. One day it made it so dark at 3 p.m. that we had to eat our dinner by lamp-light [as] we had to have the doors & verandah shutters all closed & even then we could hardly keep the lamp from blowing out. It's ahead of all tropical winds that I have seen. Now is the month for the bad typhoons on China Seas & right glad am I not to be crossing that body of water just now. Yesterday was Sunday & the ships' crews did not work & that was about all the notice that the day received in Terang as such. I hardly thought of the day & after dinner I managed to box my Yap house in a strong case 3-2/12 feet long & 1-9/12 ft. wide & marked my name & top side with coal tar & a stick for a brush. The thing seems to be **all box**

& nothing in it, the house being so light & so much of it roofing. It is a splendid & true model & well worth the trouble.

I am now after a model canoe & some other things that Tomam promised to hunt up. He left yesterday for his home at South point, in company with the old Chief from Gororre who owns the Matelotus & who receives most of their mats & belts brought up each year. Edwards says they brought up 30-odd belts this [year], by what they heard at the island there & he has promised me a N^o 1 mat & belt, & some pearl cone shell bracelets. Some of these pearl bracelets look fine on the arm & I should say far ahead of the girl's silver bangled concerns. I am getting all I can of them, for presents. I know Miss Maud will fancy a set & surprise the elite with her bracelets. It's strange that very few of those small cat's eyes or Operculums¹ are found here [as they] are so plentiful at Samoa & Fijis.

(Confound these mosquitos, there are only a few here, but they all go for me, through cotton socks & pyjamas, while the youngsters (8) are kicking about half naked).

Saturday night after my chat with you, I sat up until after 11 p.m. watching them at cards & they kept it up until 3 a.m. Consequently, yesterday was a sleepy day for them. Last night Joe & Ed gave us music for two hours. Poor Boddy has drank himself into the horrors today—[sees] rats & black men.

Wednesday morning. Oct. 8.

The weather still holds clear & pleasant & seems to be settled for good, with the old south wind blowing which is fair winds for Pelews & must be the same for Manila.

I don't know when O'K intends sailing again. One day will get **Santa Cruz** all ready for sea & the Yap & Pelew men returned yesterday with a lot of grub. Looks as if they don't intend being left. I see some of the Pelew boys upon the **Santa Cruz**. Soft thing for them to be living there & nothing in the shape of work. Just what they like. But O'K has set the loafers a job in repairing the long thatched roofing of the coal shed that the storm broke down last week. The carpenter Ned & his 3 native carpenters are getting along nicely with the new copra building in the spot of the old one on the wharf. It is built of strong Pelew wood frame, iron roofing & plank siding.

After breakfast yesterday I accompanied Joe to the settlement after the Doctor to come & see the Act of Parliament who has been ailing with some skin eruption ever since I met him & now it's much worse & so bad that he keeps his rooms & compels his meals to be carried there. Presume he would not call the Doctor before on account of expense & now he will have to suffer for his meanness as the Doctor calls it a severe chronic case of an **old sickness** of his, badly neglected. I called at Hutter's for an hour chatting with him & Lewis, they drinking the beer. Mr. L. has been on the sick list, gastric fever, for four days. H. has got plenty beche-de-mer on hand, far more than their **Dofia Bartola** sch. can carry to Hong Kong. He intends to send it to Hong Kong about middle Dec. so as to be there a short time before the China New Year, which comes

1 Ed. note: *Turbo petholatus*, in Latin.

late this year. That is the best market time for selling that luxury to the Mongolians. Besides, having good settled & safe winds in that month for a quick trip. At the Madam's I had a long chat with her & she had a new Yap spear & necklace of square pieces of white sea-shell & the dark coconut shell. The spear I declined with thanks, as it was not N° 1. If we stop here much longer, I must try to get some of her past experience amongst the islands. She has seen many islands & no doubt plenty of strange sights. She was speaking of being in Bully Hayes' ship. He was a notorious South Sea character in his day, a sort of pirate, and a relative of ex-President Hayes, U.S.A. By this time the boat ought to be arriving at Canteen to get me home for our 3:30 dinner.

(Hello! here comes a large plate of cooked fish upstairs, been caught by line & O'K gave orders for 2 or 3 of them to be sent into W. for his breakfast, while at our big table downstairs we have had no fish for weeks, & no chickens. All fresh pork or tinned meats. Thanks fortune my stomach & appetite are all right again & I can relish & eat a little outside of rice & chicken or fish.)

I found no boat & no boat came, so I had to return with the 3 schoolboys at 4:30 & it was 5:30 before we had our half cold dinner, that had been saved for us. While waiting at the Canteen, talking with M., the Spanish Capt. of troops sent a man after him to appear at court for trial of the thief who stole that money the 13th Sept. that I mentioned to you. It seems the man had paid a small bill on 14th at Canteen. So Mr. Millet has been called upon as a witness & 4 times they have had him to shut up the store, go over to the Barracks & give that little evidence, the same thing each time. On Monday, they kept him there 3 hours, fooling away his time for 10 minutes' talk. And again this morning (Tuesday) they had him called over at 9 a.m. only to send him back after a half hour's detention with an excuse that they were not ready for him just yet. So, the second call that day came while I was there, 4 p.m. & I went along to witness this wonderful court trial. After waiting half an hour for the Capt. & Sergeant to finish some pen scratching & the Manila man secretary reading the same to the said court of the two above-mentioned men, Madame Bartola, Government interpreter, a good-size & good-looking Manila sailor or marine man (coxswain of steam launch) now in the witness stand & who seems to have tripped himself or said a different thing in some of the 3 or 4 examinations they had already given him on different days & now the poor fellow stands a chance of being sentenced as severely as the thief himself someday. That was all the court I saw & we were in the Capt. bamboo & betel nut slat flooring house. They asked Mr. Millet only a few questions & they were the usual cues, viz. if he still claimed that so & so story was the same as he had already told. And when he told them **Yes! most decidedly!** Then he was finished. Court adjourned, & the Manila witness "vamoused". The Sergeant cleared out. The Capt. brought out a 3-in. green Chili pepper & presented [it] to the delighted Madame (no drinks set up) & then the smiling secretary bowed himself away & we also made our company scarce, with a growl of contempt at such a farce.

I forgot to mention that M. had to sign his name to some writing or other, just before adjournment, the Madame followed suit, but taking a wonderful long time over

it. I asked M. if he had had to sign his name, each day he had given evidence & how much witness fees he was to receive? The whole thing made me remember that French court at Dominique Island, Marquesas Group, where the vice Resident Judge, Jury & **Boss** did not know the day of month & also told the interpreter to inform Mr. Frank H. that he could make his complaint to the court in writing **either in English or United States language!** (Mr. H. was American).

You may believe I was hungry by the time we had dinner & not overly well pleased at neglect of Joe's not sending boat. I found chief Ranaby waiting for me with 3 Wolie [Woleai] woven tapa dresses (2 been used) & 1 Yap dress for which he asked a silver dollar. The Yap tapa is much coarse braid than the others & you will also observe that the Wolie is not as fine as Mogamog make. Mr. Lewis says the Mogamog people sometimes weave the pineapple fiber into their finest tapa.

While I was at my bath at 7 p.m. O'K, Joe & Edwards were pulled over to Duniij for the evening & cards, getting back at 2 a.m. I turned in early after giving the children a lesson in "Casena"¹ and had a fine sleep.

Joe is getting ready for a boat trip of a few days around the island. It is cloudy up a little & wind rising. I got an ornamented bamboo lime stick, while having my tea & raw egg at 7 a.m. & just now the Pelew owner sent up word that he wanted a small looking glass for it. They have not got that 1 strip of copper finished upon the **Jenny**, slow work in the water.

Thursday noon. Oct. 9.

How the time does fly? A few days more & half this month will be gone & nothing done. Last night 10 p.m. another hard blow & squall struck us. All evening I felt it was coming as the air was very closed, no breeze & plenty mosquitos which drove us all to bed early. It was all I could do to stand their bites long enough to hear little Jim & Jenny read through some of their lessons in the 2nd & 3rd readers.

About noon I went on board the **Santa Cruz** for the first time since her return & stopped there while they assisted in pulling the **Jenny** into deep water, after her coppering was finished. The old ship & small cabin looks more like an old whaler or cold-country sailer than [one for] this climate. But it's no dodging another trip in some of them, in order to get away from here. I find my pulling the boat the other eve with the boys was enough to hurt me again & looks as though I'm to play the lazy idler with a vengeance. Most of the things are loaded on **Santa Cruz** & the copra house is almost finished. The Pelew men work about 1/3 their time upon the thatch roofing on coal shed. They are a lazy set & hard to keep them working. We had fresh fish for breakfast, the first for a long time. I'm playing tailor upon mending cotton pyjamas that I wear exclusively now. Here comes another squall from the southward & the boy has just shot a chicken for the dinner's soup.

1 Ed. note: Casino, or cassino, a card game.

Friday night. Oct. 10th. Terang, Yap Island, Carolines.

Another day gone & at last O'K has set the day of our departure for next Monday, the 13th. So far so good. Now, we will wait & see if we really get away that day. Am precious sure that I would not bet much on it.

Several chiefs were here today. Laro drunk as usual & no good, although he promised me that he would speak to his man tomorrow, who has one of the few Yap weaving machines to make me one or two Yap man's lava-lava & on the next day (Sunday) he would come to Terang & take me to see the man at work, as I'm anxious to have a look at this native weaving apparatus.

Tomam & the Goroore Chief got back this morning & the latter brought me the promised canoe. He had it made since he left here & the black paint is not dry yet. I have carefully marked & numbered the parts & joints of the canoe, the sail & the sail ropes before taking it apart & packing in the box with Yap house. You surely can put them together again, with the mast & sail raised. It is a splendid model of the "popo" style of Yap canoes & the one they use the most. The Chief also brought me the promised Matalotus sleeping mat & a fine dancing belt (women's) made of small wheels of white sea shell, coconut shell & some tortoise-shell braces. It's a six-strand belt & exactly the same as the Wolei belt that O'K gave me.¹ The mat is not a N° 1 & not what I wanted, as I already have one as good from Tomam. Tomam brought only 4 plain tortoise-shell bangles. Last night, I bought another necklace from the Hermits, also a Hermit knife [of] tortoise shell & a tortoise-shell (Yap) bangles 1-1/2 [inch] high. If smoothed & nicely polished these bangles would be something new for the young ladies at home, same way with the pearl cone bangles.

While under the coconut trees at work upon that canoe today, O'K shot a fowl & some of the shot struck all around us & one struck the Old Chief on the head, but did no hurt. I missed by as good as a mile, he says. The shot had struck the ground & glanced upwards a long distance away.

It's closed again tonight with plenty of mosquitos & Joe back at 6 p.m. from north.

Terang, Yap. Saturday night, Oct. 11th 1890.

Today my boxes & large trunk were taken on board the **Santa Cruz**, leaving me only three handbags for the cabin & a trip of several weeks, for all I know. But she is to be loaded full up & all the room occupied. This afternoon Joe & I visited the Governor's to get **Santa Cruz** papers, also the Doctor, who today gave Joe his medical bill against O'K & Terang in general for the past 12 months (excepting Joe & myself). It was \$180.00 for all. Act of Parliament catches \$10 of it, Capt. Boddy a major slice of it, while Edwards & all the white men have their share. O'K has been asking the Doctor a long time to send in his bill, as it catches him sometimes, when some of his men should leave his employ & medical bill [remain] unpaid. The Doctor has to pay over to

¹ Ed. note: There follows a sketch of the belt design, somewhat reminiscent of the strings of a guitar, or rather a Chinese abacus, because of its round beads...

the Government 1/2 the money received from outside practice & is supposed to make a charge of \$4.00 per visit to him & \$5.00 to the house if in settlement or close by. He tells me to keep quiet & off my feet as much as possible, eat beef, fish & fowl, no pork or legumes. Yes! Just what I should like, a good porter-house [steak] or fish or fowl properly cooked & that I know can not be had short of San Francisco. You can't get a good beef steak in Hong Kong, at least I never saw one there nor in Australia Colonies. I am inclined to think that **Mister John Bull** does not **Savey** make a Yankee Porter-House or a Choice Steak. They have at the A-1 Hotel "rump steaks" on the bill of fare. Just now I would not refuse even that. My appetite is all right again & it's a little hard to satisfy it upon a dish [of] chicken & rice soup, followed by rice, pumpkin, **cold sweet potatoes** & bread & butter, for a late dinner 4:30 p.m. And breakfast 10:30 a.m. on some fresh fish. Joe surprised me a little today with the information that these Yap people cook their large fish, pigs & such in a hole in the ground covered with stones, leaves & dirt. They cook the fish just as they come out of water & the fowls cooked, feathers & all. This is something I have not seen in Yap. Stopping here on Terang is bad for my investigations amongst the natives. Too bad I'm not allowed to tramp around. This cool weather makes me feel as if I could walk all over Yap (Uap & Yuap) & enjoy it, & that is the only way to see a place.

The Madame gave me 2 doz. or so nice lemons today & also had a pair extra fine pearly cone shell bangles for Della [sic]; they are nice clear ones & I shall mark them so as to be no mistake. She would have me take a tortoise-shell bracelet with her name in full in large silver letters, made by one of her boys. It's a good piece of work & opens with a regular snap-spring catch & made with next to no tool.

The other day I gave the Doctor some 20-odd Fiji shells, those small banded ones. 2 months ago, I had given him a complete set of 8 or 10 matched ones for sleeve buttons & now he is after more of the same, but these last are the remnants & not matched & he noticed the difference at once. He has been collecting curios & shell the past 3 years in Carolines & must have considerable stuff by this time. He is as bad as I am after such things & takes good care not to display them. He has shown me nothing, of himself, but during my first visit to his house & office I saw a few things scattered about the room. None since then, & nothing has he offered to me. I know that O'K & Joe give him things every voyage & they are generally the first pick. The new Governor has his large writing table in the center of his office almost covered with small boxes of shells, a few large shell & coral & many curios, from all around. I see the Padre Daniel has brought him & the Doctor combs & shells, etc. from Pelews. At one time he had two cigar boxes full of dead shells from the beach given to him during his first trip around Yap. I looked them over at the time & mentioned they were no good & now they are missing.

At Duniij, we found Mr. H. reclining in his easy chair on verandah, still on the sick list & showing it in his looks. Mr. L. not much better. I got my three books & again bade them Good-bye & this is only the 4th or 5th time for these same farewells.

O'K & three others are at cards & beer inside, while I'm out in the cooler verandah. It is again **closed** tonight & made me wet with perspiration in my room this eve, while doing some sewing. About 3 p.m. a black cloud came up in SW & looked a bad squall, but it all passed around by 5 p.m. leaving the same settled weather & fair wind for Pelew outside. Joe reports heavy tides up north.

Just now I heard some crying from the Maria men's house & was told it was Tomas the "missionary" boy having one of his "Devil fits". He says the Devil has got a hold of him at such time. Last week after Mrs. Dollavu had given him a light licking for his neglect of work as assistant cook in the kitchen, he was in these sulks for over 2 days, doing no work, & tramp, tramp, tramp up & down in front of a small house in garden most of the day, throwing his hands & talking to himself, doing no work. Tonight I went for a look, after he had been howling for half an hour. Found him stretched out upon a bunk in the large beche-de-mer house, where several of the natives sleep to be near the fire. 8 or 10 boys & 1 girl were there in the dark. I made them get a light from the fire logs, so I could have a good look at the young man & his Devil. The girl after some delay & hesitating talk amongst themselves got a light, but would not hold it so I could see the face, & I had to take the little torch in my own hand. All this time the boy was mumbling & shaking left leg as if chilled & ague. His head, hands, arms & legs were cold & clammy. I failed to catch his pulse from the constant jerking. He paid no attention to me nor my voice & kept his eyes closed. I held his hand a while & as I left he got easier & since my return to my writing have not heard him. The audience seemed glad when I left him & his Devil superstition to themselves.

Sunday night. Oct. 12th.

I'm tired tonight & feel as if I could take a rest with my novel for an hour or so. They have all (O'K, Joe, Edwards & Boddy) gone to Duniij to spend the eve. Mr. Lewis & Friedlander were here to dinner, Mr. H. unable to come. Presume they will make a late night of it, as tomorrow is our sailing day. I am all ready for it & anxious to make a start. All day I have been in my room sewing & have lined my St. David's hat (a large fine pandanus braid) with some kind of blue gauze stuff & removing the inside of my old bicycle cap, I managed to get it in place, so as to make a very good job for a beginner & the hat is far more comfortable now, besides I wish to preserve it for a specimen to send you. And if I do, ten chances to one, if you don't wear it while kicking about the yard or stable, or give it to the last young "Arab" for a play thing. Your baby's must think you have a rare lot of funny playthings for them if they get to see all the ugly stuff that I have shipped home. I would not mind seeing them myself, as well as greeting you & all the rest at home.

Hello! here comes a quiet rain. Had not noticed the clouds. It has not come with a rush of wind & a sudden fierce downpour of driving rain like the late gales. Not at all, it is keeping a steady scale of music with a slight run of light and strong discharge, that may last some time. Am afraid it is going to make me shift my seat from the cool verandah here, into the room & that I don't like.

One of the Chiefs brought me a good Matelotus belt today & also 7 very poor shell bangles & wanted \$3.00 silver for them. But when he saw one of the trade (\$5.00 washed gold chains he wanted that, promising to get me some more good bangles at Rull tonight, so I let him take it. That is three or four of those belts, that I have got.

The Yap men have a very valuable necklace 2 & 3 feet long, made from the red teeth nicks of the Tridacna shell from Pelew. They are not plenty & can not be bought. They look nice upon their brown skin. They are made of round wheels at the lower ends in front about half in. diameter & 1/16 to 1/8 in. thick, 8 or 10 inches of these at each end gradually increasing in size, then small square piece commence of [figure]¹ alternating with a wheel between the squares, until in the middle back of neck the pieces are [figure]² almost 2 inches long. All a nice dark red & well polished.³

The above is a very faint indication of what I have been talking about & you will notice that the sketch is nothing like any of the necklets that I have secured in Yap or Pelews. It is something like the Pelew stone money in regard to its commercial value. To be of much account it must be kept here in its home. I hardly think you or even any crazy museum would wish to pay from \$100 to \$150.00 worth of copra for such a necklace. Such has been paid here in Yap.

The rain has stopped & I'm still holding the fort, or the verandah. But my candle is down to the last half inch. So your punishment will not be long tonight.

This was the day that Laro promised to come after me to go to Tomil & see the weaving machine. He never came near Terang today. (Just as I expected). Phew!

Another downpour starting & harder than the first, with a trifle wind. More better to blow harder & get rid of mosquitos.

I don't believe we can sail tomorrow if the Yap men go, because there are none of them on board & none of their stuff & that always takes some time to get together. Just at dark little Jim & I sculled out to **Santa Cruz** as I wished to learn if my large bundle of spears had gone on board with my traps. Could not find out where they were. I only know they have left their old place here on the lower verandah. Like it as not, the Mate has chucked them anywhere in the hold, boxes on top & result in them being broken.

If you were here now, I could give you plenty kinds of ripe bananas, several bunches hanging here within reach, plenty lemons, but no oranges ripe.

That Missionary Boy is still on the howling sick list. I forgot to have a look at him today.

Again the rain has stopped & "more better I stop to". Good night.

-
- 1 Ed. note: There is a small sketch within the text showing a rectangular piece, about 3/4 inch long x 1/3 inch wide, with two holes at 1/4 and 3/4 length positions to thread through.
 - 2 Ed. note: Same figure but larger.
 - 3 Ed. note: There follows a complete sketch of the whole arrangement, for the symmetrical half of such a necklace, marked as follows: "This is a Yap necklace (2 ft long double)".

Wednesday noon, Oct. 15th 1890. Sch. Santa Cruz, Terang, Yap.

All on board for sailing since Monday p.m., but not gone yet. Monday morning the wind was fair for us until the heavy clouds that had been raining most of the night brought on a severe blow & hard rain for three hours, accompanied with some deep rolling thunder. This squall changed our fair wind to a doubtful one. All the same, we bid Terang & the folks Good-bye & soon after noon we were all on board, expecting each moment that the wind would change a point & so give us a slant out the passage. The **Jenny** could have left in this wind, but not **Santa Cruz**. So they say. All I know is that after I had been working & steaming down in the hot cabin for near an hour, arranging my berth & traps after much trouble in the small cramped space that is left after storing of grub & tins of bread, etc. I have my old bunk of last trip, or rather the Padre's bunk. But am provoked to see that Edwards has the bunk above me & necessitates his scrambling over mine & he on the sick list too. It's no pleasant companionship to my notion for the future trip to Hong Kong. We had our trouble for nothing that day. No chance to get away & all Tuesday was the same, only clear & pleasant like today. I get on shore for my morning & eve bath & eat most of my meals there, just as the time happens to find me.

Monday & Tuesday I logged none. Was too much disgusted to try. Yesterday Rannaby brought me another one of those fine belts: "Belong another man. Wants big piece of money to get cloth at Dunig". I was only too glad to give him the one dollar on "one big piece money" as he calls it. It is an old but perfect belt & **extra small beads**, a belt that one would have to pay \$5.00 in trade at least in their home on Eastern Carolines or at Matelotus.

I went over to Dunig with Rannaby & some 10 or 12 natives. I wanted to see what he or the other man bought. It proved to be two bottles rum, matches & 1 lava lava 2-1/2 yards of a cheap yellow print. I found Mr. H. much improved & just having his mid-day meal with Mr. L.

While there I bought 7 shell bangles from a big-house (prostitute) girl who belonged to the Chief building a beche-de-mer house for Hutter. I asked Rannaby to ask the Chief what he & the girl would take for them. Bottle of rum = .60c came the answer. Only two of them were extra nice & small, the kind that I'm after, 3 of them are large enough for the arm. I was lucky enough to find emery paper here & got 6 sheets .20c. When we got back to ship, Rannaby had his men smooth & polish up the roughish bangles. They do that upon the grindstone, always keeping both wet. This big-house girl was young & a fairly-pleasant face, but dumpish figure & fat, slick & lazy. She was sporting in the shallow (small) water with a canoe & small boy when I first got sight of her & her armlets & bracelets at wrist. They looked far better upon her than they really were. Just imagine the young lady marching up to my chair to give me a chance to see them. She had a half smile & half scared look in her eyes, as I admired her face & figure which was so scantily clad in her thin leaf dress that very little was left for the imagination. Generally their dresses are very thick & heavy, ugly & dirty affairs, reaching from the hips to calf of leg. And they make such a weight, that they must have considerable

to do in spoiling the shape of these women. I don't remember now, of having seen a good-shaped Yap woman over 15 years of age, while their dress is the ugliest (their common everyday dress) & dirtiest of any group. It is singular that they should have such a dress when on all sides of them, north, east & south, we find the clean mat or tapa woven dress of the Sonsorol, East Carolines & Marianas people.

Monday & last night I slept on board, 1st half of night upon deck in my old canvas chair. It rained hard last night. The **Jenny** is almost loaded with beche-de-mer & I would not be surprised to see her best us out of Harbor. It is hot enough now for another squall. No signs of the Str. She is due here the 18th Inst.

Sch. Santa Cruz. At sea. From Yap to Pelew.

Friday, 2 p.m. Oct. 17th 1890.

Halfway to Pelews & good fair wind, 6 or 7 knots, that ought to sight land by or before noon tomorrow. For a wonder we got out of the harbor early yesterday. When I turned out at daylight & noticed how calm it was, I growled & concluded that it was no sailing that morning. All the same, the wind might come fair & so I hurried on shore, had a quick bath & then cup tea & raw egg & got down to the wharf just as a faint fair wind was felt, which by 8 a.m. came strong enough to take us slowly outside & then away again from Yap. A second **Good-bye**. And I wonder if it's to be my last.

By 4 p.m. we were out of sight of land & today noon had sailed 210 miles at an angle, made 120 miles upon desired line & that's just halfway to Pelews. I was half upset yesterday p.m. & no supper for me, only a little tea & cracker on deck, where I early made a combination bed of the deck chair & my pine board, with pillow & blanket & so slept there in my boots all the clear pleasant night, turning out twice for a turn on each watch. This morning finds that all gone & I was ready for one of O'K's fresh eggs in a cup tea at daybreak & substantial breakfast at 8 & dinner 1 p.m.

Yesterday I passed some of the time on binding the rim of my St. David's hat with black braid that Dollavu gave me. The black thread is miserable weak stuff & made it slow work for me & then the black dye is all over my fingers from the braid. But that hat is not finished yet. Just wait until you see the bright blue cord & tassel that I shall tack on it! It is a fancy dress support for lawn tennis & O'K has a few dozen of them in his dead stock list. Sims & I are going to **show them up** in the Pelews, along with some suspenders & old razors.

We have 82 natives on board (18 Pelews, 2 Sonsorol & balance Yap men), 8 white men, 2 young pups, 1 cat & 1 pig left; killed one yesterday & today.

The big chief Rannaby with his 2 little sons, Tomam & Chief Guiltimo are eating in the cabin at second table & the oldest boy uses one bunk. You ought to see our deck—a large boat upside down on main hatch & is piled high up on top & underneath with native grub baskets of cooked taro, watermelons, bananas, coconuts, sugarcane, big chestnuts, betel nuts & betel leaves, the latter they are carefully packing & wrapping in the thick green banana's bark so as to keep them fresh. A large awning is over the main

hatch & deck & also a smaller one over the cabin, where I am trying to keep awake in my canvas chair & O'K reading in his deck chair. Just now he discovered that Master Charlie at the wheel was neglecting his steering & when speaking to him about it, he gave such a short denial back to the Capt. that he [O'K] told him he wanted no such back talk, when the man commenced again & O'K gave him a slap on the nose.¹ It seems that these three sailors have had their own way heretofore upon this ship with old W. & Mate C. And O'K declares he will not put up any longer with such high capers & if they must have strict English ship treatment, then English treatment they will get & **nothing** else from this out.

Each side of the deck & railings are thick with the lazy natives, laying & sitting in all position & industriously chewing betel nut. On the top of the galley is seated Chief Ran-naby & two others. Yesterday he got after me for a lock & I happened to have a N° 1 nickel-plated padlock for my Gladstone bag. This he must have, as it was just what he wanted. I gave it to him & he brought me a short necklace of round yellow Pelew shell & coconuts that I had tried two or three times to buy off the native at Terang, always getting the answer that it belonged to another man. Yesterday O'K mentioned about trying to get me one of the fine strings of Pelew shell while in Yap, but could not get hold of one. They are never parted with by a Yap man & they pay such big prices for them in the Pelews, where they are very few that I have no hopes of our getting one this trip even if we should try very hard.

Santa Cruz, in sight Pelew at 7 a.m.

Saturday 4 p.m., Oct. 18th 1890.

This has been a quick run. To sight Pelew from Yap in 46 hours, quite a different from my last experience, as well as the **Santa Cruz** since. We are now heading into the land a little better since the last rain squall. All day the wind has been against us & several squalls failed to help us. But succeeded in keeping me down in cabin more than was pleasant. I am there now, but the cool rain & air has made it less hot. Last night the rain drove me out of my comfortable chair & I had to finish the night in bunk. Am afraid it's too late to get into the outer anchorage this eve. I shan't be sorry when we get up to Mallagan [Malaka] Anchorage, as I'm aching for a bath in that fine spring water.

Just after noon dinner & had a short "siesta" & so managed to kill some of the time. The rest is used with some book or other. Just finished McGregor "Rob Roy" canoe voyage & should judge that ahead of bicycling.²

1 Ed. not: O'Keefe was fined \$5 in Hong Kong later on for that punch.

2 Ed. note: Referring to one of Sir Walter Scott fictional characters, a dramatization of which was made by Isaac Pocock, entitled "Rob Roy Macgregor."

Our decks look deserted of humanity in this cold wind & squalls—too cold for the naked natives, as few of them have coats & hats, others a shirt. Every chap dresses as he pleases on deck, or at sea, but on land they must dress strictly native style. Very little sun today. Breeze good & strong now.

Mallegan Anchorage. Pelews, at 10 a.m.

Sunday, Oct. 19th 1890.

Here we are again in this interesting group. When morning broke through the clouds we were just off the Entrance, having stood off & on during the night. The wind came fair & we came inside in quick time, dropping anchor at 10 a.m., making exactly 3 days from anchor to anchor—extra good trip & one of the best at this time of year.

We had our breakfast at 10 a.m. Only one canoe had met us in the Entrance & no person at the house on shore at spring. Soon after breakfast O'K shaved & taking Mr. Sims along, started for Korrer to see King Abba Thule. A few canoes came straggling along & one of them landed me at spring where I had a jolly good bath & wash & got on board again just in time for our 3 p.m. dinner an hour since.

O'K is not back yet. But plenty canoes with Arricoco in his new boat has arrived with 5 of his girls & the pretty little baby boy. Plenty Yap & Pellew visitors now & they are making a regular hubhub & thick all over the ship. Here comes Abba Thule's sail boat with some of his men. Presume he is with O'K. No. He did not come with O'K. The boat was sent after the young royal chap who had been to Yap with us.

The **Dofa Bartola** has taken 150 stones for Yap & Mr. Gibbons' son has not taken any trade from Charlie, as reported.

Tuesday, Oct 21st 1890. Malagan Hr., Pelew Is.

10 a.m. All busy here on **Santa Cruz** getting away the last of the Yap men's stuff. They had a much larger pile of grub than I had any idea of. Must have had 2 large wagon boxes full of the large chestnut alone, which they cook & eat. Some of them are busy on shore making coconut-leaf baskets to carry them to their camps in the steep rocky islets where they are cutting their stone. I see plenty pumpkins, large fishing nets & rifles going on the boat now belonging to the Degore men, who under Frigamo are to work at Ari [Arai] district. They have about 2 doz. stone cutting pick axes & are going in one of O'K's large sail boats. Mr. Sims is also getting ready for his northern trip & is to visit all the villages on both sides of the main land.

[A visit to the Rock Islands of Palau]

Yesterday I had some fun after fish, along with Kalangan who had brought down O'K's boat from Korrer this morning. And soon after our breakfast he was sent in the boat with 2 charges of dynamite to shoot fish. And, I thinking it would be only a couple of hours away jumped in the boat to have a look at the Rocky Islets. We went a long

way out & around the north side of Harbor & it was 3:30 p.m. when we got back hungry & tired. But I felt well repaid for the trip in the unexpected sights of two long & winding lagoons, which we entered by a very narrow passage & just inside at 3 small level spots were a few coconut trees. The steep sides of the high rocky hills were all covered thickly with tropical foliage, showing every shade of green & mounting tier upon tier, almost perpendicularly. The surface of rocks all worn into pits & pinnacle sharp points that are as hard as iron & almost impossible to tramp or climb over. And yet the native climbed up one side & over a point quietly to get a surprise shot at fish & never minding the sharp rocks at all. At some parts of lagoon the water was shallow & sandy bottom, where we got a few of the long finger shells exactly the same as I got in Tonga. Suddenly the bottom became stony & then a deep blue—the bottom gone entirely—as if it were an immense deep well, so suddenly & unexpected was this deep blue water hole to me as I was standing up in boat that it almost sent a shudder through me. At the terminus of the longest lagoon it is a grand sight—a large circular pond 1/4 mi. across (with one small islet). On all sides very high perpendicular hills. On two sides so steep for the first 200 feet above the water as to be bare rocks, then all above & around one lovely amphitheater-shaped view of all green foliage of brush & small trees & a few vines. Vines [are] nothing as thick here as in New Guinea. But this sight was so different from any heretofore that I was lost in amazement & delight[ful] amazement to find such high hills, such lovely plants, such huge pyramidal shrub stands, arranged in steps so as to show off a complete circular wall & hills of living green shades at least 500 feet high. So high up that the numerous pigeons & other large birds looked small at the top.

From the ship, I would not have judged these rocky islands could be so high, nor contain any such sights. Now I must get at more in the future & explore them in a canoe more thoroughly & more at leisure. At one place we saw plenty of small clam shells attached to the rocky bottom & amongst the small detached pieces of living coral noticed the opening of 3 caves & also a place where the fishermen camped at night under a well-sheltered shallow cave with a natural little canoe harbor, with a sort of door entrance that shuts out the rough waves & wind. I only had passing glimpses of all these, as we had seen no fish so far & must keep on the move constantly. We had left the ship without matches or fire stick, but fortunately we saw a fishing canoe following our boat & we got light from their small fire stick. The canoe man had the regular pithy wood fire stick. Kalangan used a piece of rope or string made from coconut husk fiber (sinnet). Both of them hold fire perfectly, but the wood lasts the longest. Usually the native on shore uses a piece of old dry coconut husk (natural) to carry fire for their smoking of cigarettes.

We landed at one of the small level spots & got 6 or 8 coconuts to drink & I found several small snail shells upon the bushes. Just as we were leaving the first lagoon K. made a shot & we got some 15 nice fish of 2 kinds & on our way back across the Harbor he made another good shot & we got 23 more—3 kinds—one fish being one of those marvelously-colored chaps. He must have had every color, starting with deep blue tail & nose & then striped in bands across from end to end. And the best fish were some 9

deep-sea ones, smooth-skinned & about 10 to 14 in. long. And these very fish were all carefully selected out & given to the sailors supper by our smart cook. And when we sat down to our 6:30 supper & O'K asked for some of those same fish the answer came back as above to our disgust & disappointment. At the second table I noticed the cook had one of them for his own meal, having carried it down below in a dish carefully covered with a napkin. The napkin being something new in that line, I was curious enough to follow it up. For our cook & white crew all dislike O'K, caused by the influence of Old Wm. Besides, [the] cook is very fond of his drink & helps himself at every chance & in no small nips either.

Am sorry I have no camera, so as to show you some of these rocky islets. Of course, I don't expect you to go into ecstasies over scenery or foliage or rocks, but I can remember when you would sit & sit, smoke & smoke, while fishing with line in less romantic spots than the poorest about here & not catch 1/10 as many fish as you can see here in almost any corner or sheltered nook. I was fairly aching & half mad that I could not have a climb & scramble on the rocks. There were very few places where one could land with canoe. You would have to paddle in under the overhanging rocks that are all worn away in regular arched shape until over-balanced at some small point, when it tumbles into the water, making the only (and very few) break in the arching shore rocks of all these rocky islands. Nice to look at, but miserable torture to climb or to walk on bottom at small water.

11 a.m. Wednesday, Oct. 22 (4th day Pelew Is.).

Am seated in the house at Spring where there are a lot of our Yap men camped. I have just finished my morning bath after making an additional water shoot overhead by a long bamboo spout that gives us a regular shower bath or solid 1-1/2 in. stream at pleasure. It was raining all morning so I could not come on shore before our 8:30 breakfast & by the way, I had an extra good meal this morning & one of a precious few the past month that I have been able to relish. It was a couple of fine fat pigeons that I got from Kalangan's man yesterday eve. That and toast made my breakfast. The rest had the usual fresh pork & taro, etc. No rice on our bill of fare now. And how I miss that article once it has become of necessity my main standby.

Our cook seems to get away with so much rice & bread that O'K will be running completely out of several articles before we reach Hong Kong. He does not wish to be compelled to purchase anything in Manila, owing to their high prices. All quiet on ship, still sprinkling occasionally. It was about midnight that the rain woke me up & downed me below, where I saw O'K had already turned in. Shortly after it thundered very hard for half an hour & the rain fell more or less until morning. I had some wash on the line & when the rain came I grabbed it quickly & discovered a towel missing, blown overboard (or stolen) no doubt, as I was too negligent to tie the articles fast according to sea fashion and can only blame myself.

Monday p.m., on return to ship, I found King Abba Thule on board. I hardly knew whether to shake hands with the Rascal or not, he having humbugged & cheated me so

badly over curios, etc. But by & by when passing him we did shake & the old Scamp chuckled his "How do Doctur?" He looked the same as ever, with his big paunch belly & yellowed (*ranged* or *tamarac* [i.e. turmeric]) hair. He & O'K were talking occasionally, while I talked none to him. In fact, I had more important business in attacking my late dinner of 2 fish that had been saved for me, with some pumpkin & rice, & being hungry for once, I made a good meal & that finished I rested a half hour, when Abba Thule followed me down in cabin, saying that he "**was going**". That is the Pelew for Good-bye, but in this case it also went "Have you got any presents for me?" being the first meeting this voyage. But, I thought best to "**No savey**" his Pelew custom & only said:

—"Good-bye" & "when do you come to ship again?" —"Me come tomorrow. When you go shore, Doctor? Today?"

I dodged his question by saying "By & by come Korrer, plenty time, as ship stop 2 weeks, etc." He is after more presents. Kalangan has told him about my revolvers & gold spectacles & he has questioned O'K about them. So I smiled & concluded I was not going to be a member of Royal Family again as a visitor of distinction, unless my old claims are first paid & as he had sought this talk himself I finished it by asking him in plain words if he would give me the balance of my promised curios, as well as replace the Bogus Pelew money that he had Humbugged me with, when I was leaving. At first he tried to dodge the bogus money, but now when he called again yesterday & had the face to ask me for shore, saying he was going down to Pellilew Island tomorrow (today) where plenty stone & bad walking on feet, also plenty mosquitos, I told him I had none but what I used myself & he should see Capt. O'Keefe, besides I much knew what you do about my Pelew money. Then the promises came that "By & by I get all for you".

Plenty promises, they all can do that to perfection & yesterday after he had gone I learned from O'K that he is half disgusted at him & suspects him of playing a double game with him & Charlie. So much so that he has given the King precious little attention this visit & the same to the new Queen & the King's women folks—Wife & 3 or 4 daughters—who visited the ship yesterday in their finest dresses. Miss Wong I noticed had her gold earring, while the Fiji tortoise-shell ring I had given her was hanging in an old man's ear. The girls all had on different dresses & most of them far better grade than any that the old **cheat** had given me. By this second visit here I can compare the Pelews & Yap people much better & in nothing is it more noticeable than in the women's dress & the women themselves, in every way to the advantage of Pelew. But in the men not so remarkable different. The Pelew [man] does not care so much for drink. Yap [men] all drink every chance & it will surely be their ruin.

Yesterday Mr. Sims got away on his northern trip & that helped to clear some [of] our men & decks.

When the King mentioned his Pillelew trip I spoke to O'K about my accompanying him. It is just the kind of trip to see the natives, for the arrival of a ship always upsets the native daily life at any port. Yesterday I asked Abba Thule if I could go with him to Pellilew & it was immediately after his gracious consent that he asked me for shoes.

We were then at the spring & upon my return to ships & telling O'K. He said he had told the King that I wanted to go with him to Pellelew, etc. when he wanted to know "what for the Doctur go? Me go canoe & he no go canoe, etc. etc." & did not favor my company in prospect at all. While with me he had been willing enough in words when I questioned him point blank about my going "how long he gone? where stop? & what do." I & O'K both told him I simply wish to go look & **make book** (as he calls my Log-book) & have a trip with him.

From what little I got out of him about his object in going there, it is "to make talk with the Pillelew people, why they no come to Korrer when he has sent for them the past two years." Sims says that Pillelew & Angaur are strong allies & will never pay tribute again to Korrer in shape of their girls & wives for prostitutes, besides all their pieces of money & valuables taken or forced from them under thumb torture, & furthermore he believes it will be dangerous for Abba Thule to visit Pillelew.

Since we left, Korrer has made another attempt to fight Angaur. They had four boats & plenty large canoes full of warriors under their regular Admiral (Big Arricoco) who alone has the supreme voice as to the warriors' fighting or not. They got as far as Pillelew when the late Equinoctial gales came & drove them back under shelter of the reefs. Angaur you will notice on the sketch chart stands outside the barrier reef & the canoes & boats would be compelled to cross the regular deep-water. So Kelangan tells me the **storm** drove them back, and on the whole I suspect this visit of Abba Thule to Pillelew is mixed up with that subject. At any rate, I would chance all the trouble & mosquitos (that are said to be always extra bad on that island) on such a trip & go, if Abba Thule should show that I will be welcome, when he calls at ship upon his way southward. I do not expect him this wet day. but when he does come I can soon pack my bag for a 4 or 6 days absence, taking good care to include my mosquito & butterfly nets as well as some tinned meats & bread. "Nothing ventured nothing gained," is very true in sight-seeing about these South Seas.

Yesterday Wm. Gibbons called at ship. Has been down near Pillelew on the stony islands for 5 days working at a bamboo float & fishing. He gave us some fine smoked fish, dry & hard that will keep for months dry. He & his two companions were on their way home for a day's visit & intend returning today to finish the float in 4 or 5 days more work, & will hunt for land shells for me & also smoke me 2 or 3 doz. fish for my Manila voyage. I forgot to ask him about his father's log-book for me. O'K told me the first day that the old man had it almost filled, etc.¹

Say, this store-box seat is getting no softer the longer I warm it. Otherwise it's very comfortable here in the old house, seated at the sea-view door in the cool light breeze. No mosquitos to bother my bare feet & ankles, bare head, neck & arms. The Yap men laying & squatting here & there inside & outside, some eating, sleeping, talking & one man **working** with his "chisel adze" (their universal tool, that **every Pelew & almost every Yap man** carries upon the shoulder) upon a large canoe paddle. Their adze

1 Ed. note: His father, also named William, did fill in those note-books (see Doc. 1850N).

wooden handles are much superior here than Yap. One man is busily assorting the Kabu-ey [kabui] leaf for the betel nut & has 7 or 8 nice bundles of it ready for tying up in the green banana stalks for preservation.

It must be near 1 p.m. & dinner time. The sun is showing a little now. No canoes from Korrer today & only one out at the ship & no boat there. Rannaby must have taken the only boat left at ship to visit some of the working men around at stony islands. So I must get one of the half dozen canoes here on shore to take me on board at once if I am to have any dinner. So long.

(4 days later) I found them at the dinner table, pitching into the fresh fish, which we got by fits and starts, just as the notion takes O'K to send someone to shoot them with dynamite. Plenty fish here & to spare & should think we could have them every day, instead of this everlasting Bobby; all the time fresh pork is too much of a good thing. Our cook is given us N° 1 bread now, clean & light & that with rice is my main dish when no fish appears. And when it does, I can do ample justice to my share.

William [Gibbons] came back from his stony island having finished his canoe float for outrigger & never a shell or smoked fish did he bring me. He is the same as any full-blooded native, lazy & indolent, ready to promise any & every thing to your face & when away to go to sleep & forget all about it.

I see [that] this page is the end of this logbook's yarn & the only paper I have is the half of old Fiji log & shall use that up, rather than miss my chats with you. You are getting a double dose of Yap & Pellew Island, something like you Doctors give when the first dose fails to kill or cure. But I hope mine will not prove serious results as that.

[End of Logbook N° 27, except for the multilingual vocabulary reproduced in Vol. 35.]

Document 1890F

Dr. Rabe's diary of 1890—Part 6

Note: This is part of Dr. Rabe's journal N° 28, covering the period 24 August-20 November 1890. This edited version of his log was done by an unknown hand, perhaps his brother, Dr. Benjamin Rabe, and references to strictly-personal anecdotes have been expunged.

From Palau to Hong Kong, October-November 1890.

Along in the evening of the 22nd Oct. the King with 2 boats and 23 canoes, 150 men and 15 girls or women came to us at Malagan and camped there for the night. To my repeated question he again said for me to come along "suppose you like you come". "All right, I come."

[The canoe trip to Peleliu]

At 5 p.m., it looked black and promised heavy rain, but went around, only the edge struck us. Of course, I promised the King shoes or slippers and in the morning I gave him my large new (patented paper) [size] N° 9 slippers and a pair of woolen socks. He could not get on any shoes on his big feet. O'K had cut away the feet from a pair of old used-up sea boots and these the Old Shiplock begged of him, but he found he could not pull them on.

On camping the King asked O'K for some rice & a pig for his and his men's supper, a pretty state of affairs for O'K to buy pigs from him & then he asked to feed it back to them. That night I packed a few things. The King ate breakfast with us on board & at 9:00, we all sailed away, I in the King's boat with 5 men & 1 big-house woman. The old scam placed all my grub, bed & gear in his boat & then said for me to go in the other boat. But I could "savey" that back easily & my old saddle bags wouldn't lock & my MacKintosh was there. So I got in with them.

We left in grand style, our boat starting first, excepting one fast canoe that was far ahead. The other canoes soon left us, even before we got out of the inner harbor. The canoes kept well out near the barrier reef, the boats nearer shore. The winds were light, and once we had to paddle and pull 2 oars an hour to make any headway. The sun was hot & burned my hands & arms sorely although I used my umbrella all I could. The King was at the tiller all the time. The girl's business seemed to fix his betel nut with lime and leaf after first splitting the nut with her fat black teeth. She and one of the men caught a short sleep during the trip and I was so sleepy myself I could scarcely sit up.

The water was carried in a large jug of native pottery and a glass demijohn. They had plenty of cooked taro, smoked fish and old nuts, but no young drinking nuts, so I had to use the water during the long hot sail. Their constant chewing of the betel nut seems to prevent them from becoming very thirsty and I made the discovery that they use a pinch of tobacco with the betel nut. I tried to find out how young they start with chewing nut and understood from Abba Thule that girls commence at 10 or 11 years or when old enough to marry or go into the big club-house, generally the latter first.

I was glad when we landed. On our arrival, we found the other boat and all the canoes were patiently awaiting our coming, stationed in a line facing the small beach that opened here between immense precipices 6 to 700 feet high, all wooded except at one place. None had landed but the young girls of the royal family out of the first boat and a few workmen about the two sheds, houses, hastily thrown up for the use of the King, on a pleasant sheltered sandy beach, where we landed while most of the canoes went around to the left a little ways into another similar cove when the large chamber cave house is located and a place I had to look at before dark. The King's man made a signal by waving a large piece of banana bark aloft, making three distinct motions toward the land and immediately all was action in that line of hitherto motionless canoes. Every canoe was bambooning toward the shore but not a man was standing up to his work at the bamboo. Royalty was present and at such work when he is nearby, all must sit or squat. It was an hour after landing before we had anything to eat and meantime I had prospected the bush and woods as far back as the flat ground extended, coming across two mounds or nests of the bush fowl exactly the same as I found in the woodlarks and New Guinea. I noticed some fine large trees here, with smooth bark and straight stems and thousands of land crabs and rats.

During the evening, I heard a sing-sing at one end of camp and following the sound in company with the four young daughters of royalty for a body-guard. I found the Iri [Airai] men around a small fire under shelter of overhanging rocks, their splendid canoes all pulled well up on the sandy beach, under the large trees, the heavy outrigger log being unshipped. Some of the men were lying down here and there, while six sat in a row, backed against the rock, giving the concert. Over the fire was a small staging, piled full of baskets of grub, under the shelving rocks were several guns, metal-pointed spears and some long knives. A few yards away were some more Iri men, similarly armed: Schneider, Winchester and 3 or 4 other kinds of guns. One man had a regular Philippine *criss* (sword). Most of the arms were carefully tied up in dry Bar.[-ingtonia(?)] bark, which after one good wetting is useless as it turns black and rots. I was smiled and nodded a hearty welcome and motioned to be seated & as I was standing near a sleeping man with his head to the fire and covered with a N^o 1 white woolen blanket, I camped down upon his back amidst the shouts and laughter of all. I had no idea who the sleeper could be, I only supposed him some Rupack as he had the "Bone" bangle. All hands now seemed to wake up and sang more briskly after some few words from my "chair" whom I then knew to be their Chief. They had two or three different songs but all after the same style of droning chant by all except two men, who gave the

variations in many different tones and words. One was "O-ho! Ah-hah!!" followed a few seconds with some longer, high screeching words, accompanied with great facial contortions that expressed surprise, fear and crying. One man seemed an artist and prime favorite in that line, to my companions, who gave them all plenty of encouragement in laughter and applause. The evening was pleasant and clear and the camp was late in "turning in" to sleep & when they did it was something of a sight to see so many blankets appear and some of them were the first quality of white ones. The King made me sleep upon the raised platform along with his half-witted son of some 13 years, and he took a place on the sandy soil beneath among his subjects. I was at one end of the new shed and, just outside, some 3 or 4 young men were still about the cook fire, busy with a lot of pigeons & near them were 4 men making a sing-sing in a low chanting drone which they kept up for hours.

During the night a hard squall woke me up half wet from the poor roof and driving rain. I got my traps quickly under my large MacIntosh and used my bed and pillow for a seat and then struck one of my wax matches, when lo! the scene had changed somewhat as all the host of reclining figures had disappeared under a lot of banana bark coverings. The King was seated under his umbrella and all hands were talking more or less. My match was utilized to light the pottery oil lamp. The squall diminished gradually & I was soon in the land of dreams and when morning came I was the last afoot, and the sorriest man in camp because there was no running fresh water for bathing handy. Dirty water puddles were numerous and full and many were using them for bathing, but not coming up to my ideas of a bath. I took my first fish and pigeon breakfast without.

About 11 the rain came again, and I taking my soap and towel, got around the south point of rocks, stripped and waited for the rain to come and give me a good wash. I tarried there for an hour, in only a light drizzle and meantime the fleet got under sail and the last boat picked me up, in the little cove, when the rising tide had shut me out from returning to camp as I came along the water's edge, under the shelving rocks. And to get back to camp I would have had a round-about tramp in the woods, over a slight coral hill, that I had already thoroughly explored early in the morning after land shells, finding a few of 3 varieties. On the hill the coral rocks were upheaved in even shape, its sides in many places perpendicular and top of rocks was always covered with brush and large trees.

Our second day's sailing was a repetition of the first, our boat coming in last to the camping place at 4:30 p.m. Most of the time it was raining and blowing. Soon after leaving camp we discovered a large boat following us, which afterward proved to be O'K's large ship boat in charge of Mr. Sims who had left the **Santa Cruz** that morning for Amoy's place, a Chinaman trader for O'K, an old resident in Pelew married and seven children. When our boat arrived at the fleet, the canoes were all in line, anchored to the Pelew bamboo anchor (a long bamboo stuck into the sand by pressure and sawing it back and forth) until it penetrates deep enough to hold. Here the King came into line, his bamboo men **squatting** to their work and a long confab took place. The

messenger canoe darting around considerably back and forth from our boat to the others for almost an hour. I could see only one canoe on shore and a small smoke. I wondered if our delay was occasioned by any signs of assistance to our landing by an enemy and looked to see the warriors handling their guns, but then the young Princesses had long since been transferred into a canoe and departed into the mangrove channel. Where to? I had no idea.

By & by, just as it was getting dark, we all bamboomed into shore under some tall ironwood trees, upon a low island, at least three miles from the main village of Pilelu at the head of this long mangrove inlet. There was only one dilapidated old house here and the King insisted upon my getting into a canoe and going to the main land and village to Amoy's house. After understanding his wishes I gladly endorsed the idea, as the mosquitos were fearfully thick there. So I left the King my MacIntosh to astonish the mosquitos, took his son and three men with my traps in canoe and for the next hour and a half two of them bamboomed for all they were worth, before we landed. Yet just as we started one of them informed me, it was not far "close to". It required considerable poling for he and his partner, to make his statement good. However, the night was cool and pleasant and the boat not crowded, so we were comfortable. The boy tried to sleep; the three men stuck to their talk and bamboo work. I tried several times to get a little information out of one who had a few English words, but soon realized that the rascal would always answer "Yes" to everything he did not understand. Several times I asked him "where the place", he [would] say "close to" and twice I almost fell asleep, then tried whistling to keep awake. We met two canoes making for camp and our bamboo men squatted to their work until well passed each other.

I believe they have a system of money fines for neglecting any old Pelew customs, fine being paid to informant. The naturalist Kubary who stopped here some years, because so well versed in their ancient customs and laws that he often caught the chiefs in some neglect and fined them all big money and in this way got plenty of it.

Gradually the bay narrowed until it was confined to a narrow channel $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long, lined by mangrove and water bush. At length we reached a long wharf and a large canoe house, where a deep canoe canal had been dug in the dry land along side the wharf into which we pushed our way and landed on dry land & here we found a boat house with several canoes and also Amoy's boat upside down, undergoing repairs, due to a recent fire by which he nearly lost the boat entirely, as was the case with three canoes. We tramped over a miserable stone walk, up a slight grade, passing two large club houses (no lights) and then came to Amoy's mansion: a small new house, bamboo flooring, house full of chests, bundles, rubbish and children. Now, was I not glad to reach my goal. Well, rather. Be the house big or little, full of natives, pigs or children or what not, it made no difference. I was tired and hungry. We found Amoy and numerous family at supper and his clock indicating 7 p.m. Took a bucket bath out under the shade trees where the full moon was showing its face and I found the mosquitos were also awake, but nothing like those on the low island where I left Abba Thule encamped. When that was finished I found my fourteen-inch Mullet fresh fish fried under my host's

practiced hand & that with my tea and last of my bread made me a fine feast and I actually managed to eat the whole of that monster fish without assistance.

Later on, Amoy and I went to one of the new club houses to sleep, his man carrying my bundle of mats and blankets. Getting there I nearly lost my slippers among the sharp rough stones of the roadway. How in the world these barefooted people tramp such roads, year in and year out, is beyond my understanding. Their feet must be shod with Indian rubber.

My sleep was rather a warm one and I turned out late, finding only one old man and one club-house girl there, who, when she saw me bundling up my net, blankets and mats, came over and tried to assist me. The same girl, the night before, had taken quite a liking to my cotton quilt (one with 3 or 4 colors from Terang) and when I looked around for it to lay upon my pillow, the dirty lady had it closely wound around her freshly-oiled body. According to custom, every night the natives all rub the scented coconut oil all over themselves, and this lady was fairly shining with it. I soon got it out of her hands with a growl and a claim that her using my blanket had made her my wife according to Pelew fashion (Koro Palow) which set the house full of folks to laughing and the girl ran away to her part of the house, when Amoy interpreted what I had said.

I found Mr. Sims at Amoy's for breakfast after which he started for another village. Abba Thule and fleet arrived about 8 a.m. and were duly placed in the large council house, a good substantial building. He sent me word of his arrival, and said he wanted to see me and when I called soon after he had nothing in particular to mention. Presume it was a bit of kingly vanity.

Mr. Sims came back after a time, and later on we called on the King, on our way to another village to the southward through the bush and timber with one of S.'s men along as a guide. It was near mid-day and hot as possible, I carried only my umbrella and still was wet with perspiration. We found no soil, only leaf mould and disintegrated corals and in spots of thin layers, in hollow flat places.

[Description of Peleliu]

This island of Pililu [sic] is a mass of upheaved coral, with a very uneven surface, masses of rocks, ridges and hills, covered thickly with woods, that seem to grow splendidly upon such food as dead coral. The hard part for travellers is that the coral is bare, hard and sharp as knives upon the surface and sticks up like a lot of needles, causing one to step with great caution and keep his balance carefully, especially in the bush when there is no track and one is liable to step upon a loose stone or a slippery root, where there are numerous holes 3 to 5 feet deep on all sides.

The first mile and a half was over a regular track to the south side of the island opposite Angour. Here was a small village and a wide strip of level sandy "See" shore, with plenty of coconuts. The wind was blowing upon this shore and I was glad to get a mouthful of it. So we sat and rested upon the stone ramparts or walls that surrounded it, like all the other villages of this island. Some of these walls are heavy and well built. As we cooled and rested there S. got the promise of some pigs, to be delivered at Amoy's

house on the morrow, and a fat and dirty native tried to sell me a bogus piece of glass money. Another slim middle-aged man behind my back as I sat occasionally conversing with S. in quiet tones, I learned, was S.'s confidential spy and messenger to Angour, which island does not look very large as it stands out there alone in the deep water with the angry surf leaping high in the air as it pounds away at its rocky coast on this side. There is only one side of the island where boats can land and that is where Mr. S.'s new house was built for him, by the Angour people. According to his story, it is the largest house in the Group. The island [of Angaur] looked very nice. It is slightly rolling and covered with woods and has plenty of rich soil upon it, being altogether different from Pililu Island.

I desired S. to extend his trip over there, as little or nothing could be done on Pililu during Abba Thule's visit. After our rest, I was surprised to hear S. say that he had to visit another village in order to find his man, and that we would go up the coast track, through the bush, not anticipating anything worse than we had tramped over and understanding it was but a short distance. I was anxious to see more of the island, but lost that anxiety after a short half hour's walk, when I was sorry I had been so quick to try the new trip. I found out neither S. nor the guide had been over this part before, & so we got lost from our faint trail two or three times, on the sharp pointed corals.

For over two hours we had hard and warm tramping that about played me out and I fell behind. Once I slipped and gave my right ankle a bad knock and often thought my canvas shoes were cut through. Poor S. got to stepping and stumbling too, toward the close of the second hour. We came out, thank goodness, at last on the sandy beach, where we got more air and a change from sharp rocks to sinking deep in loose sand. Here I took a short rest and when I got along ten minutes further, I found S. and guide at the village beach chatting with six or seven men. One of them having a hideous face, it being one mass of disgusting swollen sores almost closing both eyes. Ugh! But he was a sight! And seated alongside was an old Rupack I had seen at Amoy's in the morning and I was not likely to forget him as he had asked me to see my set [of] teeth. The old chap had only one front tooth in his upper jaw and that stuck straight out of his mouth and there was only a hole where his nose ought to have been. He wanted to know if I could make him a new nose. If so he would give me a tortoise shell, worth \$3 or \$4 in trade.

We did not stop long as the sun was getting low. We passed our noseless friend's house & stopped in a few minutes to see some tortoise shell. He had two that weighed about 4 lbs. = \$6.00, and he wanted a Snider gun for it. And away we hastened to Amoy's by the main track that was a smooth floor in comparison to last tramp. The old Rupack kept us company, packing a basket of beche-de-mer for Amoy. In fifteen minutes, we left the level tract, belonging to this village, where we saw plenty of bananas and pumpkins growing. The coral ridge was very abrupt and steep and it was a regular climb up the face of a 150-foot wall, then a gradual rise for some 200 feet more along a heavily-wooded bench where we skirted the face of a regular precipice for over a hundred feet, where a false step would send a fellow bouncing over the needle-pointed rocks to

Kingdom Come, or far below where the bottom and Kingdom Come were hidden by the bush. There was no path at this spot made by man. We had only the rocks for our feet and the roots of trees for hand railing. And when these rocks were all on end, sharp as needles and strong as steel, one need have no fears of slipping. All you had to do was to hang fast with your hands while your feet were moving and vice versa, and keep going.

Once around this precipice, our path was soon on a down grade, and at one place I noticed we passed a natural doorway and 300 yards further observed the remains of an old wall across the narrow pass or ravine. It is a natural stronghold against an enemy from either side. The past hour had been cloudy and here a drizzling rain started and continued until we reached Amoy's just at dark.

The next morning before breakfast I had a short hunt in the surrounding bush for shells in order to show Amoy's youngsters what I wanted. I had 5 or 6 girls and 2 boys at my heels. One of the girls was carrying a large baby upon her hips at same time imitating my hunting on the low bushes and leaves. We soon found two of the common varieties in plenty, but when I commenced climbing a steep hill back of M.'s house we lost the little girl as well as the shells. Reaching the summit I found a clear outlook away north, east and south. The west was another wooded ridge shutting out the view. I could see the distant Rocky Island house, the site of our recent encampment and also trace the last night encampment of Abba Thule, across the narrow channel I had come up extends a long low arm of the island, with patches here and there, of coconut trees, waving their graceful fern-like tops. Out over this was the open ocean. South, for about two miles, the land lay in broken ridges covered with green bush and timber, then came the rough water foaming with white caps, as it fought and hammered Angour, sending its spray flying high in the air when it struck the rock-bound coast in full view from my distant observatory. That spot would be my choice for a residence, in all Pelews; it affords a splendid view and is above the mosquitos which infest this island nearly the year round. Just at that time they had comparatively no mosquitos, a Pillilu man told me. Their Korrer visitors did not return a like verdict who made all manner of grimaces and twitching, while slapping their bare hips, posteriors, legs, arms and back, all at the same time, or as nearly so, as two hands can be made to do. It was a little amusing and no mistake, to witness some of their antics, when we landed that night on the low island, where the mosquitos were as hungry as they were plentiful and why the King and his people camped at such a place all night was more than I was able to find out. They could have made the village easily before dark and he got no extra reception by his delay. Possibly it was according to some established custom.

Amoy's place could not be called a village. It was more scattering even than Korrer and has a much poorer excuse of a paved road made of the most remarkably sharp coral rocks.

After reaching Amoy's house, the previous evening, we finished the rest of the day very quietly, with a cup of tea & then a bath with a bucket of fresh water back of his beche-de-mer house while Amoy was dishing up our dinner of fresh fish, chicken & rice,

and a fine meal we made out of that spread. The fact of its being dished up in various style of plates—iron, porcelain and wood, with a small chest as our table and other chests as chairs, fingers for forks and our teeth for knives, a room full of dirty-looking natives, watching the poor white man eat—all these trifles did not stay us from our vigorous attacks on the outlay and we soon made up for our all day's fast and long tramp. Soon after the dinner was over, S. and I followed the boys carrying our bedding to the big house and turned in. S. did not bother about his mosquito net, but I took pains to fix mine, and well I did for the night was closed and warm until near morning. S. told me the big-house girl had informed him that the Korrer men were assigned to sleep there, and that one of them had tried to jump my claim on a sleeping place on the floor, at one of the doors on the windward side. As none of them had laid their mat on the spot I desired, no attention was paid to the natives or the information and S. camped just opposite me. Being all fixed, I suddenly blew out my candle, when the natives gave a grunt *au Ugh!* having expected us to let the candle burn for their indulgence in gossiping, smoking and chewing betel nut. **Not much**, we were too tired for all that, and knew enough to have our own way in that house.

It was 9 a.m. before I could make up my mind to crawl out from under my net and into the drizzling rain. There was not a soul besides myself in the house when I got up and for once I got my bed and mats all rolled up without some curious native fingering them or my clothes. I had no idea what hour it was as I had long since laid my watch aside on discovering one day that it would not go (so much for neglect), but time was not much of an object such a wet morning and we had no particular tramp or business in view. So, strapping my mats, I placed them overhead on the timbers according to Pelew fashion, when each member of these club-houses has his particular sleeping place, just over it is placed his or her bedding and wardrobe in the shape of bundles of dresses or mats inside of large banana bark warps. Very little else is kept inside these houses. The wooden plates and dishes are brought in from the dwelling houses.

After breakfast at Amoy's, I managed to get out into the bush alone after shells and found some of the rare varieties. Returning to house, I learned S. was going back to ship the next morning & while talking with him several natives came to see him, among them the Head Chief of this island. He wanted the pair of socks and also asked me for the coat I had on. Very kind, indeed! Smilingly I told him "Yes, Yes, you bring me some pigs and chickens and by-and-by, you get all you want." Several brought me shells, but all of them dead or the land ones, not what I wanted. If they would hunt, I am sure they would find plenty of living ones, as the place is rich with plenty of dead ones of many varieties. The young girls are the best hunters, if you can get them started at it.

Toward evening, I was in the bush again, in a reed(?) place and found a girl and women hunting shells who seemed much interested in what I was after. Here, I chanced to find one of the rare flat snail shells I wanted very much, and in trying to tell them that much, got into quite a confab and started them to looking and hunting faithfully for full ten minutes—a long time for a native to stick to anything, without a rest. When the women began insisting on my going up to their house, in sight, while I wanted to

go to the right a little way up in the forest to have a look before dark. I made them understand that I would call at house "cumral", by and by, which I did after a look through the thick and rich bush. In the house were two or three women, the little girl and two men, one of the latter acted the spokesman with a few words of English. He showed me a few dead sea shells, rubbish, and a few common land shells—no good whatever. Then [he] began to question me about my wife. Was I married? No. (*Deac*) Don't you want to be? *Um-m*. Yes, yes, we understand, but *Koro-Palow*, Pelew fashion, is for you to get married and here is a wife for you, pointing to the smiling bunch of bronze anatomy standing in front of me, balancing a large wooden fish dish, two feet over, with a six-inch fish in it on her head and carrying another similar load in her right hand, tucked up under the arm. These dishes or trays, it seems, contained this family's contribution toward a supper to the Korrer visitors, which she was to carry to the council house where Abba Thule was camped.

I followed the women down to the council house in order to see what kind of a feed the King and his warriors were having. Everybody seemed well pleased, and all were smiling. There was any quantity of cooked food present of all kinds and the center of the room was full of wooden plates, and vessels containing fish, crabs, pork, taro, made dishes and molasses water in wooden dishes as well as in European porcelain and one of the covered dishes out of which the King politely offered me a drink of molasses water was one of your necessary pieces of bedroom furniture.¹ Of course, it was embarrassing enough to refuse, after having signified my acceptance of the proffered drink, although that was before I had seen where that sweet drink was kept. Still I ran all risks of offending his Majesty in declining, preferring the refreshing contents of a young coconut just then.

This island has very little taro and that inferior, owing to the salt water seeping through the coral and killing it; hence Abba Thule has daily a canoe load of it down from Korrer. Two of the Korrer Chiefs came to me and privately told me some of the fish sent them and some taro balls were bad: "No good, he stink". And sure enough, I could detect a high flavor from where I stood at one of the side doorways. Said doors or windows are four feet high and about the same wide, one at each end and three or four on each side. The floors are all smooth slabs in this village and well made and raised three feet from ground with a stoned yard all around house. At each of these windows or doors there is a stepping stone or notched log to assist one's entrance or in crawling out backwards, their usual style. No wonder the men prefer to sleep in these large comfortable houses, dry and clean and warm, in comparison to the small, dirty, thatched dwelling of the wives, with its bamboo floor only a foot or so from ground, just high enough for the pigs to shelter under, the rafters and sides strung full of family articles, the pot always simmering over the fireplace in center of floor and the baby or children kicking around.

1 Ed. note: A chamber pot.

One remarkable trait of said youngsters I must chronicle to their credit. I seldom, if ever, saw or heard them crying or quarreling. These people are very kind to their babies and children and yet it is astounding to see the indifference they show to their numerous ugly sores and skin diseases. Should you give them any remedy & instruct them in its use, ten to one, they do not use it the second time or as they are told. Still they are better than the Yap men in this particular.

In my short talk with the King, I asked him if he had secured a Pilelew mat and blanket he was owing me. He said "No, but have got mat at Korrör." Further understood he designed walking across to south-east side of island to another village & then take the boats which would meet him, and then all go back to Korrör. Thus learning the program and that nothing further would be done in Pilelew, I decided to return to K. also, next morning with Mr. Sims. Hence was up as day was breaking, packed mats, and away to Amoy's house and found S., his men and Amoy busy weighing the bechedemer and carrying it and the traps down to the boat. S. went down to the boat leaving Amoy to hurry the stuff along as the tide was going out. When S. was gone, Amoy sat down on the floor, chewing betel nut and chin-chinning with a houseful of natives, until I grew uneasy and proposed that he & I take a load, down & hurry up matters. He was disinclined. Wanted to wait for the men to come for it, until my impatience overcame his inertia & we finally got down to the boat where [we] found S. impatient of our long delay, out in the rain and cursing Amoy for being so slow. Then we found Amoy had told 3 men [that] they could go in our boat to ship. The scamp wanted to get clear of these himself as he was to follow two days later, himself. S. proved equal to the occasion, by coolly informing them they could come along by paying their passage and no other way. They all make him pay for every little thing they do for him, each chicken or egg, and why should he transport and feed them for nothing. One fellow persisted in getting in and staying in the boat until we started & had got down near the end of the wharf when he left us as S. threatened to toss him overboard if he did not leave. We grounded more than once before we reached deep water, three miles out. The men had to paddle and bamboo hard as there was little wind and raining all the time. While doing this a canoe with a fat old chief came off to us with a pig for S. and a basket of **dead shells** for me. He also gave me a fossil shark's tooth. This I kept but the shells were thrown away.

As soon as we reached deep water, and knew we were safe from being stuck all day on the mud flats (and 20 minutes more would have done it) we took a long breath of relief and then a cold breakfast, as it was not far from 10 o'clock, on cold rice & fish & taro. After breakfast, we got a good breeze and reached the ship about 3:30 p.m. and so ended my only trip in company with a King, the big, fat, humbug Abba Thule.

I found the ship full of women visitors from Korrör among which was the new Queen & royal family, all dressed in the choicest finery. Some were eating the ripe jack-fruit,¹ which, trying, I find quite toothsome, very sweet. It's a large round fruit 6 to 8 inches

1 Ed. note: In the full diary, Dr. Rabe says that the Palauan name for jack-fruit is *Re-am-it*."

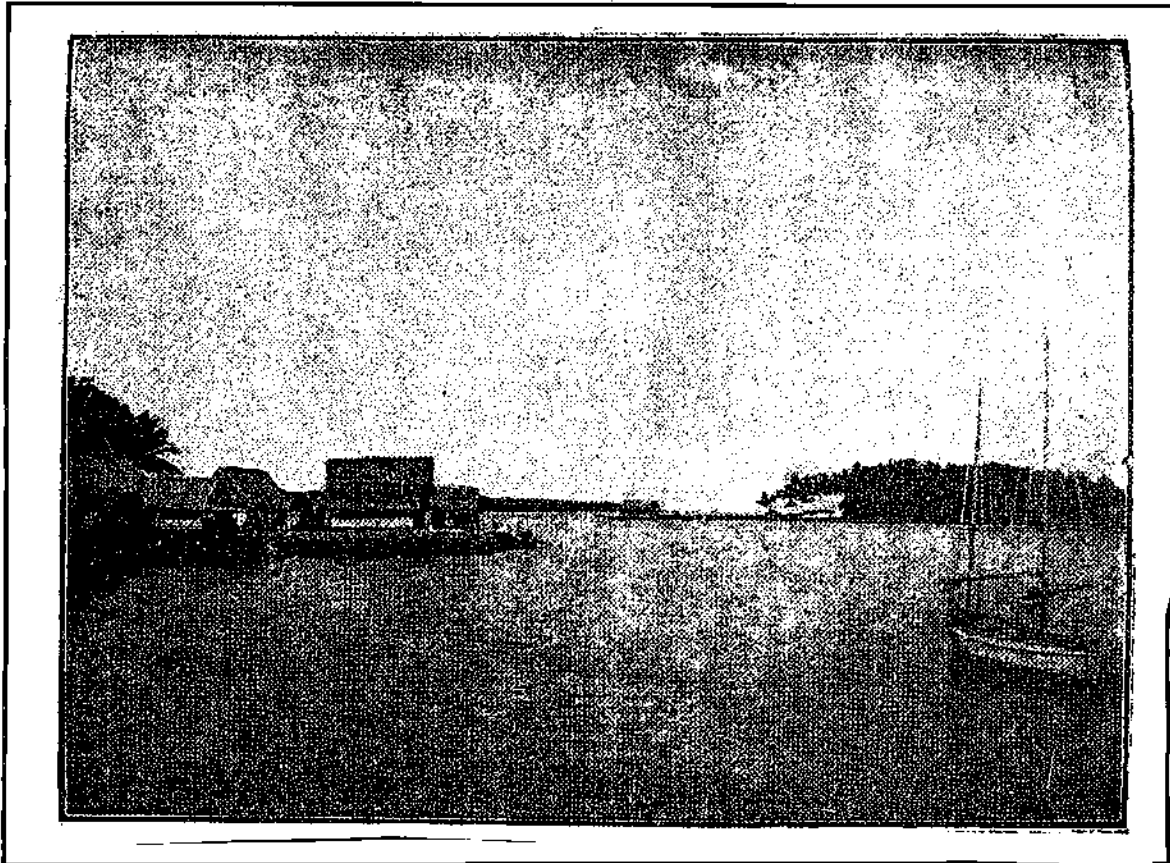
in diameter, rough skin & full of large chestnut-shaped seeds, which I'm told are rank poison until soaked in water for 3 days or boiled in water for hours, when they become wholesome and used for food. I had some afterwards, also a jam made from the fruit, which is mushy when ripe and sticks to the seeds. I have secured a lot of them. I slept on deck that night and had a good rest. Ten canoes were around next day.

Our two Sonsorol boys are dreadfully dull as well as lazy, and seem incapable of learning any thing. You may show them how to do a thing time and time again, and then they will do it wrong, right before your eyes. In such a little thing as bailing out our boat and it leaked considerably, they would go at it backwards even after being soundly rapped over the head for it. He only smiled at my umbrella whacks on his head as if I was only playing with him & it was when I punched him in the ribs with it that I got his attention. But when the biggest chap lazily dropped our biggest bailing vessel overboard, sang out the loss, S. energetically loaned him a kick that sent him overboard & made him swim for it. He didn't secure it, and we lost considerable time going about in the strong breeze to pick him up again.

The Sch. **Jenny** was sighted close into the passage, and O'K went out in a boat to help her in. King Abba Thule's fleet came straggling back one by one by our Malagan wharf.

During the forenoon of Oct. 30th...

[The schooner **Jenny** came into the harbor and its load of beche-de-mer was transhipped into the Santa Cruz. The mail steamer **Don Juan** from Manila had made into Yap two days after the departure of the Santa Cruz.]



View of Koror, capital of Palau. (From Dr. Cabeza's book).

O'K received plenty of letters & one of them was for a reply to our World's Fair of 1892 proposition to exhibit a village of these natives. The General Secretary says that the show is to be in 1893 at Chicago & in October 1890 all the different committees will hold a meeting, when O'K's letter will be referred to the proper Committee... Manila has sent 5 men-of-war to Pornape insurrection trouble & that's all we know. O'K also received a letter from Savannah [Georgia] & to see these old familiar postage stamps made me wish for my mail from you...

Mr. Gibbons called for the first time as he has been fixing his boat. He has filled my blank book I left last trip with notes on Korrer alone. He has used only one side of the paper, as you will notice & strings his views & notes out so much that the book down not contain such a great amount of matter. I told him I was sorry he had not written on both sides & given me that much more valuable information.¹ But he is a stubborn old man in his own ideas & views & wished to do his work in style I suppose. I am to send him some blank books from Hong Kong for further & complete Pelew notes. It seems he told O'K that Charlie Blanchard wanted to purchase the notes from him, when

¹ Ed. note: This information is contained in Doc. 1890G below.

he told him they were for me, etc.... Mr. Gibbons on board today [Oct. 31] & I gave him two old coats, 1 doz. pins & needles & small money box tray. He wishes some books on history & theology, as he is great on his bible theory...

At 11 a.m., Nov. 1st, I went to Korrer with 21 natives [in] Aricoco's boat, intending to make the King hand over my promised curios, but we met him in a boat going to ship & I continued on to the landing and found they had improved things about there during my absence. On top of the grade at the Arricoco Club House I looked in there & saw 2 of the fancy girls stretched out on the floor near one of the side doors, fast asleep. One of them, young & pretty, cleared out on my waking them by poking them with the end of my umbrella under the ribs. The other one knew me, & stood her ground by sitting up, grunted & rubbing her eyes & then asked for tobacco. This time I had remembered to bring a little of that dainty article & complied by giving her half a twist, when: "Matches!" was her next want, & after that she wanted to look at my distorting mirror. Just then I had pressing business some other place, as this budy was getting entirely too familiar with her yellow hands that were marking me with *rang*.

Not far from here I ran into the new Queen bossing a gang of her subjects cleaning the stone walks, some of the King's daughters were among them. We had a lively chat & I bought a few of their shell bangles, with small pieces of silver money, which they give their lovers to make into finger rings, and each of them a small piece of tobacco.

I called into several houses as I passed and was asked to drink young coconuts, molasses water. The latter is the favorite Pelew drink. Abba Thule got back at 5:30 I saw him a few moments at his house and told him I'll call again about those things & the scamp had the cheek to ask me "what things you want?". He got his answer quick & sharp which gave him to understand I was not to be humbugged again, at which the old fellow actually colored up & promised all I wished.

During my stay I gathered some of the *rang* plants, which belong to the *Canna* or Indian Shot variety,¹ only it flowers on a small spike near the ground, is of a light yellow shade & shaped something like a double lily, The roots are thick & round as one's finger & deep yellow and of it they make the yellow *rang*.² I noted another similar plant has a blue flower. After getting these carefully to the ship, where some one knocked them down on the deck, our goats spoiled most of them & ate the balance.

All Korrer is preparing for their grand annual dance of the women, a feast, & giving of presents from one faction to the other party. There are 2 distinct families in Korrer claiming the honors of royalty, and hence these exchanges [are] a peace offering or present from one to the other each year. I'm told it's a grand affair with much dancing & feasting for 3 or 4 days.

An old lady in one of the Chief's houses where she had formerly [invited me] to show me her fine tortoise-shell plate & spoons, and her little girl gave me a wooden dish in-

1 Ed. note: They, in fact, belong to different families, *canna* to the Cannaceae, and turmeric to the Costaceae. See, for instance, Purseglove's *Tropical Crops*.

2 Ed. note: Its proper name is turmeric, a plant of the genus *curcuma*. *Rang* is turmeric powder.

laid with pearl as a present to my *Kergeraegil* (little girl) in America. I was much astounded this trip to hear so much English spoken by the women when I was alone with them. It appears they are not allowed to speak it, or will not do so if any of their men are near to hear them. One scabby little woman, whom I met balancing her large water jar upon her head gave me plenty of very good English. The King was late in getting up to his house, too late to talk business, so I told him I would stop all night if the women would make a dance for me after dark. "Oh yes", he answered, "they make dance". We had a fine supper, on fresh crab & fish, no salt, plenty of taro that I left alone & tea made out of lemon grass.

Soon after dark the little folks & King's daughters made a showing of a dance on the large level smooth ground between the paved court & the main causeway of the town. Some 7 or 8 of them stood up in a circle & while chanting a sing-song tune they would hop from one foot to the other a few times, pump up and down a few times and finish this with a grand pump and shout. All the while they kept time by smacking their bare legs & hips between the front & back dress with the palms, in such a way as to make a loud whack, and again the hands and arms are extended in graceful motions over the head, then forwards & backwards, hands slapped together and finished with a loud "Wah! Wah!" A pump, a hard stamp of the foot twice & a whack upon the hips with the hands. The twist & jerk of the body makes their singular curtain on [their] apron-shaped dresses swing quickly from side to side, as well as forward & backward between their widely-spread & half-bent knees. In some parts they give very immodest movements & get excited as each goes more abandon in her kicks. After another hour all hands were tired, & I was put to sleep behind a curtain in one corner, had plenty mats & good pillows, & being tired I expected to have [a] good sleep.

The old King closed all the doorways with mats and cross bars, & as he was doing so, I asked him if he was afraid of anyone breaking into the house. "No! No!", he replied, "Plenty wind & rain at night & makes too cold." I got behind my curtain after saying good night, & was almost asleep when my hands & neck began to sting, which soon got me wide enough awake to realize the presence of plenty mosquitos & however they seemed to feel & taste me, until they caused me to get under the mat blanket, head & all, where in ten minutes I was wet with perspiration, that smothering could not be endured long, so I pulled away the door slide in front of me, until I had an opening six inches wide, which let in a little cool night air and there I lay fighting mosquitos & cussing myself for soming unprepared into such a place. It was a long and tough night, the hottest & most uncomfortable of any I experienced in Pelew or Yap. I must have dropped asleep some time for it was daylight when I woke up. I quickly got outside for a breath of fresh air as well as to get away from my infernal tormenters of the night. As I was making a rapid bee line for my favorite bathing place, the King considerably asked me if I had soap, but I wouldn't stop for his precious piece of Bears transparent, which he certainly must keep so carefully for its fragrance as he never uses it for washing and have often noticed him smelling it. Returning I was invited into the old Queen's house and asked if I wanted to buy a mat. They showed me two bundles, nothing I

wanted. After strong urging from me they showed me about a dozen tortoise shell plates and spoons, some of them no one [sic] and one of them a clear white which could not be bought at any price. For one of the poorest plates, they asked 13 dollars worth of trade.

It commenced raining here and as their breakfast was ready, I was invited to join them & accepting I was immediately served a fourteen-inch fresh fish hot from the coals where they roast them just as they are caught, with scales & insides and you can eat all or part, just as you fancy, along with their ever-present taro. I missed the salt very much but never stopped until finished them all, head, tail & all but let the taro alone as I have been afraid of it ever since the night it gave me a picnic. The breakfast & rain came to conclusion about the same time & I hurried back to the King's where they were preparing their breakfast. Three of the girls were beating the cooked taro bulbs to make them soft, then they skinned off the black rough thin skin with a small mother of pearl knife & then cut it into convenient pieces, say two inches square, for a small bite when their mouth was already full of fish.

I excused myself after eating a little fish and cooked banana & stepped over to see Mr. Gibbons & here Mr. G. would have me buy the jack-fruit jam. Altogether I managed to get a breakfast. Getting back to the King's, I had to probe him several times to get him to produce my articles, the small Pelew money he declared he no got & he stuck to it & he even wanted to keep the four pieces of bogus money I returned to him the other evening & I proudly asked him to hand it over just as I was leaving. The mat produced was not even N° 2 & he said no got clean N° 1 kind, be all dirty & black & yet the old scamp had told me several times that he had good N° 1 at home. The old wife brought me a small plate. These tortoise-shell plates are supposed to belong to the women & their heirlooms.

By this time it was mid-day & I was not surprised when the king said he was not going to the ship & for me to tell Capt. O'K that they could not catch any pigs but he should have them next time. So after making a few presents to the little folks & nothing, nor even a good-bye or a shake hands to the king, I followed the man with my mats & baskets of oranges, lemons & cooked almonds in molasses down to Aricoco's house and then with him & son down to the wharf and canoes as we had to take two of them to carry all the stuff. They had no pigs at all, although they had promised to O'K.

At 11 a.m. the King & chiefs had a council in the Council House to decide about making beche-de-mer. I looked in & was surprised to see so many men and girls there. There were two big rolls of cooked almonds & molasses which was being divided around with *Cabue* [kabui?] or betel nut leaf to each chief. The different girls were carrying it from Abba Thule's hand, for he sat alone in a doorway, to the various chiefs he named in succession. While there, one of the big chief told Aricoco to ask me for a present. I asked what he wanted. "A looking glass". I had given the children 3 or 4 small mirrors in my first trip and that ended them, but all the same I told Arricoco to promise him "Yes, yes, I look see in ship, all same Korro Pelew" (meaning Pelew fashion), but that was the last I saw of him. I don't think he visited the ship afterwards. We made a quick

sail down to the ship & on the way I gave young Abba Thule (son of Arricoco) a 50-cent piece to make rings. He, and a scaly Rupack (Chief), were the only men in our canoe and at first I told them it was for both of them, half & half. Quick as the Chief saw the silver he left his steering place, came to the middle of the canoe where Abba Thule & I were sitting, took the money from the boy, saying it belonged to him & put it into the little tobacco purse in his basket and then returned to his work. Asking the young man what had been said, he told me in English & I immediately reached for Sir Rupack's basket, threw out its contents till I found the coin & handed it back to the young man & then told both that the boy should keep it all.

We had a good sleep on deck & a bath as usual in the morning at the spring... The next morning I was planted comfortably on one of our 2 deck chairs, reading a novel, as the wind would not permit us to get away when a fat brown hand was shoved over my left shoulder in front of my face, followed by the king's voice with "Good morning, Dr.". His face was wrinkled with one of his usual quiet smiles. I had no idea he was on board & was a little surprised & especially so at his smiling face & wishing to shake hands, after his tricks of the day before, and my plain words of contempt to him. Without moving, I looked him in the face & asked him if he had brought me my good money. "Deac" (no got), he answered. "Then I've nothing to say to you. You tell lie too much. You *deac-la-eny-say* (no good). Me no shake hands with you. Get out." That settled it as all his men on the schooner had seen I refused his proffered hand & when he left after dinner, he did not offer to say good-bye to me. I afterwards learned the King had expected *Clallo* (presents) from me, & that was what brought him down to the ship & had suggested 2 bags of rice as the proper thing [plus] my lead pencil, my gold spectacles & one or 2 other things. Tobacco & matches goes without saying. But the old scamp had taken great care not to ask me for those things. He's a thorough scamp, liar, thief & murderer.

The Spanish should place a Governor there & enforce order in the group, stop all this female slavery, this club-house prostitution where in Korrer it is a real slavery, as they are filled with women from other places & islands. The abolition of the club-house slavery would strike at the root of their worst habits & give the population a chance to increase. Between their wars & this prostitution of **all the young girls** at the youngest age possible, it has been decreasing rapidly in population & the race degenerating & they number so few, not over a 1,000 men all told, that a small force would be able to keep order and introduce a new state of things. There is plenty of room for millions of coconuts while tobacco, cotton, coffee, vanilla bean & many other things could be grown. Besides, their mountains have never been thoroughly explored and I'm given to understand that coal & iron indications have been found.

[Final departure from Palau]

The morning of Nov. 6th came clear & hot. During the night a squall drove us below into our bunks, something I did not relish at all. There being no wind, Edwards & I went on shore after early tea. E. helped himself to an armful of sugarcane & I stole an

old Pelew pottery lamp out of the house. The ship's boat gathered a lot of grass for our 4 goats, also a lot of young coconuts as well as some of their leaves, to serve as covering for some of the things on deck.

At 1:30 the wind came fair for our sailing, and soon after OK's boat came in sight and got caught in the light rain that this westerly cloud had brought. He had been in Korrer about an hour & they had managed to catch a large pig he was after, when he noticed the fair wind storm coming & immediately he dropped the pig business & hurried to the ship as fast as he could. It was 2:20 p.m. when he reached it & by 3 p.m. we were under way with Kalangan as pilot up in the rigging until near the outer reef, when he and the Yap men left us in their sailing canoe, and by 4 p.m. we were outside & could say "Good-bye" to the Pelews.

Outside we found the wind dead ahead which made us roll so much that I felt nasty & half sick & a cup of tea sufficed for supper and that on deck, where I early made my bed on the old deck chair & without changing my clothes I slept all night except when a half hour squall drove me into the cabin.

Just before night came on I got a full set of Pelew bedding from Tomam, one coarse mat & one fine one 3 x 6 feet & was extra fine N^o 1 mat blanket a much finer one than any I had been offered and just what I had been after and just what the King had promised me all along. Tomam told me that every man no can get such a mat & that he can get things that they will not sell to a trader. I have seen something of that kind myself and another thing I learned that these same Pelew people who are so close & sharp with a trader or anyone they know has money & will not give him a single thing & only sell for twice the price, will & have been known to give freely & abundantly to poor persons in need, who were left here on Malagan & also some shipwrecked crews. I gave Tomam the King's poor mat, also my good Fiji woolen coat & a pair of pants.

My almonds & molasses, being too rich & sticky for me, I gave it to Timagin, our cabin boy, who is a brother of Guiltimo, a big Chief in Tomil, Yap, whom I have often mentioned in connection with Laro & other Chiefs. He with Tomam & 2 other common Yap men & another cabin boy make 5 natives, then the 2 white sailors & Mr. Cox the Mate, make up the crew. Edwards takes Capt. O'K's watch while Capt. W. Act of Parliament and myself play passengers, then our dog, 2 cats, 5 goats, 10 or 12 pigs, 80 or 100 chickens, 1 turtle, 1 small land bird caught the 2nd day out, completed our family list, that is if you don't count the amiable cockroaches that swarm in myriads & industriously eat everything not made of iron, and the numerous rats that find plenty to eat in the beche- de-mer, so do not come into the cabin, much, and there was precious little they could hurt there if they did try.

By Nov. 12, 1890, we had been 6 days out from Malagan we had beat about 200 miles to the NW of the Pelews & had got about on the Yap track to Hong Kong where we struck a good NE wind. This wind carried us along at a fine rate, set all hands rejoicing. A large school of bonito fish followed today for hours & afforded considerable amusement to the crew who were trying to spear or hook some.

The morning of Nov. 7 [had] found us off the North end of the Pelew with very light head winds. I was all over my squeemish feeling & ready for a substantial breakfast at 8:00 a.m. By noon we could see O'K's small north island station & recognized Alex' boat at anchor with sails raised to dry. We talked off & on till dark shut out the land.

The next morning, Nov. 8th, we were out of sight of the main land but could see the breakers on the northern reef 20 miles north of big land where they say plenty of vessels have been lost. The morning was cloudy, no wind, which made the rolling of the ship quite nasty. At 10 a.m. while I was busy forward fooling with Tomam, Capt. O'K & W. & one of two others saw a live nautilus swimming with the fish, well out of the shell, which is something wonderful to see, it being so very rare that it would have been worth the trouble to try & capture it, as we were going so very slow at that time & that fish so rarely caught. I must positively find out at Hong Kong Museum if I'm right about their having been two on record caught with fish in shell. By noon the sun was scorching, even with our awning up. At 9:30 p.m. the rain routed O'K & I out of our deck chairs and into bunks the rest of the night.

Nov. 9th. Clear & hot sun that made all hands lazy and the white crew did no ship work. Most of the afternoon we were becalmed & rolled badly and reefed mainsail & headed ship NE to avoid shaking the ship too much.

Nov. 10th. We made only 32 miles & were now about 100 miles north of the Pelews trying to get into the regular track to Hong Kong. The wind was very light and the nasty swell made us roll badly. Towards evening we got more upon our course, steering a little more west of north.

By noon, Nov. 13, we were about 400 miles due north of Malagan Harbor where we struck the direct Yap track and altered our course to NW direct for the Luzon strait. We had good fair wind all day and the same most of the night, and was surprised to see O'K make 87 miles as the day's run when I expected it to be over 100. The Yap men were all barking with colds and O'K cut out five pairs of Pajamas for them & set Tomam to sewing them. Hundreds of bonitos about the ship all day, plenty of flying fish are going off singly or in schools, from our bow every day. By this time we had two goats left and they had left but little of the arms of my old rattan chair on deck. They eat the coconut husks, pine boards, stove wood splinters and that day I saw the old Billy goat commencing on our biggest anchor, which Charlie had just finished coal tarring. The old Nannie goat presided in daily promenading over the after deck and, of course, Billy had to go along to play the protector, against Laro the young dog, who gets a nip in on their hind legs occasionally which is punished by a butt from her ladyship when he carries it too far. Each day about noon she & Billy usually take a siesta next door to the pigs, forward under the windlass chains where the pigs will get underneath in a straight line, with their noses all aft towards the audience. Generally seven or eight could crowd in and it looked comical when the sun was hot to see how quietly they lay there with nothing but their noses in sight. The ship's boat was upside down over the main hatch, and the sailors & natives often sleep under it, both by night and day, and very often find their claim jumped by some four or five of the pigs that seemed to like that place

as much as they did. The men have to get down and crawl under the edge of the boat, but once under they have a cool and dry place.

Nov. 14th. We made 110 & by noon of the 15 we made 146 miles. With the fair wind we caught more or less squalls & high seas, causing us to shorten sails, often the spray would fly straight across deck, too often to be pleasant, especially when it comes in a sea that drenches clear to the skin, at the same time it shoots you across the deck in a hurry.

By 2 p.m. Nov. 18th we were to the westward [sic] of the Balintang Channel at the north of Luzon, Philippines, going at full speed, 173 miles having been run on our course in 24 hours & had sailed more at an angle to pass the straits. We saw no land.

Two days before, we passed near the place when O'K was caught in a typhoon last year, which gave them a nasty shaking in the Brig **Swan**, some 250 tons, as big as three of the **Santa Cruz**. Those Balintang rocks are only a little above water and very dangerous for a night passage like we made. We made a little more northward on account of the night run on their account and yet O'K thought in the morning we must have run dangerously near as then we plainly saw the high land of Batan Island, 3,806 ft. high...

[They soon neared the China coast. Here is how Dr. Rabe describes the China fishing junks.]

This is the first time I have seen these fishing junks at work and they look exactly like the picture one sees of them: great big ungainly-looking concerns, low down in bows and rearing up astern like a tier of circus tent seats and spreading out both sides and behind like a pigeon's tail. At a distance a stranger would say the bow was certainly the stern and the machine sailing backwards, propelled by her two large mat sails. The boats look strong though, small under such an extension of side scaffolding. Over the windward side each junk had two large lines out in the water that drags their nets as they slowly sail or drift along. One junk came within a few feet of us or perhaps I had better say, we almost ran over one of them and so close that we could see all their decks and raised stair decks on benches, where the fish are seen drying after being split open. Am informed they often remain out fishing for a month at a time and there seems to be thousands of them here.

[They arrived in Hong Kong on Thursday 20 November 1890. As they reached Simon Pass near Hong Kong, O'K's ship chandler came to pick him & Rabe up in his steam launch and brought them to the Victoria wharf. The ship followed them and anchored "just off the Barracks and the blue buildings" close in with the sampans. The ship chandler's place was next door to the Victoria Hotel. After an evening near there, Rabe was taken by rickshaw eatwards opposite to where the **Santa Cruz** was anchored. He left the ship 2 or 3 days later with his 2 trunks, 5 handbags and a roll of mats in a sampan, being landed near Mr. M. & S.'s store at Victoria wharf. He then went up to

the Hospital which was located near the Peak and overlooking the fishing village of Aberdeen and other Chinese villages on the south side of the island. He took up a room there to have his long-endured illness looked at. The physician there diagnosed his case as a case of the "Itch", no more no less. He then complained that he had been scratching for 6 months and never knew what was the matter with him, the Spanish doctor in Yap having treated him for a disease of the blood. He concludes this particular logbook with the following comment:]

I have heard of the Itch, since I was a child back in Ohio. Everybody has heard of the seven-year itch, a type and symbol for reproachful slowness, but I had never seen a case of it before. And now since I have had it these many months, I never want to know anything further about the annoying thing again.

Postscript to Yap and Palau.

Log N° 39—Journal of Dr. John Rabe. Log letters to his brother Benjamin, from Japan and Sumatra

Hong Kong, China. Dec. 22nd 1891.

Dear Bro.—Yesterday I finished my Japan Log & will mail it before long. It's no use for me to speak of this place very much & I only do so to keep up the connection of my travel.

...
The **Doña Bartola** has not left for Yap. She is waiting for some cargo, from Germany, by the German mail [steamer]. Old Edwards has told me all the Yap & Pellew news.

Sims has left O'Keefe's employ & living on Angor Island, where he claimed to be elected King by the natives, because he helps them against Abba Thule. Last year they have had regular fighting & several killed & the rascally old King gained nothing. And Sims is now fixed to his wishes. But I doubt if he can manage to make even \$2 or \$3.00 per year out of the place.

Poor old Gibbons is out with O'Keefe & his son is now trading for Charlie & the Germans. The priests have now made permanent location at Korrer, & old Abba Thule has removed in disgust to Malacan Island where we lay so long in Harbor at the fine spring. Mr. G. sent me no manuscript or historical log, but writes I may expect some next trip of Schooner.

This is only a small part of the Carolines news of past year. Last season a second Jap. trading schooner visited the Pelles & bid fair to build up a business, as they are offering higher prices for the native shell & trade. At Yap, old Tom Shaw's house was burnt & all contents.

...

Victoria Hotel, Hong Kong. Dec. 23rd, 1891

...
I'm off now tomorrow for Singapore & so left my future address at the Consulate's.
And as my old passport is over four years old I had them make me out another one—
charges \$1.00 gold = \$1.30 Mexican.

Documents 1890G

A new governor for the Marianas

Source: PNA.

G1. Letter of appointment of LCol Vara del Rey, dated Manila 28 January 1890

[From] The Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines.
Manila, 28 January 1890.

To fill the post of P.M. Governor of the Marianas, left vacant by the promotion of Mr. Enrique Solano Llanderal, this Government General, in agreement with the proposal made by the Captain General's Office, has just appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Joaquín Vara de Rey.

Communicate this and send a report to the Ministry of Overseas.
Weyler.

G2. Takeover of the government

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

[From] The P.M. Government of the Mariana Islands, Administration Section, N° 477.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to let Y.E. know that today I have taken charge of the P.M. Government of these Islands and other supplementary duties.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 21 April 1890.

Joaquín Vara de Rey.

Document 1890H

Deserters from whaling ships visiting Guam

Source: PNA.

List of the foreign deserters from the whaling ships that anchored in this port during the month of February 1890, giving their names, ships and nationality to which they belong.

Names	Nationality	Name of ship	Remarks
Charles Backster [Baxter]	U.S.A.	Lagoda	Ships
Charles Hower [Howard?]	U.S.A.	Cape Horn Pigeon	proceeding
Fred Sanders [Saunders]	U.S.A.	Alexander	from
John Syheman [Sydenham]	U.S.A.	Alexander	Sna
Perlie H. Gunn	U.S.A.	Bounding Billow	Francisco
John Caprio	U.S.A.	Alexander	under
Joseph Prat [Pratt]	U.S.A.	Abraham Barker	U.S.
Denis Collins	German	Lagoda	flag
John Ambrose	Belgian	Bounding Billow	

Agaña, 21 April 1890.¹

The Governor, Colonel Enrique Solano.

¹ Ed. note: This was the last decision taken by the old governor, to rid the island of vagrant foreigners, who were sent to Manila aboard the same ship that had brought in the new governor.

Document 1890I

Lieut. Porras wanted to become a trader in Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

Permission requested of the Governor General

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Eastern Carolines, 1890.
—File regarding the appropriateness of the officer named Marcelo Porras remaining in that island.

Your Excellency,

The P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines, in a letter dated 22 January last, re-mits to Y.E. the letter which the Manager of the Pacific Company had sent to him, in which are mentioned the proposals to expand as much as possible their business, given the facilities provided by the Government of Spain.

He mentions to Y.E. the appropriateness that Second-Lieutenant Marcelo Porras would remain in that island since he wishes it to be so, because of his ability in complying with orders given, his being loved by the natives and foreigners, desirable qualities for the development of commerce based on the trust that he inspires in all the delegates of Y.E. at that place.

The Governor mentions that he has answered the letter, assuring the Company that his government will carry on the same political conduct, as it is that indicated by Y.E.'s government.

Manila, 21 March 1890.

Agustín Cerdeira.

Note: If Y.E. considers admissible the desire shown by the Governor of the Eastern Carolines that Second-Lieutenant Marcelo Porras remain in that place, such an agreement must be communicated to the Captain General.

Manila, 25 March 1890.

[Minute]

OK, but tell them that in military matters they should deal with the Captain General's Office and it is up to them to decide what is proper.¹

¹ Ed. note: Poor Lieut. Porras! He was killed by natives soon after that.

Documents 1890J

More Capuchin missionaries sent to Yap and Palau

Source: PNA.

J1. Additional Capuchins requested for Pohnpei, but eventually sent to Yap and Palau

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1890. Bureau Nº. 1. —Files regarding the petition formulated by the Governor of the Eastern Carolines and the Superior of the Missions about an increase of six priests and five lay brothers destined to the said Islands and the procure in Manila.

[To] the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

[From] Mission of the Capuchin Fathers in the Eastern Carolines.

Very Illustrious Sir:

Our first Catholic mission [station] having been installed in Aleniang (Kiti) under the direction of Rev. Fr. Agustín de Ariñez, and Brother Benito de Aspa, with the acceptance of the natives whom you know about, and the good services that they render to the State as interpreters of the Kanaka language, whenever it is convenient or necessary to you, in addition to the attraction of the natives to the love and recognition of our Spanish Government and its laws and customs by the constant preaching in the church, on the roads and in their own houses, and the other four being busy teaching the children, boys and girls, at the cost of all sorts of adjustments and sacrifices which they have been able to overcome, in the Central Mission of this Colony, under the holy protection of the Divine Shepherdess, two of them being ready to go to a mission [station], wherever and wherever you judge convenient, in the same manner as the others, but keeping in mind that if any one of the three Fathers should become sick, there will be no other to replace him and in such a case that mission [station] would be suspended, which is the same as being closed.

Therefore, the undersigned has the honor to beg you to please recommend effectively to His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines the need for the Government of M. M. the King (may God save him), in agreement with our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial, deign to send three Fathers from our convents in Spain with their respec-

tive lay brothers, if possible, before establishing another mission [station] in order to avoid the probable and sad conflict that would result from the abandonment of a mission [station] soon after its opening, which would be a bad thing anywhere, but much worse in Ponape, where there exists, perfectly rooted since 40 years ago, one of the numberless Protestant sects, called Methodist, supplied with infinite means to neutralize the strongest and most sincere efforts of our Catholic Mission.

This is what I have the honor to bring to your prudent and superior attention.

May God save you for many years.

Santiago de la Ascención, 16 February 1890.

Fr. Saturnino Ma. de Artajona, Superior.

J2. The Governor General's reaction

To the Rev. Fr. Superior of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers [in Manila].

1 April 1890.

His Excellency the Governor General, in an agreement dated 21 March last, has been pleased to direct the forwarding to Y.E. of the petition formulated by the Mission established in the Eastern Carolines, for you to please issue your illustrious opinion regarding the appropriateness of increasing it with three Fathers from the convents in the Peninsula and with as many lay brothers.

That is what, by decision of H.E., I have the honor to communicate to Y.R., enclosing copies of the letters from the Superior of the Mission and the Governor of the said islands.

May God, etc.

Editorial notes.

Given the length of the process for such requests, various documents on file can be summarized as follows:

1) On 9 April 1890, Fr. Berardo Ma. de Cieza, Superior in Manila, wrote back to the Governor General in support of the request and pointed out that the person able to supply the necessary personnel was Fr. Joaquín Ma. de Llevaneras in Madrid.

2) On 22 April, the Governor General sent the request to the Intendent General for the evaluation of the subsidy costs involved.

3) On 9 June, the Auditor General, Mr. Angel Osmeña, pointed out that Article 2, Chapter 10, Section 3 of the General Budget had enough money in it to cover the expenses involved.

4) On 20 September 1890, the Administrative Council of the Philippines issued a favorable opinion, which, in part, reads as follows.

J3. Opinion of the Administrative Council of the Philippines

[To] His Excellency the Governor General.

[From] the Administrative Council of the Philippines, Government Section: Messieurs the Director General of Civil Administration, Asensi, Ordoñez, Elizalde, Rojas, Orozco.

Your Excellency,

This Section, gathered today in a meeting held this date with the above-mentioned gentlemen, was unanimous in approving the following report submitted to them by its attorney, interim Councillor, Mr. Eugenio del Saz Orozco:

[...] It is also necessary to augment by three priests and two brothers the personnel that today constitutes the said [procure] house [in Manila] and which is only one priest and two brothers [...]

All the laws that form our system of colonialization, as Y.E. knows perfectly well, are inspired, recommend and impose the system of attraction, and they unite in close liaison the action of the missionary and the government authority as a slow but sure means of preparing and obtaining the evolution of the natives, transforming them at the same time into true Catholics and good Spaniards.

[...] The absence from those Islands of the Methodist Mr. Doane, who exercised such a great and decisive influence upon those natives and whose recent death has been mentioned in newspapers, presents a timely opportunity for our missionaries to extend their gospel work, and this is what they propose to do and to do it they request an increase in personnel—a proposal that is very praise-worthy and a request that is fully justified [...]

Manila, 20 September 1890.

Justo S. Delgado.

J4. Request approved by the Ministry of Overseas, on 28 January 1891

[To] the Governor General, Vice-Regal Patron of the Churches in Asia.

[From] the Ministry of Overseas. N^o 70.

Your Excellency,

Regarding the file opened by the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines and the Superior of the Capuchin Fathers about an increase in the number of religious posted to the said Islands, remitted by Y.E. by official letter N^o 1676, under date of November 3rd last; taking into account that it has been treated favorably by all the authorities who have intervened in it, and that it mentions the appropriateness of an increase in order to reinforce the missions of the said Islands, and to regulate the march and the cult in the [procure] house that the Capuchin Order has in Manila; H.M. the King (may God save him) and in his name the Queen Regent of the Kingdom was pleased to grant the request for an increase of six priests and five lay brothers for the Eastern Carolines and Procure House in Manila.

By Royal Order, I inform Y.E. for your knowledge and other effects.

May God save Y.E. for many years.
 Madrid, 28 January 1891.
 Fabié.

[Minute]
 Manila, 12 March 1891.
 Comply and issue the appropriate orders.
 Weyler.

J5. The new missionaries sent to Yap and Palau instead

[From] the Central Mission House and General Procure of the Capuchin Fathers in Manila.

Your Excellency,

The four Fathers and four Brothers, Capuchin Missionaries recently arrived from the Peninsula, and posted respectively, two Fathers and two Brothers to the Island of Yap, and the other two Fathers and two Brothers to the Palau Islands, in the same western region, as Y.E. knows already,¹ are to embark aboard the merchant steamer **Don Juan** that will sail for the Western and Eastern Carolines after the 22nd of this month. Lacking any kind of resources to be able to cover the expenses for the fare, food and material for church and schools, I beg Y.E. to please issue directives to provide them with the embarkation order to go from here, all of them directly to the Island of Yap, stating that the travel expenses, and the transport of food and material for church and schools in the present voyage and in successive voyages for both Carolines and Palau, will be as until now at Government expense.

The names of the said Missionaries are as follows: Father Antonio de Valencia, Fr. Luís de León, Fr. Toribio de Filiel, Fr. Luís Luis Granada, Brother Melchor de Gerona, Br. Rogelio de Azadon, Br. Joaquín de Masamagrell, and Br. Oton de Ochovi.

May God, etc.²

J6. The new missionaries on their way to Micronesia

[To] the Paymaster's Office of the Directorate General of Civil Administration.

[From] the Central Mission House and General Procure of the Capuchin Fathers in Manila.

Illustrious Sir,

I have the honor to communicate to You that last February 6th, and aboard the mail steamer **Santo Domingo**, there embarked in the port of Barcelona for these islands,

1 Ed. note: The secons Pohnpei rebellion mandated this change in posting.

2 Ed. note: The letter was received at the Secretariat of the Govenment General on 23 March, one day before the sailing date of the Don Juan. Fr. Antonio had been on leave of absence, and he was now being sent to Palau. Two new Fathers who arrived later were to be sent to Pohnpei later that year.

and the Carolines and Palau, the Capuchin Missionaries listed below: Fr. Antonio de Valencia, Fr. Luís de León, Fr. Pastor de Eraul, Fr. Toribio de Filiel, Fr. Luís de Granada, Br. Melchor de Gerona, Br. Regelio de Azadon, Br. Joaquín de Masamagrell, and Br. Oton de Ochovi, who arrived at this port of Manila on 12 March in the morning and disembarked on the same day.

The despatch of the above-mentioned religious was authorized by Royal Order dated 24 June of last year 1890, and their embarkation by another Royal Order dated 28 January last, bearing N° 69.

Out of them, Fr. Pastor de Eraul, posted to this Central Mission House and General Procure in Manila, took possession the next day 13 March, and all of the others embarked for the Western Carolines and Palau on the 24th of the same month of March, aboard the merchant steamer **Don Juan**. Please note that Fr. Antonio de Valencia is the Missionary who was permitted to go to the Peninsula on 27 April 1889 on account of sickness, and he has now returned in good health.

May God save You for many years.

Manila, 1 April 1891.

The Superior, Fr. Berardo Ma. de Cieza, Cap.

Documents 1890K

Two press reports about the Carolines

Note: The reporters were probably naval officers; that is why their names are not mentioned, but their identity was known in the close-knit white community in Manila.

K1. Report published in *La Oceanía Española*, 24 May 1890

Palau Islands [rather Yap] or Western Carolines

By the steamer **Venus** which arrived at Iloilo from Yap, the [newspaper] *Porvenir de Visayas* has received the following news which it published on the 21st:

“Nothing at all is happening in the Camp of the Queen Regent in Yap, nor in the Colony of the Queen [María] Cristina, nor in the young town of San Francisco de Guror, that is worthy of attention.

“The aforesaid settlements, the only one founded by ourselves until now, live quietly and languorously, enjoying an enviable health and an octovian peace.

“Our missionary Fathers, the only workers for civilization in those countries and the only ones who, until now, occupy themselves for the progress of our sovereignty, work restlessly to achieve abundant fruits, in spite of lacking adequate resources. It would be worthwhile giving them larger sums and increasing their number, as it is the only way for us to regenerate that race, by attracting it to our religion, customs and obedience.

“Since the occupation and a little later, they are the only ones who have achieved positive results, whereas our military occupation, sedentary such as it is, and inactive outside the camp, would never have done as much.

“This settlement in the islet of Belekast [Blelach] consists of a bad little fort, within which are lodged a small headquarters built with boards and coconut tree posts, for the [regular] soldiers, another similar one for the convict soldiers, and a house for the Captain in charge of the company, and also a bad shed, covered with nipa, and serving as a military workshop. In the same islet and below the fort is the so-called Royal House of boards with a tin roof, a pier and a small powder magazine.

“This island is joined to the mainland by a stone dike, and at the end of it there begin a number of vegetable gardens, two of them, one for the infantry and another for the convicts, which produce very little. Beyond these there can be found a very bad infirmary built of boards covered with coconut [leaves]. A little farther up, one can find the

mission on top of a picturesque hill and, on the right-hand side of it is the town of the Queen Cristina inhabited by exiles.

“The Governor has no resources, either for works, or for embellishments, so that everything is as it was at the beginning, that is, yet to be done.

“The natives are submissive and docile; they are not bothersome, but neither do they help with anything, unless something be offered them which they like. In other words, life in Yap is tranquil, as tranquil as within the bosom of Abraham, that is, without any problem, or glory, without reward or punishment.

“On the 10th of this month, Navy Commander José Montes de Oca took over the P.M. Government. Said officer had spent many years in our possessions in the Gulf of Guinea [in Africa] where he was instrumental in enlarging our Spanish sovereignty over many thousands of kilometers.

“This would be the time for the Government General to give him adequate help, to make use of the talents of such a distinguished officer and to enable us to make our Spanish sovereignty more effective and productive in the Western Carolines and Palau.”

K2. Report published in the newspaper El Comercio of Manila, Sunday edition, 25 May 1890

News from the [Eastern] Carolines.

We entrusted a friend of ours who has spent some time in Ponape, to bring us detailed news of the happenings that occurred during the last few months, that is, since the departure of the **Velasco** from that faraway colony, and he has pleased us by bringing us important news that will in turn please whomever is as interested as ourselves in the future and progress of that archipelago, on account of the consequences that are visibly favorable for our country, which will come soon, if the timely and sensible policy followed by the Supreme Government is carried out overthere.

The narrative presented to us by the friend in question is as follows:

“The news that I have the pleasure of communicating to you, as per your request, are true and my impressions are important and pleasing. I have tried to take advantage of the short time I was there to drink at the right springs, and to collect correct information, for the purpose of being able to form an impartial opinion of the Caroline archipelago. Given that the eastern part, whose capital is Santiago de la Ascención (Ponape) is the more important, and the bloody events that took place there are still fresh in everybody’s mind, I have to touch upon them.

“When I was talking about various facts with some friends, they would tell me: Who would have supposed, three years ago, that a country such as this one, completely dominated by Methodist missionaries, and its inhabitants educated to be free and the sole owners of goods and properties, would find itself today in such different conditions and learning to make a sudden change in their ideas, religion, customs, and, what is stranger, in affections of the soul! Having decided to fix my attention upon the ideas in question,

I decided to make a close study of the reason for such a metamorphosis, and I have reached a conclusion to the effect that the policy that is now followed in Spain, one that is truly a policy of colonization, with moral and civilizing purposes for our colonies, has been followed in Ponape in a manner that befits our flag, to the extent that even a summary narration of certain deeds will be sufficient to give the lie to whomever pretends that the Carolines are not susceptible, with a good policy, to show, with glory and advantage, the glorious flag of Spain.

“Any illustrious person who has been following step by step the historic events in our colonies, which the press, always solicitous and impartial, published in a timely manner what the Spanish colony of Ponape (the more common by which it is known) went through in 1887, for causes that are best forgotten, knows that they have been a rude blow and a lesson or warning to those who govern, which have brought to the fore the fact that circumspection and political strategy must be employed when looking at questions that touch upon the well-rooted religious beliefs of each country; as a consequence of this, it is necessary, and it was, for the new Governor, upon being appointed, to arrange the conflict that we may call politico-religious, to find inspiration in the feelings and agreements foreign to any private aspiration; and by working with caution (although at the risk of earning perhaps some criticism from someone who might not be privy to the program and praise-worthy objectives) to achieve, as are palpably achieved today, some very worthwhile results in the political and religious areas.

“Do you wish me to give you the most conclusive proof of the success achieved by the present Governor, Don Luis Cadarso?... Indeed, I have the pleasure to inform you that he has won a noble and frank victory over Protestantism, of course, with the help of the humble, illustrious and most virtuous Catholic missionaries. Mr. Doane has abandoned the Eastern Carolines! Mr. Rand, his untiring second-in-command, the one in charge of the schools, has also disappeared! Neither of them will return, and they will not easily be replaced by others, who would in any case arrive too late.

“I am going to give you the proof of such an important result.

“When Mr. Cadarso arranged the conflict with the natives and remitted the assassins of Mr. Posadillo to Manila, a few days after his arrival, the Methodist Missionaries, who had been for forty years the preceptors and almost the loving parents of the natives, asked permission, based on local laws, to continue preaching their religious doctrines, and the Governor, far from presenting obstacles that might then have inspired mistrust among the local people, stated to the latter that, in matters dealing with order and the administration of justice, they could only abide by them; however, regarding religion, our magnificent Queen and her illustrious Government left at liberty to do whatever they [i.e. the natives] wanted. Then Mr. Cadarso added: “Your Governor does not care whether you are Protestant or not, but you might see, when you will be able to understand, which one is better: what the others have taught you, or what you will see is taught by the disinterested and holy missionaries.”

“This policy of expansion and apparent freedom is very similar to that followed by the incomparable Mr. Sagasta toward the advanced parties: it disarmed them and made

them unable to commit illegal acts. Mr. Doane, and Mr. Rand, the real champions of the Methodist phalanx, redoubled their efforts: the Governor would laugh, saying: You are losing ground and you will fail! That is what happened; Mr. Rand, on account of sickness, had to retire to America,¹ discouraged by adversities and dissapointments, but after an absence of one year, the illness that he had in his chest became worse. Mr. Doane, the soul of the Micronesian Mission, the untiring apostle of Protestantism, who at seventy years of age, was still climbing mountains, and made efforts to maintain his prestige, was already a broken man, and, finally, during the month of February, had to abandon what he called his "dear Ponape". Indeed, when Governor Cadarso went to shake his hand and say goodbye to him aboard the **Morning Star**, he was lying on a bunk in the cabin, when he said the following words: "I am going, I am sick, and will not be able to return. You are behaving like a father to these natives who are very good, well governed. If I don't come back, I recommend to you the lands of the mission, because, as for the rest, I hope that you decide to stay as governor for a long time!" The illness that forced the already famous Mr. Doane to retire to America is classified as acute peritonitis, complicated by cerebral disturbances that made him lose consciousness, and forced him to remain in bed. Thank God! The Catholic missionaries can now move freely, and the Governor of that archipelago stands besides them, helping them in every way he can.

"When this truly important event in the history of the Carolines happened, Mr. Cadarso, who is an active man, decided on the building of a new way of communication; he entrusted such important works to the active Infantry Lieutenant Porras, who began to open the road from Kiti to Metalanim on 19 April; he has under him various elements, and forty native soldiers, most of whom being very hard-working Ilocanos; he has plenty of tools provided by the Governor, a field tent and rations. The road is to traverse most of the villages in the Metalanim tribe, which had been inaccessible previously, and Mr. Cadarso has decided that it it to go as far as Oua, which is the center of the tribe, in order to destroy the old atmosphere that existed, and where can be found the school buildings of the Protestant. There are to be build a headquarters, and next to it, a church.

"However, in order to show that everything has been planned, I will say that, before the construction of a Catholic temple will start, at a place where those inhabitants had never dreamed that a cult other t han theirs could arrive, it would be well to reproduce what I have heard from a trustworthy person.

"In the middle of the month of April, Mr. Cadarso told the head of the Catholic mission, that if he thought to establish another mission station at Oua, the time had come to become active in promoting such a delicate matter. It is not necessary to mention that the respectable missionary showed that he agreed completely, and, in spite of the shortage of mission personnel, he ordered the active and sympathetic Fr. Agustín de Aríñez to come up from Kiti to receive specific instructions about the case; in fact,

1 Ed. note: He just went as far as Kosrae.

this man is to be the instigator of the new mission [station] in Metalanim, and is to be replaced in Kiti by the virtuous Fr. Luís de Valencia, who also speaks the kanana language. In the meantime, Governor Cadarso called the kinglet and all the chiefs and dignitaries of that tribe to a meeting in the Royal House, all 45 of them, including the person named Etquer [rather Edgar], the king's secretary, plus David, the perpetual secretary of Mr. Doane, as both of these men speak English perfectly and have influence in the country. They all appeared, and as this was a delicate matter, and it was important that it be discussed openly, and that all the chiefs of the tribe speak English, the Governor thought it proper to assume a certain character, a serious and paternal tone. The Governor took a seat in the hall of Government House and arranged for his thoughts and desires to be interpreted to them, telling them frankly that if their constant manifestations of sympathy and affection were true, he believed that the time had come for them to tell him, if in religious questions they thought the same as before, or if they wished to please him, now that he thought that he was going to stay but a short time longer in Ponape, and follow him in the religious beliefs that are natural whenever protected under the flag of Spain. All unanimously and without any dissension of any type, made the following answer: "We, and I am the first (said the king) have a complete faith and absolute trust in our present Governor and if he wishes, we will become Catholic like him." Mr. Cadarso responded to them: "I do not want to force you to do it. You remember what I told you when I first came: if you want it, tell me frankly, I wish it, of course, but I do not order you to do it." The king answered emphatically: "Everyone in my tribe, and I am the first, want what our Governor wants, and we will build the church ourselves, if you wish us to do so." In such a solemn moment, the Governor had Rev. Fr. Saturnino, Superior of the Capuchin Fathers, come forward, and they themselves, through the services of the kind Fr. Luís, who spoke to them in kanaka, they both heard the natives repeat their statements, to the effect that the natives would build a church and a house for the missionary.

"All were happy when they left the meeting, and at the door of the Royal House the Governor had made ready some horses that had recently been brought over aboard the **Manila**, and that are used to make daily mail runs between Santiago and the Kiti and Metalanim tribes. These quadrupeds caused a great sensation, as they were the first horses to be seen in the Eastern Carolines and a few tribal chiefs mounted the horses to get an idea of the speed with which the villages of the tribes would be crossed. They then went away highly satisfied, after they had visited the mission house, where they were all made welcome by the missionary Fathers. This was the first time that the people of Metalanim had visited the Catholic missionaries.

"For the purpose of having everything ready for when this important mission [station] would be solemnly inaugurated, with a detachment, some food supplies were already being sent to Kiti, as well as a beautiful altar with images, and when such will be necessary for the church, the old ones there will go to the new mission [station] in Oua.

"I have also been able to learn of the progress made by the central mission in Ponape, and I begin by saying that the sermons given by Fr. Luís, every Sunday after the

7 o'clock mass, are so well attended by kanakas that the church there can no longer accommodate them all. Fr. Luís is such a great character; indeed, I have no fear of bothering the sensibility of anyone by saying that he gives such an example of virtues that few other men would deserve as much success as he has, on account of his praise-worthy example, that he gives to those who listen to him.

"This year, Holy Week in Ponape was unusually solemn and this clearly shows the progress made by the mission under cover of the peace and trust that reign there now. On Holy Thursday, the solemn offices were celebrated with the cooperation of all the missionaries. A piano was carried to the church, and, after a few rehearsals had taken place, Don Nicolás the machinist played (I don't remember his family name) and a high mass was sung in four parts; Fr. Saturnino Ma. de Artajona was the tenor; Mr. Enrique Decoro, the interim Government secretary was the bass; Mr. Lázaro Arcega, the practitioner of the **Manila**, was the baritone, and various others participated. By invitation of the Governor, all personnel of the army and navy had been invited to these solemn offices, as well as to the visit of the sanctuaries and other functions. On Holy Saturday, the gun of Fort Alfonso XII saluted that of the Hulk **Doña María de Molina**.

"On 25 February, the steamer of the Protestant mission, the **Morning Star** anchored in Ponape; her length of keel is 131 feet, her width 29, her capacity 290 tons, her crew 18, and her draught is 12 feet; she was built in 1884 in Bath (state of Maine); her auxiliary machine has 2 boilers, 2 cylinders, 130 hp and 6 miles per hour, her consumption 3 tons of coal. It cost \$40,000. What a beautiful type for the exclusive use of the Carolines, and how economical!¹

"On 10 March, the American schooner Fowder [rather **Fowler**] anchored, after she had collected coconuts at various islands for the company recently established in Mutok [Harbor].

"On 19 March, the American schooner **Wilson**, of 50 tons, preceeding from Hong-Kong and Zamboanga, with a load of merchandise, tinned goods, etc., and she went off to San Francisco, from where she will return later.

"On 20 April, the 400-ton [Danish] ship **Embla**, chartered in Hamburg by the company called *Jaliuf [sic] Gesellschaft* established here, with a good freight of naval goods and various objects, which she unloaded at Langar [Island], among which were various tinned goods, European goods, such as chick-peas, cod-fish, hams, maps, saddles from Vienna, wine from Bordeaux, Sauterne, the Rhine, Champagne, beer, etc., etc. Aboard said ship arrived Mr. Narrhun [Narruhn] and Mr. Blon [Blohm?], partners in a hotel venture, whose building they are constructing in the colony, that will have a separate room for officers, the others for other ranks, etc. Other things that have also arrived, and are already ashore, are two German pianos and two good billiard tables, game boards for chess, checkers, etc. Can anyone be found who now thinks that progress in the Carolines is impossible? Just keep in mind that it was only two and a half years ago that Governor Cadarso established himself in the middle of the wilderness, in a bad

1 Ed. note: This proves beyond doubt that the reporter was a naval officer.

field tent, and the poor missionaries, who, for lack of a hotel, or perhaps because it was not then political for them to be ashore, lived aboard the Hulk. Today there are five pianos in the colony of Ponape, and one harmonium (which cannot be sold because its owner is absent) in the Protestant schools; and there is no doubt that very soon, if the number of personnel in the mission of the Capuchin Fathers is increased, as it should be, they might bring over a piano and a pianist such as can be found in the magnificent college of Santander.

"In Pohnpei, the following newspapers are being read: *La Ilustración Española y Americana*; *Moda elegante*; *Imparcial*, *Madrid Cómico*; *Liberal*, *Diario de Cádiz*, *Correo Gallego*, and from Manila, the *Diario*, *Oceanía* and *Comercio*.

"In the colony, I saw already completed a house destined for the Navy Physician who is in charge of the military infirmary, and it contains one living room, three large bedrooms, a veranda facing the street, a kitchen, etc.; and although the practitioner who now lives there alone, the Governor has arranged for the Physician 1st Class to be its primary resident, and he may still be able to live there, even with a family.

"The road to Kiti has also been in much use and the first part can accommodate pedestrians and coaches. The cutting of trees and land-clearing have received special attention, and although when there is no danger of malaria there, the land remains perfectly suitable for all kinds of operations. The Governor is currently studying the possibility of bring potable water to the colony, although, in a place where it rains so much, there is no danger of running out, as the roofs are covered with tin sheets to collect water.

Arrival of the "Venus" at Ponape.

"In that colony the coming of the **Don Juan** was expected to bring food supplies for the soldiers, so that the arrival of a beautiful ship made a pleasing impression; at the command of her dreditable captain she had made a quick and happy voyage, thus demonstrating the progress made by the firm of Aldecoa and Company, with ships such as the **Venus** which has electrical lights and good elements that guarantee success in the difficult navigation of the archipelago.

"Aboard said ship arrived at Ponape the Government Secretary, Mr. Ascanio; he replaced Mr. Zarpe who has filled that position.

"When the **Venus** departed, nothing was happening in the colony, and the construction of the beautiful hotel was very advanced; it has two floors with large and well-aerated rooms. It was also being said that the road to Metalanim would be finished by the end of the month; it is four leagues in length and its wiedzth is six meters; it will be of much usefulness for everyone, and specially for commerce; indeed, the road goes through 44 village between Mutok and Oua, as follows: Lat, Uapar, Akak, Anipoch, Tamarray, Caperroy, Chapuerrak, Pananlong, Tiati, Alialin, Leton, Kitam, Itienlon,

Takaieu, Kakima, Tolepuai, Matik, Sokok, Machichao, Oua, Arru, Alokok, Manua, Namuei, Chancho, Leak, Cholon, Ulule.¹

“Therefore, the whole island is now open to communication; so, that means an end to the fears that the deplorable events of the past will ever be repeated, if a prudent and just policy is followed, as that country needs, according to its relative degree of civilization, and above all, educated to be a people with expansive ideas, since it was, so far, under the influence of the American missions.

“The **Venus** touched at Yap on her return trip, to pick up the Governor of the Western Carolines, who was replaced by Mr. Montes de Oca, and she resumed her navigation to this capital without the least misfortune.”

1 Ed. note: Many misprints may exist here; I will apply some corrections in other 1890 documents dealing with the second Pohnpei rebellion and military operations that followed.

Documents 1890L

Petition of the chiefs of Pohnpei to the Queen of Spain to retain Governor Cadarso

Source: PNA.

L1. Letter of Governor Cadarso to the Governor General, dated Pohnpei 9 May 1890

Original text in Spanish.

Expediente relativo a la petición de los Jefes de tribu de las Carolinas Orientales, en ruego de que continúe en el Gobierno, aun despues de cumplido el tiempo de mando el Gobernador actual de aquella Isla.

Comandancia de la División Naval de las Carolinas Orientales.

Exmo. Señor:

Repetidas han sido las instancias particulares que todos los Jefes de las tribus y personas de verdadera importancia en esta Isla me han hecho, para que al cumplir los 3 años de Gobierno, no cese en el destino.

*Hé procurado evadirme por que conceptuo que cualquier Jefe que me reemplace, há de gobernar mejor que el que suscribe; pero en el momento de salir el vapor **Venus** se me presenta una numerosa comisión de Jefes, rogando me encarecidamente dirije á V.E. la adjunta instancia que suscriben todos los Jefes de las tribus, sacerdotes indigenas, etc., y no tengo tiempo de hacer la traducción del INglés; porque está tambien en Kanaka.*

Tengo pues el honor de elevarlo á V.E., manifestandole, que por mi parte, mientras me lo permite, estoy á disposición de V.E. si cree conveniente acceder á la súplica de los naturales.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Santiago 9 Mayo/890

Luis Cadarso

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador gral. de Filipinas.

Tranlation.

File regarding the petition of the tribal Chiefs of the Eastern Carolines, in favor of the continuance in the Government of the present Governor of that Island, even after have complied his term of office.

Headquarters of the Naval Division of the Eastern Carolines.

Your Excellency,

There have been many particular requests made to me by the Chiefs of the tribes and persons of real importance in this Island, for me to extend my stay beyond the 3 years of my term of office as Governor.

I have tried to evade an answer because I figure that any officer who would replace me would do a better job than the undersigned. However, when the steamer **Venus** was ready to leave, a large commission of Chiefs, earnestly begged me to address to Y.E. the enclosed request which all the Chiefs of the tribes and native priests, etc. have signed, but I have no time to translate it from the English; because it is also in Kanaka. I have the honor to bring it to the attention of Y.E., and, as far as I am concerned, I am at the disposition of Y.E., if you believe it proper to accede to their request of the natives.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago, 9 May 1890.

Luis Cadarso

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.¹

[Figure (next page): **Original petition of the chiefs of Pohnpei**, dated 6 May 1890

¹ Ed. note: This letter, along with the enclosed petition, was received at Manila on 24 May 1890.

On Haganlatalap Hoopinor
General en. Ho antoke. Palipun.

To his Excellency the General
Governor of the Philippine Islands.

Moim hit karoj
omonyak en Metalanim Kiti,
Not, U, a pokoy, je poki oiaa kaun
kapalap en kotin Kikura, pue at Governor
mialle Hon. Luis Radalesome je kin omajak
tala uauu jamajam, on, en kotin tatau
ita ai kotin kaun kit, pue iei mit om mien
Ponape karoj inonion.
Tait omnyaki pukat om kaun tai, api poriti
jaka hi ta namamau ori kaunlapalap
jaka, poki, en kotin uja uauu poki poki met
Lihonitlapalap Liemanamaraki en dpaun
me je kopropon hi ni ai kalamau pua kotin
omni at pokipokuit.

Sir, We all the chiefs
of the tribes of Metalanim, Kiti, Not, U,
and pokoy, we beg your Excellency
with all interest that our actual
Governor Hon Luis Radales to whom
we love honour father, continue in the
same office because this is the wish of
all the Ponape people.
With all respect salute to your Excellency
the chiefs who reign, and wish to your
Excellency address it is instance to her
Majesty the Queen of Spain, of most
good heart we expect accede to our
request.

The chiefs of Metalanim
J. A. Edgar
Henry Namper

The chiefs of Metalanim	The chiefs of Kiti
Eyikara Metalanim	Namamaraki en Ho. Roja
Nanken	Nanken
Wajai	Not
Gaulk	Nameto en Uet
Noj	puu. Uone
Namper	Gaulik en Uetep
Gautel	
H. S. David	



The chiefs of Uo	The chiefs of Not	The chiefs of Pokoy
Namamaraki Uo Eyikara	Laken N. Ueten	Wajai J. Roaponac
Wajai	Wajai	Nanken
Nanken	Naniou	
Gaulk	Nameto Kikar	
Uuleoj	Uetep	

Ponape May 6th 1890

L2. Transcription of the original petition, in Pohnpeian and English

*On Kaunlapalap Kopenor
Jeneral en Kantoke Filipin.*

*To his Excellency the General
Governor of the Philippine Islands.*

*Main kit karoj
monjap en Metalanim Kiti,
Not, U, o Jokoiij, je poki ni ar kaun
lapalap en kotin kupura pue at Governor
mealel Mr. Luis Cadarso me je kin majak
-tola uaun jamajam on, en kotin tataur
ita a kotin kaun kit, pue iei met me men
Ponape karoj inonion
Kit monjap pukat me kaun ta, ap poriti
jakar ki ta ranamau on Kaunlapalap
aka, o poki un kotin ija uon pok pok uet
Likontlapalap Lienanamariki en Spain
me je kaporopor ki ni a kalanan pan kotin
mani at poki pok uet.*

*Sir. We all the chiefs
of the tribes of Metalanim, Kiti, Not, U
and Jokoiij, we beg your Excellency
with all interest that our actual
Governor Mr. Luis Cadarso to whom
we love honour father, continue in the
same office because this is the wish of
all the Ponape people.
With all respect salute to your Excellency
the chiefs who reign, and ask to your
Excellency address this instance to her
Majesty the Queen of Spain of whose
good heart we expect accede to our
request.*

The chiefs of Metalanim

J. A. Edgar +

Henry Nanpey

The chiefs of Metalanim.

Ijipau Metalanim Pok +

Nanken +

Uajai x

Sauk x

Noj x

Nanpei x

Jautek x

S. S. David

The chiefs of Kiti

Nanamaraki en K. Roja +

Nanken x

Moto +

Nameto en Ptet x

Jau Uone x

Jaulik en Titip x

The chiefs of U.

Nanamaraki U Ejikaia x

Uajai x

Nanken

Jaulik +

Julioj x

The chiefs of Not.

Lapen N. Neten x

Uajai

Nanjou x

Nameto Kipar

Etuet x

The chiefs of Jokoiij.

Uajai J. Raponas,

Nanken x

Ponape May 6th 1890

Documents 1890N

Leprosy in Guam

Source: PNA.

N1. Letter of Governor Vara de Rey, dated Agaña 1 August 1890

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1891. —File about leprosy in the Marianas and the good services rendered by Physician 1st Class Ramón Suriá, of Military Hygiene in the Islands.

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

[From] P.M. Government of the Mariana Islands. Administrative Section, N° 495.

[Summary:] Accompanies the minutes of a meeting of the Lepers' Branch, begging for official assistance in order to locate them on the site formerly occupied by the village of Pago, and to attend to the support of the new Infirmary.

Your Excellency,

As Director and protector of all the Charitable Works, I enclose for the benefit of Y.E. the minutes of the meeting of the Administrative Board of the Lepers' Branch.

Your Excellency does not need indications in order to appreciate the rapid increase in the number of lepers as a natural fact, as a legitimate consequence of the circumstances which they have encountered in the country. This scourge dates from time immemorial, and must be ascribed as much to the physical conditions of the climate, way of life, the type of food which is insufficient and little healthy, given the poverty of these natives, and to other unknown causes that influence in some way the development and propagation of leprosy, acquired by some by inheritance from their parents and which, with new housing, better food and regimented life on the site chosen for its isolation from the other villages and an excellent emplacement, with an infirmary and chapel, having land for agriculture as well, and some elements compatible with their sad lot, the progress of the St. Lazarus disease will be stopped, and the sick will be attended to with the neatness and care that their very condition demands.

Y.E., who has always been inspired by the most noble and Christian feelings, will understand it that way also, and will please accede to what is solicited or otherwise dictate the resolution that is more appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 1 August 1890.

Joaquín Vara de Rey

N2. Report and opinion of the physician, Mr. Ramón Suri“, resulting from his ad-hoc commission.

[From] the incumbent [physician].

The number of lepers who swarm in those streets being considerable and not small either the number of those who stay in a corner of their houses on account of their serious lesions, alone, abandoned to their sufferings, without assistance of any kind, I could do no less than suggesting to you the idea of carrying out a detailed survey, counting on your valiant support to make it more feasible, in order to know for certain their number, the family background, age, sex, marital status, profession, type of disease, duration, and region affected, so that, in view of the result, a proposal be made to your Authority for the benefit of these unfortunate persons and of the population at large.

Not only were you enthused by the idea, but you applied your well-known activity, so that, with very little work on my part, I was able to survey little by little those whom public opinion could indicate as lepers, separating those who really are lepers from those who suffer from other diseases.

Of the 110 examined, 70 were lepers, 28 syphilitic and the rest had common diseases. The result is unfortunately rather saed; it indicates the frequency of leprosy in this archipelago, specially in our island of Guam.

I would have liked to be able to draw in vivid colors the scene that presented itself to me on various occasions, when entering the *bahays* or houses where some of these unfortunate people live and the philosophical considerations of high humanity that their precarious condition awakened in me.

Mixed and confused with the rest of the family, living in common with them and keeping their torn flesh in contact with the healthy ones of their relatives and friends, their ichorous pus mixing with the sweat of the others, laying down on the same mat in a confused mess, eating from the same dish where they put in their mutilated fingers, drinking from the same *tabo*¹ or dipper and introducing their destroyed nose into it, either picking up a baby to kiss it, or clutching it in their arms to put it to sleep, mixing the fetid and nauseating breath that, like a mephitic sewer, is exhaled by their necrotic mouth, with the pure and virginal one of the unfortunate one who has been born, condemned to breathe its first breath of air that is already rotten and loaded with contagious elements that will almost make sure that it will become an innocent victim of the disease.

I do not propose to make a study of leprosy, as I do not think it necessary here, nor do I meet conditions for this. I will limit myself to a few ideas from authorized authors

1 Ed. note: Another Filipino word.

to make you convinced that contagion is the main actor in the propagation of the affliction in question.

The authors agree in saying that inheritance and contagion are the unknown causes determining the disease. According to the list of individuals that I'll have the pleasure to present to you later, you will ascertain the grave influence of these two factors in propagating the disease in these islands. As a practical case of the influence of inheritance, we found that, in the suburb of Chau, almost all the lepers are related to one another, more or less in two families: the Balajadias and the Taitanos. In order to illustrate the influence of contagion, the authors recognize many arguments; some attribute it to the bacteriological character, making a sort of bacillus that they say appears in the shape of little sticks whose length is half or three-quarters that of the ...[size?] of the red-blodd cell, in the round cells that are so abundant in those affected by leprosy that they deform the plasma [?]. Others say and they are in agreement, that with respect to latitudes, the same appears in the north, for instance, in NORway or U.S.A., as in India, China and the Sandwich Islands, being verified by all the physicians who have resided in the latter islands, it has always been propagated there by contact. They also agree that age is not respected, even though most of them are between 20 and 40 years of age, by the statistics attached, you will see that there are also children and old people over 60 who are attacked by the disease. James C. White says:

"On the other hand, it is doubtless that in individuals without the hereditary burden the disease is much more susceptible to develop in a place where lepers live than in other places, which makes us suppose the possibility of contagion by personnel and direct contact."

To corroborate the opinion of this author, I am going to refer to an actual case in this capital. A Corporal from Hygiene who resided for a long time in this city, assigned to the military infirmary, without a background of leprosy in his family, is now attacked and that only as a result of contact with leprous individuals, and for this reason he has been declared useless to continue in the service of ...[?] by the board of all the military physicians who meet in Manila for that purpose on the 29th of every month. Another valuable case in point is that, when there existed the building situated on the road to Piti on the site called Adilug Point, reserved for lepers, there were not more than 20 recognized as such by teh physicians, whereas today when they are free to mingle with the masses, there are 70 of them.

It is proven and admitted that a contagious form of the disease already affects one percent or more of the inhabitants of this locality, who are mutilated by leprosy; faced as we are by this heart-rending picture, faced with the probability or certainty of a greater increment, can we continue with our arms folded, doing nothing, leving these unhappy ones abandoned, and the healty ones exposed to contagion? I don't believe so, and I do not doubt that you will share my opinion.

Isolation is a must; as a physician I believe it is my duty to propose such an idea, and in the impossibility that it could carried out fully, then by rebuilding and placintg all

the affected persons inside the building at Adilug Point, either for lack of economic resources, or mostly ... [followed by undecipherable words].¹

The construction and support of the Infirmary and settlement should cost little, given that all the materials can be found on the sopt [...] as for the old one that used to be on the island of Tinian and the resources created by you, as I am led to believe, for those of Saipan and Rota [...]

Re-united there with their families, living at home and being cared for in the infirmary those whose condition is serious or those lacking assistance, treating their sores, submitting them to an appropriate treatment, they could find relief to their pains, making their precarious state more passable, and giving back peace to the healthy inhabitants [...]

This is all I have to say on this subject; nevertheless, with your high and just judgment, you will decide what is most appropriate.

May God save you for many years.

Agaña, 15 July 1890.

The incumbent physician, Ramón Suriá.

¹ Ed. note: Nevertheless, the author of the report appears to propose an alternative, that of using the former settlement at Pago as a leper colony.

[Enclosure:]

Mariana Islands—Statistical table of the leper cases found among the 110 individuals surveyed, giving their age, status, region affected and type of the disease.

		Age	From 1 to 20 years	6	
			From 20 to 40	42	70
			From 40 to 60	19	
			Over 60	3	
		Sex	Male	39	
			Female	31	70
	70 affected by leprosy	Status	Unmarried	32	
			Married	22	70
			Widowed	16	
110 surveyed		Region affected	Head and face	24	
			Body proper	2	70
			Upper extremities	3	70
			Lower extremities	32	
			In many places at once	9	
		Form of the disease	Tuberculous	21	
			Ulcerous	24	
			Mixed	24	70
			Anastestic	1	
	By syphilis				28
	By other diseases				12

Agaña, 15 July 1890. The incumbent physician Ramón Suriá.

Decision of the Board of Lepers

In view of what has been exposed by the Chairman and the contents of the report of the military Physician, the Board deliberated thoroughly the important matter referred it them for study, in order to arrive at a definitive and efficient solution within the scarce resources available to the [Hygiene] Branch, and having examined the situation very well, because it touches the lepers and those who, not being such, live in continuous contact with them and run the risk of suffering the same fate, if the most urgent remedy is

not applied, the members of the Board, in the urgent need to provide remedial action, unanimously decided on the following measures:

1) Making use of the authority conceded to the Board by Art. 12 of the Special Regulations for the Marianas dated 17 December 1828, still in effect, the lepers are to be moved to the site of the former village of Pago, on account of its excellent conditions, for the purpose of separating them completely from the villages to avoid all contagion and a greater propagation of leprosy; this measure is obligatory in character for all those attacked by the disease and their nearest relatives who also present signs or symptoms of the disease.

2) In order not to force the fund of the Branch into greater expenditures than can be supported today, the clearing of the underbrush and trees of the manor house where the village will be placed must be started as soon as possible; then, logs are to be cut in sufficient quantity to build some 30 houses, a chapel, a parish house, court and school, using personnel affected to the personal service division [communal labor] in all the operations, in order to obtain the greatest economy in completing such works, and not losing sight of the appropriateness, in designing the layout of the village and that of the houses, to locate the chapel and the parish church in a more elevated point to the East, at a distance not less than 600 meters from the last houses, in order for the Curate and his servants, the only ones not infected, to be able to live in relative separation from the sick.

3) In addition, an infirmary must be built for 20 sick, 10 of each sex, staffing it with one male nurse and one female nurse under the supervision of a suitable medical practitioner, all three of them lepers, who will enjoy an allotment of 3 pesos per month for the former and 4 for the latter, to be defrayed by the fund for the Branch.

4) Thanks are given, in the name of the Board and those sick with leprosy, to the Military Physician, not only for his conscientious work in having surveyed them and fixing the remedy that was to be applied, but also for his noble abnegation, disinterestedness and rightful medical conscience in spontaneously offering to be of service during their installation in Pago and to direct and visit at least once a month the infirmary and the families that may need his help on an as required basis.

5) Authority is to be requested from the Superior Government, considering the sick lepers of Pago as officially poor, as most of them indeed are, in order to charge the cost of medicine to the provincial funds, as the probable revenue would not otherwise be enough to cover such costs.

6) The most active steps are to be taken to re-integrate the 2,818 pesos 73 cents and three-eighths that the Lepers' Branch was promised to satisfy urgent needs under the three headings or subjects and dates as indicated.

When the first revenue for the products of the said Islands come in, two dugout canoes are to be acquired to go up the river and the transport of fresh water for the lepers, to replace the brackish water from wells, using from this service the personnel least useful on account of their indispositions, and at the charge of the community to which they belong.

8) The ceding or transfer of the State lands or country estates used by the families of the lepers, are to be assigned to the new residents who must cultivate to attend to this maintenance.

9) Only those clearly incapable of any work or occupation are to be assisted by the Lepers' funds in the form of money or cash, in accordance with the revenues of the islands and the availability of resources.

10) Once the credits of the Branch are in a prosperous or comfortable enough situation not to notice sacrifices, the living conditions and the locality of these unhappy ones will be improved on a large scale, and allotments will be made to the incumbent physician for travelling expenses, by an amount to be granted by the Board.

11) Also, His Excellency the Governor General, in his quality as Vice Regal Patron, is to be begged to create a parish at the new village of Pago, and to appoint a Curate to serve it, so that the spiritual administration of these poor faithful be timely and easy.

12) In addition, an appeal is to be made to the righteous and philanthropic feelings of the same superior Authority, in order for the revenue from cockfights, which from 1827 until 1884 accrued to the Lepers' fund, and later passed to the Treasury and today goes to local branches, may be applied again to the same worthy purpose of relieving the lot of the lepers.

13) Given that private actions are of no help, on account of the poverty of these inhabitants, toward the immediate installation of the lepers in Pago under the most favorable conditions, the same delicate feelings of the first Authority in the Philippines are to be implored so that he may consider the situation of these lepers as a true calamity for the Marianas, and the required remedies, always costly for the first months of the installation, be paid this time only out of the fund for calamities, by transferring an sum of 50 pesos, to be justified, with which to compensate the decrease suffered by the lepers' fund during the 6 years that it did not enjoy the revenue from cockfights, and each help would be provided for the time required until the first crops and until the lands under cultivation have been prepared for the following plantings.

14) Lastly, with due respects to the same Authority, given there exists by superior agreement of 7 September 1886, the concession of a credit of 2,079 pesos per year for the maintenance of sick lepers, a sum which has figured in the budget of this province since that year, without it ever being allotted, the time of absolute necessity for this assistance has come; it has already been recognized, in accordance with the Administrative Section of the Administration Council and that proposed by the Directorate General of Civil Administration, and therefore, this Board dares to appeal to the noblest humanitarian feelings of His Excellency the Governor General, so that he may again propose the increase of that budget line in the first budget to be written, and thus the gratitude of these unfortunate beings will be eternal for such charitable work, if they succeed in seeing it patronized, as they do not doubt it will be, by the said first Authority and the Government in the Metropolis that knows how to exercise mercy, offering a refuge to its children in extreme need, like the one afflicting the lepers of the Marianas today and who are about to be relegated within one month to a corner of this

island on account of the cruel pestilence, if all the villages must be saved from the scourge and effects of a plague already propagated at an alarming rate, and toward which the public spirit can no longer be indifferent without suffering the painful consequences of such inaction in the near future, in view of the fact that the number of lepers already is 104 out of a total of 9,780 inhabitants occupying the islands of Guam, Rota, Tinian, Saipan, Pagan and Agrigan, the only inhabitable islands of this Mariana Archipelago.

And to put it on record, the undersigned gentlemen have signed it at the said place and on the said date [20 July 1890].

Joaquín Vara de Rey

Manuel de Arias

Fr. Aniceto Ibañez

N4. Historical commentary on leprosy, by Fr. Ibañez

My dear Governor,

In answer to your letter of the 6th instant, with reference to leprosy, I take it upon myself to outline in bold strokes what I have observed during the past 37 years that I have spent in these islands, about this disease.

When I arrived in the Marianas in 1852, the men infected by such a terrible disease were carried to Saipan and placed in the hospital that existed for that purpose at a site called Tanapag, and the women would go into the hospital at Adilog, which is found along the road from this capital to Piti, in a deserted spot. As there were then no physician nor medicines, all the care and attentions given to the lepers were reduced to feeding them and to provide them with clothes for the body, and to celebrate holy mass, now and then, in the little chapel that existed in both hospitals, and to administer to them the holy sacraments for the soul.

This state of affairs, some dying and new ones moving in, lasted until 1856 when a schooner from Manila brought smallpox into these islands, where the people were not vaccinated against it. The said disease cut down half of the natives with the peculiarity that all those suffering from leprosy, ulcers, buboes, cancers and other skin diseases died, and so everything was cleaned up. For a few years not one leper was seen over here, but, because of the climate, the type of food, the little cleanliness on their persons, their clothes and houses, and due no doubt also to the fact that a few young ones who did not succumb to smallpox would have had infected blood, the result was that leprosy was seen once again. As these natives do not have any objection to treating those contagious with leprosy, they treat with them, take care of them and join the lepers themselves as if nothing should be feared. It is therefore not strange that leprosy has been propagating itself. However, the excessive number of affected people that we have today is truly alarming, and if it is not stopped soon, it is not easy to foresee a sad future for these natives, and perhaps for us Europeans who reside among them, so that I consider the measures that you are trying to adopt to stop the disease and to avoid greater contagion very urgent and highly humanitarian. Not only can you count on my material

and moral cooperation but also from all those who take pride in having humanitarian feelings, and specially from the Superior and Supreme Governments, as we Spaniards all inherit pity and feel a need to remedy misfortunes.

The circumstance of having chosen the manor house formerly occupied by the village of Pago and of placing the contagious ones separately from the healthy ones, obliges me to beg you again to ask the Government for the transfer of the endowment for religious cult and clergymen assigned to the church on the island of Tinian, and which is now in Saipan and whose congregation can be looked after by the missionary who is there, to be conceded to the new village for lepers. This way, the State treasury will not be burdened at all and a true present necessity will have been taken care of.

This is what I had to say to you in answer to your above-mentioned communication.

May God save you for many years.

Agaña, 12 January 1891.

Fr. Aniceto Ibañez.

Documents 1890O

Governor Montes of Yap acted as a judge

Source: PNA. Note: There was a comercial code issued for the Philippines and Oceania in 1888 (see Doc. 1888R).

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[From] the Chairman, Royal Audiencia of Manila.

Your Excellency,

The Governor and Judge of First Instance of the Western Carolines, in a communication dated 31 August last [1890], tells me what follows:

“Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir:

“Frequently the foreigners established here refer to this Government to decide their differences and mainly those that touch on contracts with the natives of this and other islands depending on this Government. To justify their rights, they present papers written in the English language and signed by them and some natives who say they are Chiefs of villages or Districts; however, as the said Chiefs state to me that they do not know how to read or write, nor these contracts authorized by any kind of precedent, I do not know to what extent I can consider them as proof in a trial, nor what validity they may have.

“They usually present those papers, which I hesitate to call documents, to this Government to have them notarized, but as I do not know what they say nor whether the Chiefs who sign them are in agreement or not, and above all when the Chiefs of other islands are involved,, until now I have done nothing but certifying that the signatures that appear on them are those normally used by them. This Government does not have a form to follow in order to make that class of contracts official, nor any other to consult, and therefore I see myself in the impossibility of being able to legalize any of those that could be made official. In addition, as most of those questions have to do with other islands and I see myself in the impossibility to travel to them as I do not have means of communications, I do not know what to do in such cases, given that the witnesses whom the interested parties usually present are not too credible because they are brought in their little ships and they are some of their own servants, they have to declare whatever their bosses want and therefore, the questions always remain contentious.

“As this state of affairs could bring international complications that I wish to avoid, I take recourse to Y.E. so that you may clarify such a delicate matter and, if possible, provide this Government with forms and reference books, the only way for the administration of justice to be as correct and in accordance with law as it should be.

“The oath that I took before that Audiencia is not sufficient to be a proper judge, because that act does not of itself pass on the knowledge that must be had by all those who by profession are called upon to administer justice.

“Your Excellency, the said oath is useless without the knowledge of the form that must be given to the case files for the just application of the Laws and even less when the legal value of documents presented by the litigating parties is unknown.

“This is what I have the honor to bring to Y.E.’s attention.

“May God save Y.E. for many years.

“Yap, 30 August 1890.

“José Montes de Oca.

The above was forwarded to the Lebal Ministry, which issued its opinion whose gist, as well as the agreement given to it by the Tribunal in full session, are as follows:

“Your Excellency,

...

“The last point [about the oath not making one a judge] is correct in reality, but as it must be admitted by the person to whom H.M. Government has honored with the duty in question must have sufficient qualities and general knowledge to properly evaluate the questions with the good sense of rectitude adjusting it to the Law whose ignorance nobody is excusable;

“Therefore, the confession that he makes to his prejudice cannot be admitted.

“It is elementary, Your Excellency, that Y.E. cannot be the one called upon to provide to the Government the books that he claims as Y.E. does not do so for any of his judges; they nevertheless have the indispensable part of them as they are lawyers and certainly the main care of each one of them is to try and get them at their own expense. The Governor should have done the same when he passed by this Capital where he could have gotten the Civil and Penal Codes, the Law of Civil Declarations and the Royal Decrees of 25 August and 4 September 1860, the Notarial legislation of the Philippines and the other directives that he can and must apply within his jurisdiction.

“With respect to the contracts that he says are presented to him by foreigners for their legalization, it is strange that he does not know that he cannot give them validity when they are delivered in another language and without their being translated and ratified in form and in content, as it is absolutely impossible to give definitive rules that are written out as laws, and such a thing is beyond the high mission of Y.E. The Government Attorney understands and requests Y.E. to say to the Governor in question that he should operate in accordance with the law and for this purpose he should acquire the books referring to the legal dispositions that he must apply.

“Y.E. will resolve.

“Manila, 24 November 1890.

“P. D. Alverto [sic] Ripoll de Castro

Editorial note.

The Tribunal in full session discussed the above opinion. Many members spoke. Mr. Joaquín Vidal y Gomez said that he did not agree with the Attorney, that no-one could expect a Navy officer to know the law and he should not be abandoned to his fate. Mr. FABian Sunye also said to be against the opinion as it meant to deny instruction and the Governor should be given a more explicit answer; he should be told to send every case to a councillor in Manila through the Audiencia. The Audiencia recommended to the Government General to provide the Governors of the Carolines with a lawyer on their staff, plus an interpreter of English and German to reside in the islands. The members who signed the report were: Servando Fernandez Victorio, Juan Figueras, Eduardo de Orduña, Gaspar Castaño, José García de Lara, Rafael Soriano, Joaquín Vidal y Gomez, Fabian Sunye, and Francisco Summers.

Documents 1890P

Three more press reports about the Carolines—The Oua massacre of 25 June 1890

P1. Report published in the newspaper Comercio of Manila, 13 August 1890

Note: The information came from Pohnpei in the form of a letter. The name of the author is not given, probably because he was a military officer. June 25th, 1890, was a Wednesday, according to a perpetual calendar.

News from the Carolines.

The steamer **Don Juan**, proceeding from the Marianas, brings us detailed news from the island of Ponape, whose publication we judge to be of general interest, so that no wrong conclusions will be drawn with regards to the acts of barbarism that a furious mob carried out in the Metalanim tribe, distant about 12 miles from the Colony of Santiago. Let us hasten to say that, apart from the vandalist acts carried out by the people who follow the rebel chiefs named Tog and Kroun Chapalap, peace is complete in the whole island, and Governor Cadarso stands ready to repel all the Carolinians on the island, should they attack him; but nothing like that will occur, because the sympathies and adherence shown him by all the chiefs of the peaceful tribes, are sufficient guarantees to make him believe that said rebellion will not have any ramifications, that it has already been suffocated immediately, since the most energetic measures were taken, with all possible speed.

The following news were carried to the Marianas by Mr. Moreno Eliza, an officer of our Navy, who travelled from Ponape to that port aboard the American schooner **Fowler**.

It is a known fact that on the island of Ponape the port of Santiago where the Governor resides has been linked with that of Mutok, the southern limit of the Kiti [rather Metalanim] tribe, by a road that passes by all the villages of the tribe, and that there has been built a well laid-out fort, with a moat, embrasures, etc., thus leaving most of the island under control and with the ready approval of all the natives.

Last May, Mr. Cadarso, the Governor of the Archipelago, decided to build a road from Mutok to Oua, the [northern] limit of the Metalanim tribe, near the Colony. One cannot imagine the loving hospitable that was given to the brave Lieutenant Marcelo

Porras, along with the 56 individuals, who were carrying out such important works. They were accommodated in the houses of the natives, at their own insistence, and were constantly given fruits, chickens, yams, coconuts, pigs, etc., that were used to improve their regular rations. Upon arriving at Oua, the end of the road, the Governor invited all the chiefs without exception to come to Government House, and they all left the meeting highly satisfied with his authority, as always; indeed, it should be recalled that, a few months before, when they had learned that Governor Cadarso was thinking of leaving his post, on account of his being somewhat sick and because he had to do so as he had completed his reglementary term of office, the chiefs of all the tribes presented a petition to the Governor General in which they requested that H.M. should not replace their beloved Governor and he should remain on the island.¹ In that meeting, the Governor told them, as always, "My only wish is to serve Spain and you. I do not force you to become Catholic or Protestant, but I only ask you to give a good reception to the Spanish Missionaries in your tribe." Their unanimous answer was that they would always do what their dear Governor wanted, and that they had heard of the virtues of Fr. Agustín de Aríñez, who is so well loved in Kiti, so that they would receive him with the same affection, and would build a church, under the same conditions that they had always applied for Mr. Doane. So it is that it was decided to begin the construction of a church, after an agreement had been made between Fr. Agustín de Aríñez and all the chiefs of the king; as a contribution, the Missionaries agreed to pay the sum of \$150 to them.

As far as Lieutenant Marcelo Porras was concerned, he began the construction of a beautiful combination fort and barracks, two-story high, that progressed to the extent that it was almost finished, as he was finishing the second story, everything built with mangrove wood; it was meant to be defensible with only 20 men, It has a moat, embrasures, etc. This fortification was being built by 62 soldiers with 7 corporals, all under the direction of said lieutenant.

Narrative of the events.

Last June 25th, at daybreak, everything was quiet at Oua; the people had begun to arrive from the nearby villages, about 100 of them, to continue working at the construction of the new church which they had started about six days before. As usual, Lieutenant Porras assigned the whole troop to the work at the fort and to cutting wood in the forest. They headed for the bush at about 6:30 a.m., with the corporals, and the officer followed them, to watch over the work to be done. At about 7 a.m., a boy of traitors, that included many women, attacked the fort which was under the care of one native [i.e. Filipino] corporal and 4 soldiers, and they got hold of all the weapons of the detachment, after they had killed all the above-mentioned individuals, in spite of the heroic defence they made. The sacking began; the people who came up, at first out of curiosity, soon joined the rebels, forced to do so by the leaders of the movement.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1890L.

Neither the voice of the king, nor of other sensible persons, could make the rebels deviate from their plans.

The food supplies for one month that had been stored there, the clothes, effects, etc. everything was prey to that uncontrolled mob, that manifested their joy only with savage shouts. The wine of the soldiers was the incentive to gain adherents. Kroun Chapalap, who, with the help of his four untamed brothers, is the soul of the rebellion, went immediately with a large mob, toward the bush, to assassinate the whole detachment; and he would have achieved this, had it not been for shouts from the crowd that was seen by some who took flight on time.

Those who managed to hide in the bush at that time were able to save themselves, although with many hardships, by crossing the rugged mountains as far as the Colony. So it was that, after three to four days, 25 of them presented themselves to Governor Cadarso; among them were one native corporal and a male nurse. We know that the rest were vilely assassinated by men and **women**.

Explanations.

In order to better understand the facts, it is well to remember that, during the month of June of the previous year, there had been internal strife within the Metalanim tribe, about the ownership of some lands that was in dispute, with the king of the tribe on one side, and on the opposite side, armed people from the village of Chapalap, the chiefs Tog, Drouniletan, Naliam, Kamaliel, Nanpei en Kinakap, Jaulik en Chapalap.

Mr. Cadarso, having found out that such lands belonged to the kinglet of the tribe, arranged for the transport **Manila** the station ship, to settle the dispute, by having all the chiefs come aboard. According to a report made by the commander of the ship, they all agreed that the lands belonged to the king. However, the above-named chiefs, Tog, Kroun, etc. made it known that he was not pleased, on account of bad temper; indeed, they are reputed on the island to be rebellious types and ungovernable. In fact, within a few days, they tried an armed uprising against the king, which was prevented by Mr. Cadarso, as he called the main actors and convinced them to be reasonable.

Heroic deed.

While this was going on, Fr. Agustín de Ariñez and Brother Benito were watching the already-mentioned terrible and bloody drama from their house located near the theater of the events. A few soulless persons were heading for the house of our Missionaries, intending to assassinate them, but [Henry] Nanpei, a native of Kiti, and Protestant teacher who had been put in charge of the school for boys, in the absence of Mr. Rand, grabbed them quickly, bringing them to his own house. The rebels aimed at them through the windows, but, when he saw the obvious danger, Nanpei stepped in front of our Missionaries, and said to the rebels: "If you are not going to respect the Missionaries, you must kill me first!" It is a well-known fact that Nanpei is very respected and beloved all over the island and no doubt it was for this reason that the Governor has cultivated his friendship and sought his affection, which was returned in kind. Three days later, the rebels put a guard around the house; indeed, Nanpei had saved not only

the life of Fr. Agustín and his brother of the cloth, but he had also hidden with them in the upper floor of the school for girls run by Miss Palmer one corporal, one male nurse and four soldiers.

Nanpei was in great danger, because the rebels were then swollen with pride. In such a tight spot, the loyal and gentlemanly Nanpei decided to send a secret messenger to the **Manila**, carrying a letter written by Fr. Agustín de Ariñez, asking for a boat to be made available at midnight, outside of the reefs, in order to save them. In the afternoon of the same day, Brother Benito [de Aspa] thought it was timely to escape; so, by going into the bush and after many hardships and by going up some trees now and then to find out the direction of the Colony, he arrived at the Not tribe, where he was very well received by the female teacher of the town, and he was given a canoe that took him to the Colony. At 10 p.m., Fr. Agustín, with the corporal, the four soldiers and the male nurse, decided to go out of the house of their refuge, and, taking advantage of darkness, without shoes and almost without any clothes, they were led by an American citizen, Charles Bouter [Bowker], a person very much trusted by Nanpei and the Methodist missionaries. This man led them through the mangrove and on top of the reefs at low tide. After four cruel hours they arrived in the vicinity of the **Manila** which had run aground, but a boat from this ship very kindly picked them up.

,@CENTER = Precautionary measures and attack made on the rebels.

On the 25th of June, at about 10 a.m., a letter written by Fr. Agustín de Ariñez arrived in the hands of Mr. Cadarso, which said: "At 7 this morning, at our great surprise, the natives of this locality rose in rebellion, taking the weapons from the detachment and killing the guards there." Mr. Cadarso immediately arranged for the war steamer **Manila** to start the fires in her engine and to go out to Oua, giving definitive and precise instructions to her commander to fire on the rebels. At the same time he ordered two boats from the Hulk and the **Manila** to be manned with 40 soldiers under the command of Second-Lieutenant Saturnino Serrano, plus 15 men from the short crew of the Hulk, one boat taking the other in tow; the boat from the **Manila** carried one 8-cm gun. By 11:30 a.m., said boats were moving, under the command of Navy Ensign José M. Sumyer, taking along the Physician Don Marcelino Ambrós to take care of the wounded.

At about 2 p.m., the force was off the town of Oua, at 1,000 meters from the beach. The rebels raised two white flags as a signal that they wanted to parley; but seeing this, with due caution, and protected by the gun in the boat, a landing of the force took place, in an orderly manner and moving in echelon. The vanguard got ready for skirmishing, while the reserve stayed 20 paces behind. While trying to make contact with the people who were walking on the beach, a shot was heard and immediately a volley came out of various houses where the rebels were entrenched. Our soldiers broke fire from the boats and the beach, so that it looked like a sham battle on account of the serenity and firmness of our sharpshooters. Many casualties must have resulted among the rebels, above all as a result of the well-aimed machine-gun fire from the first boat of the Hulk.

All of this was taken place while the **Manila** was sailing outside the reefs; however, as she could not be seen from within the reefs, the officer, Mr. Sumyer, thought that he should go back to the Colony to see if the Governor had arranged something else for the **Manila**. It was not so, although the ship had run into some trouble; she had left the port of Santiago at 4 and was to have entered the passage at Oua by 6. Her commander, in addition to the chart that he had in his possession to orientate himself, he had two local pilots as a precaution. One of these was up in the foremast crow's nest with a boatswain, and the other was on the bridge. When they neared the entrance, which is very difficult, the local pilot thought he was very near the reef barrier on the north side, and he ordered the ship off it; however, when her starboard [rather port] side then got too near, he was unable to prevent her from running aground upon the outside part of the coral embankment. The ship was thus rendered useless to fire upon the town of Oua, as the Governor had ordered, but the moral suasion offered by the presence of the ship caused the rebels to stay put in the point of origin of the rebellion. One can qualify as good the efforts that were made by the whole crew of the **Manila** who, with their own resources, and with those provided by the Governor from the Hulk, they managed to keep the ship secure during a period of four days, and by taking advantage of the tides, and with the engine, the ship was refloated, having suffered but very little damage.

When the ship left, and at daybreak of the 30th, various shots with mortars were fired that had a very good moral effect, but the inefficiency of these old 12-cm bronze guns was recognized; they had been exiled [from Spain] for being bad ones.

Precautions taken in the Colony.

Even though the Governor was sure that all the tribes would remain at peace, as indeed they had given him unequivocal proofs of their affection, it was not entirely believed, no doubt because it came from a race that is by nature fickle and little firm in their intentions. He published various proclamations regarding the state of war, and he prohibited very early any communication by canoe between the tribes; this measure gave an excellent result, given that the rebel chiefs detailed a few emissaries to pick up weapons and agitate all the tribes against their present enemy, that is, the Colony, where our flag was proudly waving. To this effect, everyone was placed under arms, the whole area of fire in front of the fort and blockhouse was very well cleared of brush, the dry moat was deepened to 3 meters and as many in width. A good drawbridge was installed, which was closed at 8 p.m., some bags were filled with earth and placed on top of the wall of the fort to make a beautiful parapet that would protect our sharpshooters, food supplies were collected and water, and a service was organized to make rounds with the boat from the Hulk, which carried an 8-cm gun.

Things remained as they were, the rebels numbering 300 armed men, reduced to their own quarters. And as soon as Mr. Cadarso received the reinforcements that he asks, they will be beaten and pulverized whenever they offer resistance to our own forces, and not one man will escape; indeed, it is not in vain that the present Governor has studied the

conditions of attack and defence perfectly well during the three years that he has governed that archipelago.

One of the proclamations published in the tribes says the following:

“I, Don Luís Cadarso, Governor of the Eastern Carolines and Navy Commander, make it known:

“Inhabitants of Metalanim: I would never have believed that people who have given me such satisfactions and constant proofs of their affection, would bring to their Governor displeasure on such a scale. True it is that I know of the insignificant valor of the two authors of the crime of rebellion and of the few men who accompany them with the weapons stolen from our soldiers. By preserving the paternal affection which you have won from me during the three years almost that I have governed you, I do not wish to make the just pay for the sinners when the moment comes for retribution. I therefore urge the chiefs **Tog en Metalanim** and **Kroun Chapalap** to deposit their arms immediately, with those of all the munineers, and to deliver them right away to the transport **Manila** or in this Colony, with the understanding that the loyal kinglet, chiefs, and those who were secretaries to the Nanmarke, Etquer [Edgar] and David, Nanpei, etc. are to present themselves to my authority to justify their conduct, although I am highly satisfied with Nanpei, who saved Fr. Agustín de Aríñez, Brother Benito, two corporals and four soldiers, has given obvious proofs of his love for Spain and respect for my authority.

“Do not forget that Spain has a surplus of elements here and in the Philippines to destroy the whole island completely, if necessary; therefore, if, upon the arrival of the beautiful warship that I am expecting, some one has not submitted himself, the tribe of Metalanim will disappear from the geographic map and there shall not remain any trace of it.

“Inhabitants of the Metalanim tribe! confirm the affection that you have always had for your Governor, and obey his orders blindly, because, if in friendly discourses he has deserved to be called a father, he can nevertheless be inexorably without pity for those who are disloyal.

“Inhabitants of Ponape, Long live Spain!”

When all the chiefs of the tribes had gathered together, it appears that a certain Etquer, an influential person in the tribe, along with Nanpei and others, made them know that gratitude was due to the Governor, who had been their father and impartial judge of all their family squabbles, and therefore, they would show themselves to be very ungrateful if they were not to listen to his voice and comply with his orders. Then, it appears that there were different opinions expressed, but many decided to give a commission to Etquer, the former secretary of Mr. Doane, to go to the Colony and deliver the second boat from the **Manila** and some rifles.

The Governor replied with the following proclamation, which in English and kana, was read in the evening of the 8th, before a numerous crowd and all the rebels:

“Inhabitants of Metalanim:

“Although the crime that you have committed is the greatest that can be done by depraved man—indeed, you have committed murders which the law punishes inexorably, I see, amid my indignation, that you begin to give indications, though most perverse, of respect and submission to your Governor, by sending me back today today, through the most distinguished chiefs, the beautiful boat from the **Manila** that had been stolen, and a few rifles. That is not all I want; in the first place, you have to deliver to me all the rifles from the detachment, to the last one; in this way, you would comply with the duty of any man who aspires to receive pardon, by showing yourselves to be repented and submissive to your Governor.

“Obey this my command at once, as all the inhabitants of this island have always done, without distinction.”

On the 8th of July, when everyone was convinced that the two European corporals were dead, Corporal 1st Class Mateo Navarro miraculously appeared, with two soldiers. They had been lost in the bush for thirteen days, but had managed to reach the fort of Kiti, not realizing what way they were going. They survived by eating wild bananas and breadfruit, and they confirmed the losses of life of their companions. In the Kiti tribe, the king, at the head of a great number of Carolinians, 20 of whom armed, have placed themselves under the command of the Commander of that detachment; they themselves transport the food supplies that the Governor sends, and they guard the frontier, to impede the passage of the rebels.

On the 14th, as a consequence of another proclamation in which the Governor threatened to completely extinguish the Metalanim tribe, but thanks to political maneuvers, he managed to have Etquer appear with 12 more rifles, the sword of Lieutenant Porras and the shotgun that had been used for hunting, but the leaders of the rebellion refused to give themselves up, and they threatened those who recommended to them to submit. The ban on communication between the tribes continues, and vigilance is great in the Colony and aboard the ships; so it is that everyone has noted the general prejudice, and they try to pressure the rebel chiefs into giving up the weapons.

These rebels are, in effect, already dead, as a consequence of the measures adopted and the continuous vigilance exercised by the Spanish, who have been restless for 20 days already, but they have achieved their purpose of maintaining the rebels under control, and make them fear the punishment that they will soon receive.

The Spanish flag waves triumphantly over Ponape at the departure of the schooner **Fowler** that carries these news.

This narrative begs for a quick and exemplary punishment. The Governor General has recognized it for what it is, and soon the necessary elements will go out to make the law respected and to prevent a repetition of vandalistic deeds such as that of June 25th. We have made, and continue to make, great sacrifices to preserve what has always been ours, and whoever is covered by the Spanish flag ought to be subject to our laws or suffer the consequences of their conduct.

We have complete faith in that the wild excesses of Oua will be punished soon, and severely.

P2. Report published by the *Diario de Manila*, on 14 August 1890

Another hecatomb.

A dear friend of ours residing in Ponape, whom we had entrusted and begged to keep us informed of happenings in those faraway possessions when he left for that place, after a long silence, the result of his modesty, has now broken it and sent us news that are so painful to read about that we would have preferred that they would not have been the cause for this letter, which we have the sorrow of publishing today.

“Ponape, 12 July 1890

[To] “the Editor of the *Diario de Manila*.

“My dear and trusted friend,

“Unfortunately I finally break my silence, which I had intended to keep, in spite of the continuous attempts on your part to excite me to write, because I know myself well enough to know that I am not a fit reporter.

“Nevertheless, recently there have occurred events of such a nature in this isolated Spanish colony that I decided that I should write these lines and send them to you, hoping that you may glean from them what you consider publishable.

“Once more these small rocky isles have been sprinkled with generous blood. We have been the victims of our constant trust in others, in the belief that everyone operates as nobly and frankly as we do, but we have once more to record painful dates with new happenings of the same nature.

“The corpses are still palpitating of those who have been cut down by the treacherous knives of rebellious assassins, the earth has once again been bloodied by new and innocent victims.

“Lieutenant Porras, the punctilious, brave and studious officer of our Army, has received the most treacherous and perfidious death, along with a handful of martyrs, as a reward for his constant and laborious exertions in favor of the island and in favor of the civilizing efforts of our Nation.

“Thousands of savages fell upon a short number of unarmed and defenceless men, assassinating them in a vile manner, and pushing their audacity to the extent of committing so horrible an act by making use of the weapons belonging to the assassinated men themselves.

“How could this have happened?

“Here are the facts.

“Having been instructed to open a road between Mutok (Kiti) and Uoa, Lieutenant Porras carried out these works, at the complete satisfaction and great pleasure, it appears, of the natives.

“Once the road had been completed, he dealt with the natives, through friendly means, to build a fort in which to lodge a detachment, and a church, for the purpose of continuing the extension of our civilizing influence.

“So happy were those natives that they offered to provide the wood and other materials of known usefulness themselves. Under such an understanding, Lieutenant Porras, at the head of a force of 54 men, which consisted of soldiers, corporals and sergeant, the latter and two of the corporals being Spaniards, they began their work of clearing the land and building the fort. They had already completed its first story when, one day, a day of infamy, that is, the 25th of last June, Porras, who had left one corporal and three soldiers behind to guard the weapons of the soldiers which he had left inside the fort, went with the others to the bush to continue with the clearing, as on previous days.

“They were at a fair distance from the fort and happened to be spread out to do their chores, and could not have noticed what was happening behind them.

“Suddenly, between them and the fort there appeared an imposing crowd of men and women belonging to the Metalanim tribe, led by Kroun Chapalap and Tok Metalanim en Hero, two men who had also taken part in the earlier rebellion.

“More than 500 individuals attacked the fort and there destroyed the unfortunate individuals who were guarding it. They then got hold of the weapons before facing the others who were surprised while they were busy working.

“The military officer of that force, Lieutenant Marcelo Porras, gathered as many of his men as he could who had been clearing the land there, but, before the imposing number of those savages, who were already armed with the weapons stolen from the fort, any defence was bound to fail.

“Only 28 individuals escaped, who had been working a further on; they took refuge in a mangrove swamp where they spent the next four deadly hours, until finally, they came out on the beach and were able to save themselves aboard a boat from the transport **Manila**.

“Among those who escaped is a Spanish corporal, another native [i.e. Filipino] corporal, and one male nurse.

“The rebels operated under the leadership of Kroun Chapalap and Tok Metalanim en Hero.

“That mob also tried to make victims of their barbarity out of the Capuchin missionary Father Agustín Ariñez, Brother Benito [Aspa], and a German who live in that locality, but through an act of generosity and fearlessness worthy of commendation, the native named Neucpeli [rather Nanpei] of Kiti, a Protestant teacher, brought them to his house, telling the assassins that, in order to kill those unlucky men, they would have to kill him first and step over his dead body. This is how he was able to save those unfortunate people from the certain and horrible death that awaited them.

“As soon as the Governor of Ponape learned of such a deplorable event, only by 9 o'clock on the night of the day in which the events took place, he organized an expedi-

tion consisting of 46 men who, under the command of a Second-Lieutenant, went out two hours later in search of the rebels, whom they encountered.”

The narrative of our friend ends here, and we are deeply thankful to him for the information.

For our part, we have learned that said force went out under the command of Second-Lieutenant Serrano in two boats towed by the steamer **Manila** which had also received specific instructions to batter the rebels of Oua; however, in spite of having local pilots on board her, and the commander having taken all the necessary precautions, the **Manila** ran aground on top of a coral shoal, and was thus rendered incapable of complying with the orders that had been received to bombard Oua.

We think it is futile to add commentaries, and we limit ourselves to deploring the repetition of such events, to directing to Heaven our plea for the souls of that band of valiant soldiers who have died, while complying with the most sacred duties that the nation imposes, and hoping that our authorities will know how to avenge them.

P3. Report published in the *Ilustración Española y Americana* (Madrid) n° 37 of 8 October 1890

Eastern Carolines.—Notes on the island of Ponape.

...
In Santiago de la Ascensión, capital of the island of Ponape, that is, of the government of the Eastern Carolines, there occurred last June 25th the bloody incident which, though it has been described in various manners, including in an official manner, we give here the most precise facts.

“On the 25th of June (we are told in a precise letter received from Santiago de la Ascensión),¹ without the least suspicion toward the natives, but rather, with proofs of their fidelity and the most complete submission, Lieutenant Marcelo Porrás left the provisional barracks in Oua, in the Metalanim tribe, with 45 soldiers, one sergeant, one European corporal, and two native ones, for the purpose of working in the fort that bears his name; and when he was in the bush and working in said fort, the two chiefs Kroumiletan [sic] and Tog, with the people of their villages attacked the barracks that were being guarded by one corporal and four soldiers, and killing these men, they then went off with all the weapons of our detachment after the officer, killing him and splitting his head into four parts, and doing the same thing to a European corporal, two native corporals and 23 European [sic] soldiers.

“It was immediately decided to send the **Manila** to Oua, for the purpose of bombarding the town and to offer protection for a landing of 40 soldiers and 15 marines

¹ Ed. note: Probably provided by Governor Cadarso himself, as he is credited for the accompanying photos.

from the ship, who fought courageously, but the unfortunate thing was that the **Manila** ran aground on the reefs on the south side of the entrance leading to Oua, and remained in that position during five days at a great danger of being lost.

“With this misfortune, and given the few forces available there, the Colony and the fort of Kiti defended themselves. Communication by canoes was prohibited and the propagation of the insurrection was thus avoided as that had been the intention of the rebels. Under these circumstances, reinforcements were requested from Manila in order to effect a punishment, so that a similar act of barbarism might never be repeated.”

Our readers may already know that a military expedition has been made ready in Manila to go to the island of Ascensión, but trustworthy information about it has not yet been received.

In our engraving on page 205 [see below], there are very curious notes about Ascensión: Government House in the capital, Santiago de la Ascensión; the fort of Lieutenant Porras, where the unfortunate officer and the soldiers under his command were working when they were attacked by the natives; the forts María Cristina and Alfonso XIII surrounded by a moat and stockade, and with a bridge.

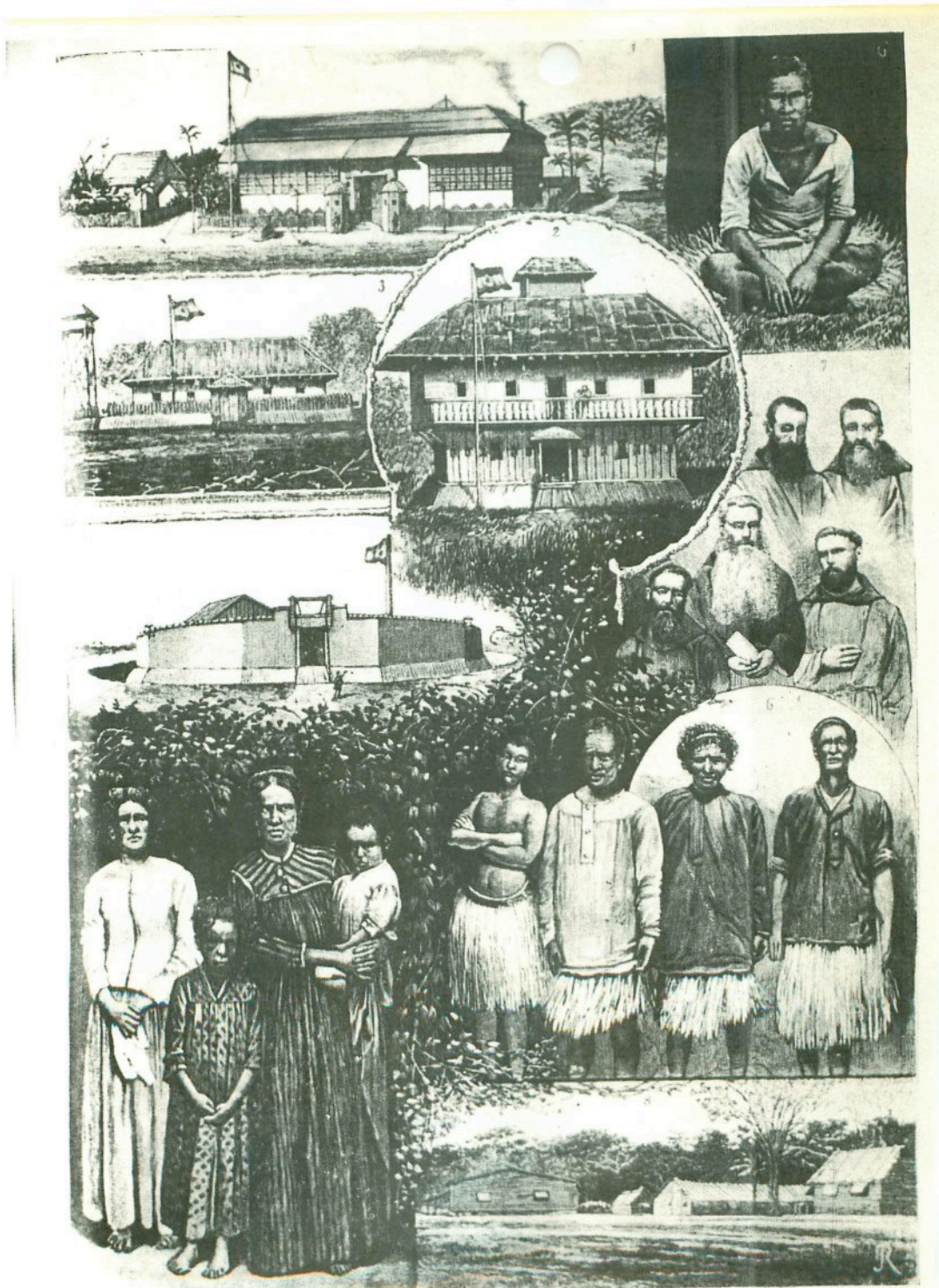
These vignettes have been engraved directly from original sketches that were remitted to us by Navy Lieutenant 1st Class Luis Cadarso y Rey, the former Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

Within the same engraving we have also inserted reproductions taken directly from photographs, which have been made available to this newspaper by the distinguished writer, Don Nilo María Fabra: typical native men and women, and composite of the Capuchin Fathers who are evangelizing Ponape, and have a church and a residence in Santiago.

It should be mentioned that the natives, some wearing blouses and other shirts, and the women who are wearing clothes and even have coquettish hairdos, represent people who have been evangelized, neophytes and disciples of the Missionary Fathers.

Figure (next page):

1. Government House on the island of Ponape [top left].
 2. Fort of Lieutenant Porras [in Oua, top center].
 3. Fort María Cristina in Santiago [left, second from top].
 4. Fort Alfonso XIII in Santiago [left, third from top].
 5. & 6. Typical natives of Ponape.
 7. Capuchin Fathers serving in Ponape [in 1890].
 8. Church and residence of the [Catholic] missionaries [right, bottom].
- (From the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, nº 37 of 8 October 1890).



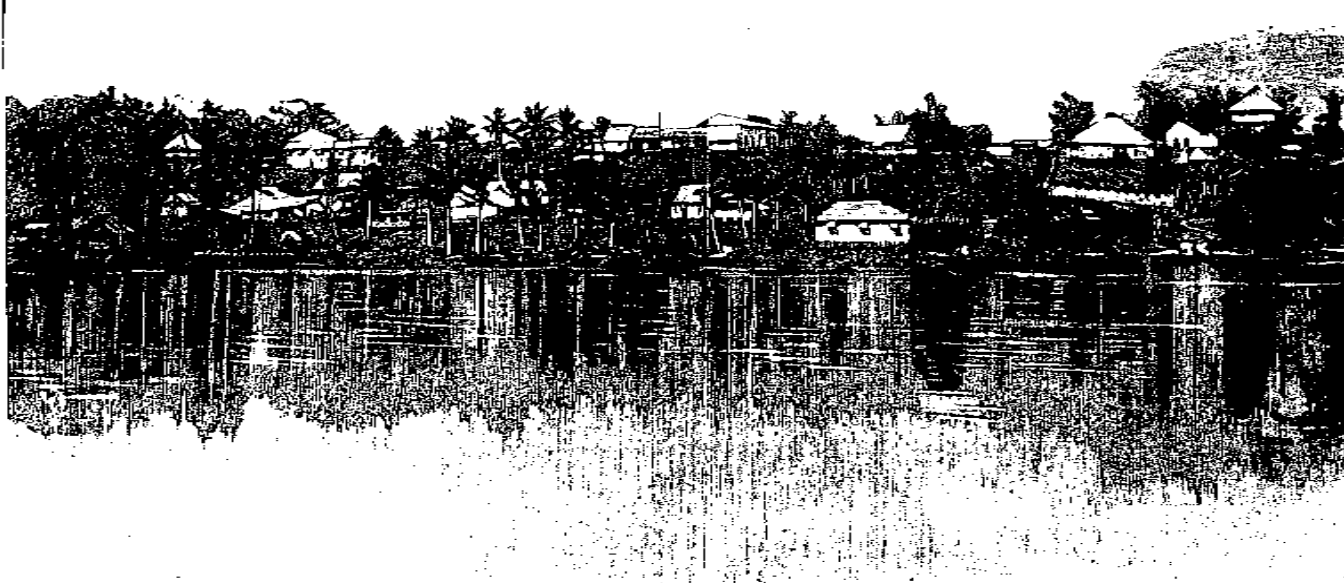
1. Casa-Gobierno de la isla de Ponape. 2. Fuerte cuartel del Teniente Pózzas. 3. Id. «María Cristina». 4. Id. de «Alfonso XIII». 5 y 6. Tipos indígenas. 7. Padres Capuchinos. 8. Iglesia y residencia de los misioneros.
 (De la *Ilustración Española y Americana*, núm. 37 del 8 de octubre de 1890.)

Figure (next page): **General view of the Colony of Santiago de la Ascensión in 1890.** [Photograph attributed elsewhere to Navy Lieutenant Pazos]. (From the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, n° 54 of 30 November 1890).

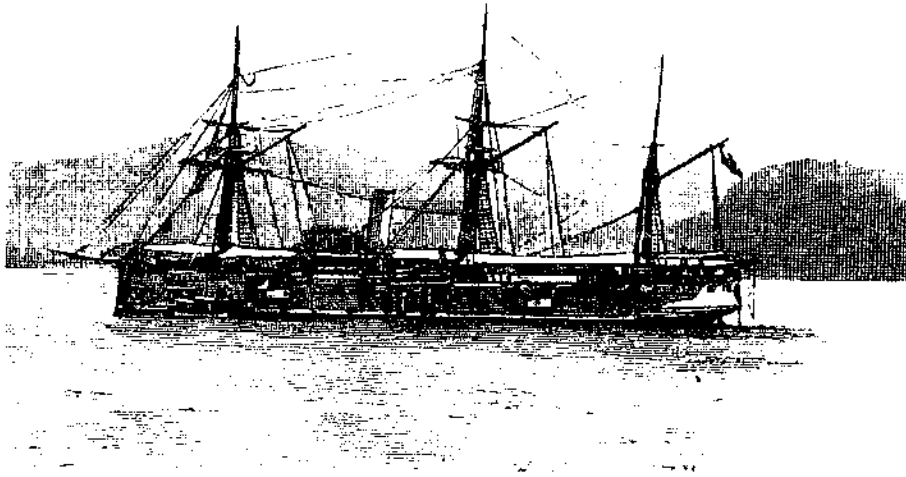
Figure (p. 524): **The kinglet of a tribe in Ponape with his wife and son.** [Ed. comment: He is not identified, and could have been the friendly Nahmwarki of Kiti, but I think it more likely that he was Lepen Not.] (From the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, n° 54 of 30 November 1890).

Figure (p. 525 top): **The cruiser Ulloa.** (From the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, n° 54 of 30 November 1890).

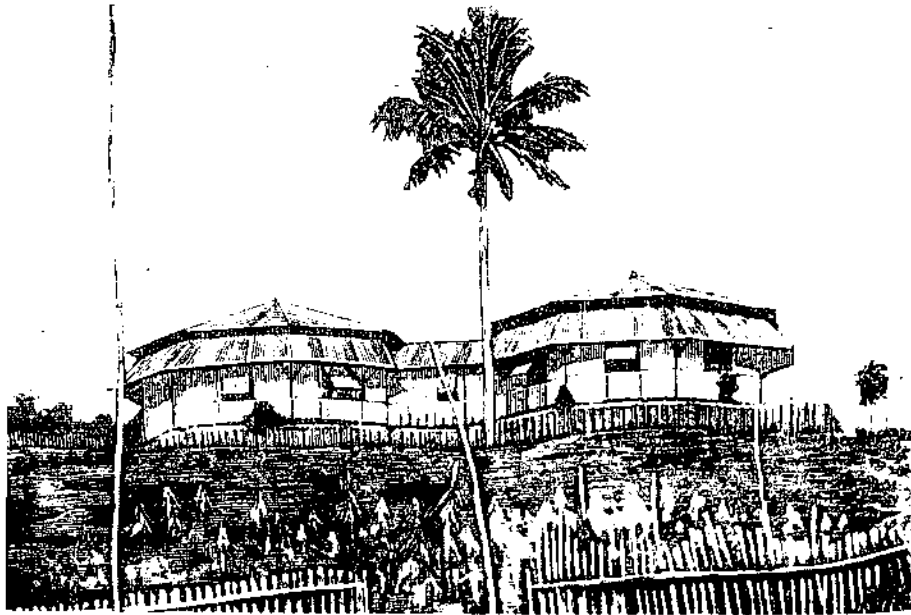
Figure (p. 525 bottom): **Infirmery of the Colony of Ponape in Santiago de la Ascensión.** (From the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, n° 54 of 30 November 1890).







La cruzera «Ulloa».
(De la *Ilustración Española y Americana*, núm. 44 de 30 de noviembre de 1880, pag. 320.)





Document 1890Q

**Dr. Cabeza's conference of 24 March 1891
about Pohnpei**

Source: Article in the Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, Vol. 34 (1893), pp. 7-68, incl. a chart of Pohnpei.

**The Island of Ponape—Conference given at the ordinary
session of the Geographic Society of Madrid on 24
November 1891, by the Military Physician, A. Cabeza**

Gentlemen:

All of you have heard the shout of indignation and protest of the Spanish people caused by the occupation of Yap, when the Germans tried to seize the Caroline Islands.

As of that time, I have heard much talk about the Caroline Islands, I have read almost everything that has been written about them, but I had never dreamed of visiting them myself. The recent events, however, forced me to go there, and once in the field, I realized that much has been said without knowledge; there has been much wrong information given by persons who seem not to have even seen them on the map, and I have lamented the fact that the opinion formed about them in Spain is erroneous.

Having just returned to this capital, to recover my broken health, I was invited by the President of this illustrious Society to give a conference about those countries. An undeserved honor, such as that of addressing you in this hall where so many eloquent voices have been heard, is a task beyond my weak capacity, but only the voice of patriotism can make me dare appear before you today; indeed, patriotism pushes everyone of us, great and small, to provide materials to the measure of our ability, in the interest of improving geographic knowledge and provide a better understanding of our possessions.

I therefore accepted such a sacred duty, at the delicate instigation of the eminent geographer who preside this meeting, and here I am, not ready to make a speech, but to give you a friendly account of what I have seen.

When one talks about an unknown country, the theme is usually divided into three parts, that is, information about the land; the people and their customs, etc., and the history of the vicissitudes through which they have passed.

ESTUDIOS SOBRE GAROLINAS

LA
ISLA DE PONAPÉ

GEOGRAFIA, ETNOGRAFIA, HISTORIA

POR

A. Cabeza Pereiro

Médico de la Columna de operaciones en 1890.

CON UN PRÓLOGO DEL

Excmo. Sr. Teniente general D. Valeriano Weyler

Obra premiada

por la Junta Superior Consultiva de guerra



MANILA

TIPO-LITOGRAFÍA DE CHOFRE Y COMP.^ª

Escolta núm. 33

1895

Title page of Dr. Cabeza's book on the Island of Ponape.

This division, which imposes itself, will also be the one that we are going to follow in the course of this conversation.

PART ONE — GEOGRAPHY.

...
Here omitted]¹

...

[Figure (next page): **Chart of the Island of Pohnpei**, published by the Geographic Society of Madrid in 1893. It represents the island in 1890, before the repartition of the Metalamin tribal lands, and is based on the chart by the French Navy Lieut. Frisquet of the 1840 Rosamel Expedition.]

PART TWO — ETHNOGRAPHY.

I.

Now that we know the island, we can talk, about its inhabitants...

...

Physical characteristics.—When I observed with attention the Carolinians who visited the Colony, I noticed that there were two types completely opposed, among them, which seemed to me to represent two distinct branches rather than sons of a single race. Thus, some of them have cheekbones that are markedly protruding, which gives to their faces an oval and long shape, while others have them protruding sideways, which, according to their relative separation, makes their faces appear wide and flat.

The **skin color** varies greatly; it is more or less tanned in some, coppertone with a yellowish tinge in others, but in many of them, it appears to be a mixture of olive-brown or greenish yellow. Those with the longer face have a skin color that is markedly dark-brown which reaches a tone that correspond to number 29 on the Broca scale.

Their **hair** is always black, thick, strong, abundant, more or less smooth in many, curly in some, but it can be frizzy in others. The beard is always sparse, and they pull off any hairs they may have.

The **eyes** are large, black and horizontal.

The **lips**, thick among those with a flat face, are finer in the others.

The **forehead** of those with a wide face, is sometimes low, well formed and curved; but, in those of the other type, it protrudes forward on the sides and is slightly inclined backwards and upwards.

¹ Ed. note: In describing Pohnpei, he quotes from Captain Bayo, Captain de la Gravière, and other previous travellers. A physical description of the island is given, with the enclosed chart at hand. As for the rest of this section, "a picture is worth a thousand words."

The **nose** is sometimes big, flattened at the end, wide at its base and flattened at its root, though it is generally not so flat as for the Malays, and, in those with an oval face, it is almost straight, but more frequently aquiline, which, in part, contributes to making their features look somewhat Jewish or European.

The **limbs** are well-proportioned and strong; as a whole, these individuals do not lack in slenderness, which is superior to that of the Malay; in fact, their limbs are stronger; their chest, more developed, is not as flat as that of the Malay, but their strength, though regular, does not reach that of the European.

As far as **height** is concerned, there are great variations; among the men, it goes from 1,500 to 1,800 [mm] with the average being 1,700 in my estimation; however, the taller ones are those with dark skin and frizzy hair. The height of the women varies between 1,495 and 1,600.

Character, moral qualities and defects, aptitudes.—Among all native populations, the inhabitants of Ponape, and perhaps those of the whole of Micronesia, form a population that is full of contradictions, and this explains the differences of opinion that have been given of them. The character of the natives has been represented very differently by as many travellers, according to the length of time they have been in contact with them; nevertheless, all agree in giving them a character described as being highly fickle, and they have warned about the need for caution in dealing with them; in fact, many cases of treachery have been recorded. Even after contact with missionaries and traders in the last few years, they have not been changed and made trustworthy. Lütke had already described them as being extravagant, ferocious, devious and erascible.

The same as the Malays, who are lazy and completely foreign to any feeling of honor, decorum and dignity, they also present better qualities which, modified in part, offer today to our consideration the most notorious contradictions, sometimes appearing very smooth, peaceful, hard-working, but soon showing themselves to be, under futile pretexts, vicious, cruel and blood-thirsty.

The Capuchin Father Agustín [de Ariñez], who has resided among them since our occupation, says that they are generally unconstrained and they show favorable aptitudes, within the context of primitive races, for intellectual work, provided that not too many efforts be required of them.

Their character is joyful, festive and lively; very affectionate in their social dealings, but untrustworthy by nature, they carry this trait to the extreme with foreigners, and in their dealings with them they are great cheaters; they know how to dissemble with great sagacity and cunning. They have the great defect of being ungrateful, and they do not recognize the favors made to them as such, believing that they have a right to receive them; the more generous one is toward them, the more intransigent they become.

The Carolinian does not occupy nor will he ever occupy in any of the spheres of human understanding, any high position. That is not to say that we deny them an aver-

age aptitude and a good desire to improve their present condition; in fact, a good proof of this is that they readily copy anything they see the Europeans do.

— 0 —

Race, physical characters and moral qualities of the inhabitants of Ponape.—Population and division of the island.—Political organization of the kingdoms.—Money.—Industry and commerce.

The island of Ponape, according to the most precise calculations, has a population of about 5,000 inhabitants, which gives a population density of 11.36 inhabitants per square kilometer.¹

It is divided into 5 departments, three of which call themselves kingdoms, as follows: **U**, with 800 souls, **Metalanim**, with 1,300, and **Kiti**, with 1,000. That of Chocach [Sokeh] which, about 20 years ago, was a kingdom, was divided into two parts at the death of its king: Chocach and Not; then, the second man in the kingdom, who has retained the title (Uajai) and the authority which he had formerly over the Chocach part. This department has 800 souls. The chief of the second part declared himself independent, taking the title Lepen Not (chief of Not), his old title in fact, as none of these two men dared call himself king.

In all the departments, the king is called Nanamarki [Nahnmwarki]; the second chief of the kingdom is the Uajai [Wasahi]; the third, Nancro en Pontake [Nahn Kiroun Pohn Dake], etc.; the fourth, Tok [Dauk].² These are the leading citizens and constitute the nobility; it is only among them that the king can be selected.

There are other categories of chiefs of a lower order. Firstly, there is the Naneken [Nahnken] who is the chief of the village where the king resides; his functions are like those of a military governor of a place. Secondly, there is the Nalik Lapalap [Nahlik Lapalap]. Thirdly, the Naumatautet [Nahmadau en Tet?]. Fourthly, the Chaulik [Soulik]. Fifthly, the Kron [Kiroun], followed by three or four even lower ranks, whose title holders move up gradually through the ranks until they reach the top rank. All of them, upon rising in rank, change their place of residence to occupy their respective posts, until they reach that of Naneken, who lives near the king.

There is another category of public servants, if I can be permitted to call them that, who act as advisers and have no real jurisdiction, but taking part in deliberations, similar to a council, in which the king keeps a right of veto; they are the chiefs of the main villages, and they are called:

1° Nanepey [Nahnpei] en ... (followed by the name of the place, e.g. Not);

2° Nos [Noahs] en ... (id.);

3° Nanchau-ririn [Nahnsaumw en Ririn] en ... (id.);

1 Ed. note: He forgot to add that most of the island is occupied by mountains and therefore uninhabitable.

2 Ed. note: The names in square brackets are modern spellings.



etc.

The last man belongs to yet another category inferior to the others, and he exercises the functions of a secretary.

The villages of lesser importance also have chiefs of lesser importance, but they too can advance to higher positions and then change their residence.

All categories depend on the king, who can grant them as much as he can take them away, but always for a just reason. Those categories that take part in the selection of the king, can also be granted or taken away by the [present] king, even when the candidate is only a child. He too immediately advances, according to the established order.

The king is always succeeded by the Uajai, unless the tribe is not in agreement; in such a case, the nobles and the councillors meet to elect a successor.

When the king dies, the Uachai takes possession of his new hierarchy and moves to the village where the court resides; he then has to build himself a new house, if he did not yet have one there, because the house formerly occupied by the late king remains in the possession of his family.

The royal residences are: that of the king of Metalanim on the island of Tamuan; that of the king of Kiti in Aleniang; that of the chief (Ujai) of Chocach, on the island of Chocach or Paipalag; that of the chief (Lepen) of Not, at Point Not, and that of the king of U, at Lebenes.¹

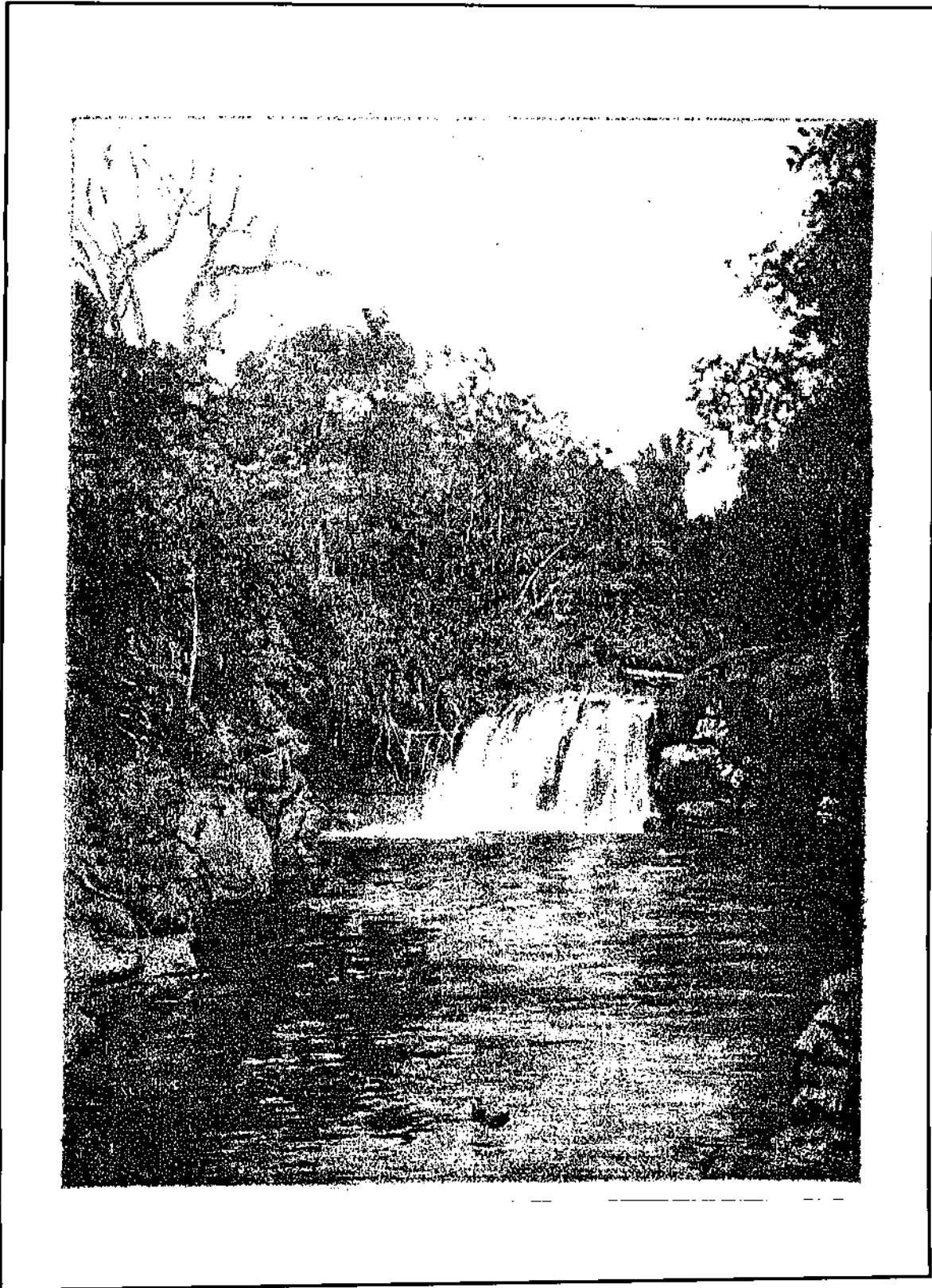
Among these tribal chiefs they have their own categories; the superior of them all is that of Metalanim, who styles himself Ichipau [Isipahu, meaning paramount chief]. When these various chiefs meet to discuss general affairs of the island, this man presides.

When a tribal chief wished to hold a meeting with his chiefs, he sends an envoy to the chief of the first village; he in turn sends one to the next, while the first envoy returns home, and so on in succession; thus the message is transmitted as fast and in the shortest time possible.

In the case of a dispute between tribes, the king [of one tribe] calls the aristocracy and the main chiefs of the tribe to a parliament of his council. They discuss among themselves whether or not the matter is serious enough to warrant a war, and in the affirmative, they used to declare it through an envoy, fixing the place where the battle is to take place. Before this moment, according to their own story, they formerly did not allow anything illegal or treachery to take place.

The place chosen for the battle was almost never situated on the mainland; the challenger selected an island near the border between the two tribes, and that was where the first clash took place. The fight took place on land and at sea. The winner, from the first instant, tried as much as he could, without any hindrance or obstacle, to invade, raze and sack the opposite tribe that had been defeated. The prisoners who had been taken in battle were all killed, without exception, men, women and children; however, once the battle was over, their lives were generally respected.

¹ Ed. note: The same as the site of the Protestant mission station of Awak.



Property is almost unavailable, as it is distributed among individuals who at some sites mark their borders with lines of stones or low stone walls, but within these they cultivate only yams and sugarcane. A few, since the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, cultivate tobacco, coffee and cacao, but only a few plants; such products grow very well, the same as cotton, which the Capuchin Fathers have planted. In almost everywhere else, the property lines are not well defined, and each individual takes what he sees fit for his needs from any surplus land, in addition from the natural and spontaneous products that grow all along the coast and along the rivers, except in the mangrove swamps, where he can find breadfruit which they call *rima*, coconut and banana.

The chief of the village is the man who owns all the products within his jurisdiction. Every four or five days, some men from the village go out, sometimes in the company of the chief, to collect the above-mentioned products which they find in season, and also chickens, pigs, pigeons, fish, turtles, and they take everything to the big house, the common property where they store the canoes, and there they all meet, men, women and even children; the chief then distributes the products, keeping some for himself and his family.

By way of a tax or obligatory contribution owed to the king, to his court and to the place where he resides, these same products are carried to the king, each village alternating, and they are transported to the capital by the village chief whose turn it is, with the necessary men and women who help him with the transport. They deliver the products to a house that is right next to the king's house, where the canoes of the village are stored, and which is called *Imun en takai* [Ihmwen takai] (stone house), after the stones they keep there for the crushing of the *choko* [sakau]. When they arrive at this house, the king comes up and the leading citizens and their families as well, and the distribution takes place among the king, who takes the larger and better part, and those of the village and the man who brought the effects in. The distribution being made, they all eat there together, the king presiding. After the meal, they drink the *choko*, the king presiding, the same as is done in the villages where the chief presides.

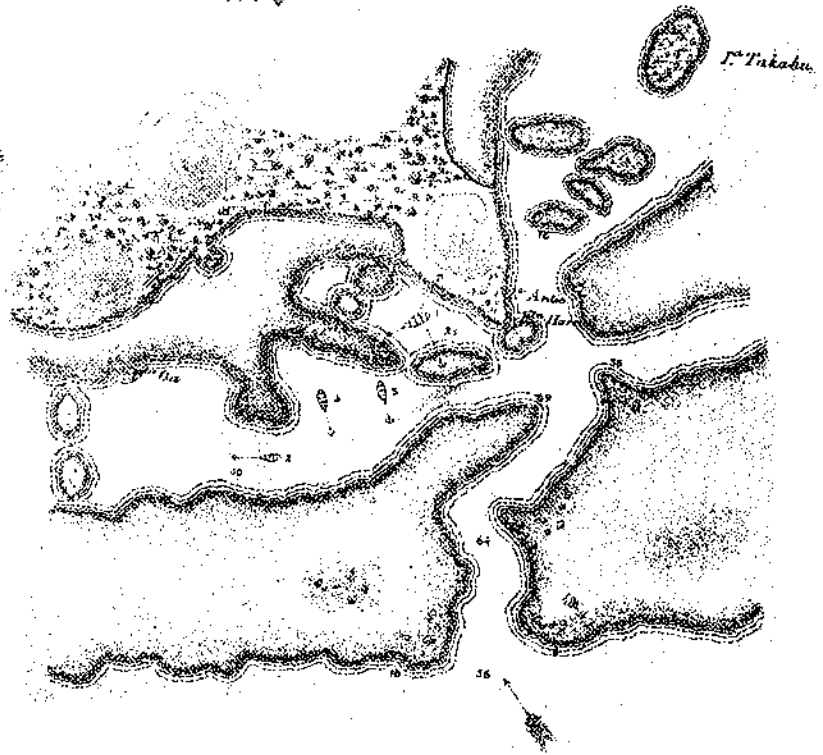
The chief of the capital, the Naneken, invites the king to a meal on certain days, but the whole village takes part; the meeting place is then the house of the chief or the house next to it which is his own *Imun en takai*.

Most of the time, when they are transporting the effects, specially if fish is part of them, they blow on a shell trumpet along the way and this is accompanied by a special song that refers to the object in question; this song is sung in a strident and lugubrious tone of voice, interrupted now and then with special shouts that echo in the solitude of the bushj. These noises inspire dread in those who hear them for the first time and do not know what they are all about.

There is no written law, nor any form of penal code; indeed, the crimes among them are very rare. The king exercises the authority of a supreme judge; the village chiefs take care of the minor problems, such as small fights or fights between individuals, small thefts, etc., according to what the chief himself has dictated. Generally they obey their chiefs, but when the matter under dispute cannot be resolved or the crime committed

PUERTO HARRÚ

- 1. Puerto Harrú
- 2. Isla Uluu
- 3. Lago de Harrú
- 4. Vivero de la Isla de Harrú
- 5. Puerto de la Isla de Harrú
- 6. Puerto de la Isla de Harrú
- 7. Puerto en construcción



CABEZA DE CHAULIB

be a mayor one, the case is referred to the king, whose verdict is without appeal; this verdict is obeyed without protest.

The constitution of the family, as we shall say later, in the villages that are less important than the tribe which absorbs them all, is designated by the name of *Penei-né* [peneinei]. The father is called *Pápa* [Pahpa]; the mother, *Nono* [Nohnno]; the son or daughter indistinctly is called *Na[nahi]*; but to distinguish the sex, they say *Na-poták* [nahi pwutak] for a boy, and *Na-chiripin* [nahi serepein] for a girl; *Chérri-puel* [seri pwelel] for an infant. A brother is called *Riai*; a sister, *Rié*;¹ a cousin, regardless of sex, is called *Chané*; *Chané-ol* is a male cousin, and *Chané-li* if female.

They do have words to express grand-father or grand-mother, because the grandchildren are treated as children, and the grand-parents as parents.

The uncles their nephews and nieces (children of a brother or sister) as if they were their own children; on the other hand, the nephews and nieces call their uncles and aunts Father and Mother. Cousins treat themselves as if they were brothers or sisters.

When they are forced to specify clearly the degree of relationship, they use the following expressions:

<i>Riai-ai-pápa,</i>	son of my father	Brother. Uncle.
<i>Riai-ai-nono,</i>	son of my mother	Id.
<i>Rié-ai-pápa,</i>	daughter of my father	Sister. Aunt.
<i>Rié-ai-nono,</i>	daughter of my mother	Id.
<i>Na-riai-ai-pápa,</i>	son of brother of my father	Cousin.
<i>Na-riai-ai-nono,</i>	son of brother of my mother	Id.
<i>Na-rié-ni-pápa,</i>	daughter of sister of my father	Id.
<i>Na-rié-ai-nono,</i>	daughter of sister of my mother	Id.

Money.—As we may suppose, in the old days they had no money. For their simple exchange of goods they used barter. When the first Americans arrived at this island, they imposed their own currency, but today [1890] it has disappeared, and was replaced soon after our occupation by Philippine money.

Industry.—It is very limited, consisting only of the following:

—Canoe building; a sketch and description of their canoes are given at another place.²

—Weaving of mats that are made with fibers from the *kepar* [*kipar* or pandanus]; they are strong, about 2 meters in length, and dyed with different colors, which are manufactured only in the districts of Chocach and Not.

—Weaving of *cuol* [*koahl* or grass skirts]. They are made as follows: they use the fiber of the shoot or rolled up leaf of the young coconut tree; this leaf is unrolled and well stretched in a thin layer which they place between two hot stones that preserved

1 Ed. note: This word now means "sibling" in general, while *riai* is ordinal number two.

2 Ed. note: The description is, but not the sketch, unfortunately.

their heat well, after they have served to cook their breadfruit. With heat this leaf acquires strong consistence and tenacity without losing its elasticity; some are dyed canary-yellow, and others are left with their natural clear color, but many are curled.

—Rope making. From a coconut husk that is perfectly dry and after it has been left to soak in water long enough to be imbued with it, it is crushed between stones, at the same time as it is being washed with water in abundance. The clean fibers are picked and then joined by twisting them together on one's thighs, until they form cords that can reach thousands of meters; They remain strong and long-lasting if they are kept out of the weather.

—[Handicraft:] They also make some sticks with carved designs on them, which they use in one of their dances, and fancy paddles called *Patil* [*padil*, i.e. paddle, a word copied from English].

Commerce.—One of the nations that exploit these islands is the United States through their missionaries; indeed, they own a beautiful ship, the **Morning Star** that visit these islands, picking up the products that they might acquire for free from the natives or as taxes imposed upon them.

To whaling ships, they sell mangrove wood and local products, tortoise-shell, sponges, copra (dry coconut meat) and *bêche-de-mer* (*Holothuria Ara*) and they buy cloth, weapons, ammunition, furniture, ready-made clothes, shoes, etc.

There were until a very short time ago, three strong foreign companies that traded with these islands; they were: Crawford and Co. of San Francisco in California; Henderson & Macfarlane of New Zealand; and the Pacific Company, American, established in 1889, and represented by Captain Gifford, with stations in Mutok and Lod Harbors.

These companies sold all their rights to the German company that had already established themselves in the island before them, and nowadays it is almost the only trading company doing business in these seas. This company is called Hershheim & Co., of Hamburg; their present representative is August Helgemberger, who also does business in all the eastern islands; he has a factory located on the island of Langar¹ which was bought from the natives, much to our prejudice. The seal of the Company reads: "Ponape Station der Jaluit Gesellschaft."²

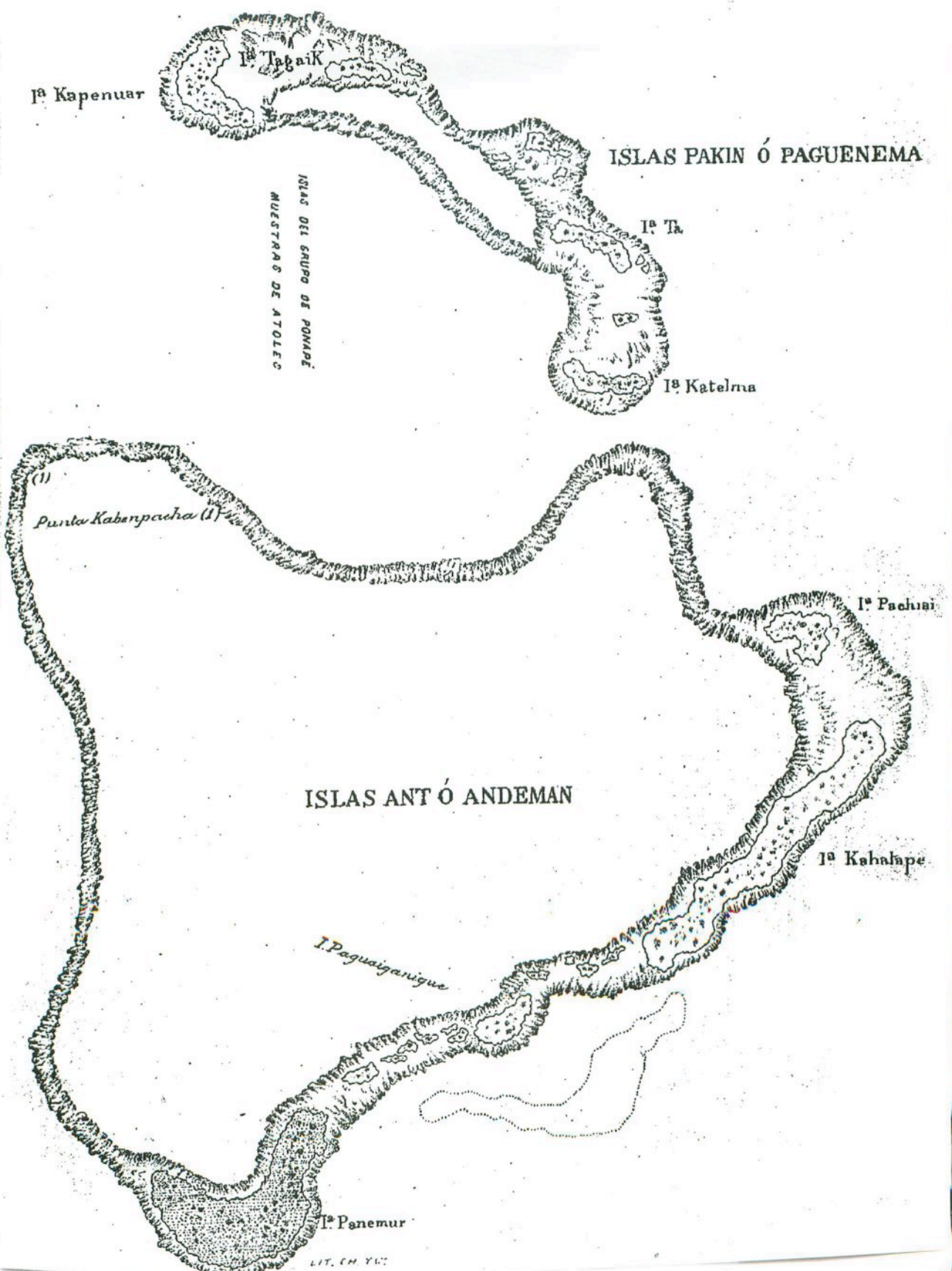
This company owns stations in the following Eastern Caroline Islands: Onoun, Iben [?], Stuaou [?], Mortlock, Lúlau [Lelu], Langar, Rosek [?], Lukvuor [Lukunor], Gossemau [?], Lousasp [Losap], Lopore [?].³

They also have a base of operations in the Western Carolines, and a main station, at Yap, whose representative is Emile Hütter.

1 Ed. note: In Jamestown Harbor.

2 Ed. note: The Jaluit Company was originally separate from Hershheim & Co. whose assets they had also acquired.

3 Ed. note: These words were much garbled in their transcription.



This powerful company owns about 20 schooners, from 20 to 200 tons, for coastal trade all over Oceania up to 10° latitude south, except for the island of Samoa, where they use larger ships.

The following company ships visit Ponape regularly: **Flink**, of 170 tons; **Aester** [rather **Estelle**] of 80 tons; **Mikronesia**, of 40 tons; and **Ehukai**, of 30 tons. In addition, the company charters ships from 800 to 1,000 tons to bring in products from Europe.

All their ships are of low capacity; they tranship the collected products to larger ships at predetermined places, and such products are taken to Lisbon, where they make contact by telegraph with their headquarters [in Hamburg] and receive orders to proceed to distribution centers, such as Marseilles which is where they generally deliver the copra, whereas sea-shells, ivory [nuts], tortoise-shell, and other products are usually taken to Hamburg.

Recently, during the month of November 1890, two more companies established themselves [in Ponape]: one Japanese from Yokohama which owns two schooners,¹ and another German one.

The whaling ships usually begin to arrive at the end of November, from 60 to 80 of them.²

When I left, two Germans were thinking about forming a company, Narhum and Smit.³ These men had already bought the only two billiard tables in the Colony from an American.

II.

The Carolinians generally live a life of idleness, given that they do not need to work to maintain themselves, because food is produced spontaneously in great abundance. They spend their time only gathering a few fruits and roasting what they need, an operation which they carry out every two days. The rest of the time they spend lying down in their houses, or else walking around looking for news, the better to have something to talk about.

The inhabitants of this island are divided into three classes, the nobility, the chiefs, and the [common] people. There is mutual respect between them and in their relationships; the people address their superiors as Sir. The king and the chiefs also use formal language among themselves, but both of these classes use informal language with the inferior classes. The people highly respect their chiefs, but there is much familiarity, with continuous visits and dealings. The respect due to the king, however, is so great that no-one goes to his house, except the two or three main chiefs and they can only sit

1 Ed. note: Captain Taguchi and his one schooner, the **Tenyu Maru**.

2 Ed. note: Too high a number; there were at most 40 whaling ships sailing from U.S. ports, mostly San Francisco, that year (ref. Hegarty), none coming from anywhere else.

3 Ed. note: Narruhn and Schmidt. Narruhn already had his main station in Chuuk.



TIPO KANAKA YAP

Yapese warrior.

inside by the door and on the floor; the rest of the tribe can only approach as far as the threshold, remaining outside. When women go by the king's house, they do so with a curved back, and if they are in the field when the king passes by, they squat on either side of the road to let him pass.

When a kanaka of either sex hands over an object to a person of superior category, he does so by offering it with the right hand extended and supported at the wrist with the left hand, and bowing the head at the same time. This act of courtesy is always done by an inferior toward a superior, and all of them toward the king. The wives of the king and the chiefs enjoy similar consideration.

When two men have had a fight and one of them wishes to know if the other is still angry with him or not, he takes a piece of sugarcane, peels it and offers it to his adversary; if he refuses it, it is a sign that he is still angry with him. They use a similar process to find out if a chief or the king is angry with them; should the latter reject their offer, they make all kinds of protests, invite them to a meal, then repeat their offer.

They are early risers, like any country folk. Shortly after they get up, they go to the river to bathe, the men keeping separate from the women, unless they are a couple. When they return they have breakfast.

Since there is always some food at all of their meetings, that is when they also discuss various matters, and that is also when they drink *choko*. The Methodists were against the latter practice.

[Sakau drinking]

The *choko* [sakau] is a drink produced from the sap of a plant very similar to the stalk of the grapevine, the *Piper Methysticum*, which they obtain in the following manner: some individuals from the village sit down around a big stone, of basalt, circular or oval in shape, which may measure as much as 2 meters in diameter and about one decimeter in thickness; they crush the root of the piper upon it with some round stones that weigh about two pounds, everyone keeping a certain rhythm as they beat, in step with one who acts as the director, and is the most skilled, their blows producing a sound that is metallic, continuous, monotonous, but pleasing, very similar to that made by a bell. Once the operation has begun, from time to time some water is added to the mixture, to better distill the sap and dilute the extract. When it is found to have become rather bruised and almost reduced to a pulp, they extend this on a strip of narrow bands from the interior bark of the *pala bobo* [hibiscus] measuring about 1.50 meters; that is placed on the stone, but tied in the center, they roll them up on top of the mash and then they start twisting them, in the same manner as used when one is wringing a wet bedsheet to expell the water from it. Then a turbid liquid oozes out, dark as clay in color, which they collect with a coconut shell.

This drink is produced inside the houses whose name we have mentioned in the previous chapter and which are used exclusively for this purpose; They are among the largest, and they all have inside a stone platform raised one meter above the ground.



TIPO KANAKA PONAPE

Ponapean warrior.

When the king takes part, he places himself in the center of the principal front part, and his wife sits on his left side and those of the main chiefs follow her by order of their ranks; on the right side of the king sit the men, beginning with the main ones followed by order of rank, in the same manner as for the women.

When one of their special jars have been filled, one of the main chiefs from the lower category, with the ceremony explained earlier, offers the drink to the king who, after he has taken a sip to taste it, he passes it on to the main chief, and so one it is passed from hand to hand in succession. While this first batch is being consumed, another one is being prepared; the first batch is tasted only by the king, the queen, and the main chiefs with their wives; the others drink from their own respective batches, according to their categories; however, the first drink from each batch is always offered to the king, even though it may be a mere formality, given that many times he does not even taste it, but simply points to the person to whom it should be presented.

The shoots from the plant that had been separated from its root, are kept in small bunches which are later buried; they catch readily and produce new roots.

This drink produces narcotic effects, so special that the same site where they the drinkers are is where they remain in a numb state, feeling drowsy, with eyes that are half-closed and feeling a great weight upon the eyelids; they do not talk, but if they speak, they do so with a very low voice, their only desire at such a time being to go to sleep, any noise seems bothersome and if they get up and want to walk, they do so in a lazy manner, staggering, which forces them to lean on a long stick, so as not to fall down; this stick they take with them before they go drinking. Later, they are enveloped by a deep sleep, they do not like to talk or be talked to; if anyone does so, at the first words, they open one eyelid to see who is headed their way, then they immediately close their eyes and answer slowly and with such a low voice that they seem to be dying, then they fall into deep sleep until the next day. There is no sign whatever of excitement, to the contrary only signs of stupefaction; they can hear very well while under the influence, everything they are being told, because the next day they remember perfectly well everything that happened.

The first time one drinks *choko*, he feels a cold sweat, languor and an extreme laziness, in addition to a headache upon waking up.

They begin drinking *choko* at nightfall. They opined that this is a healthy thing for them to do, that it fixes the body, as they say. Well, there are individuals who fix their body better than others, because they drink more than a pint each.

When the king or a relative of his becomes sick, people flock from all, or almost all, the vilalges that form the district and they then begin to make *choko* very early and to prepare meals; one can say that they go on a continuous binge for four to five days, as people arrive in shifts and at all hours. This they think of as a sort of pilgrimage and novena, to save the sick one.

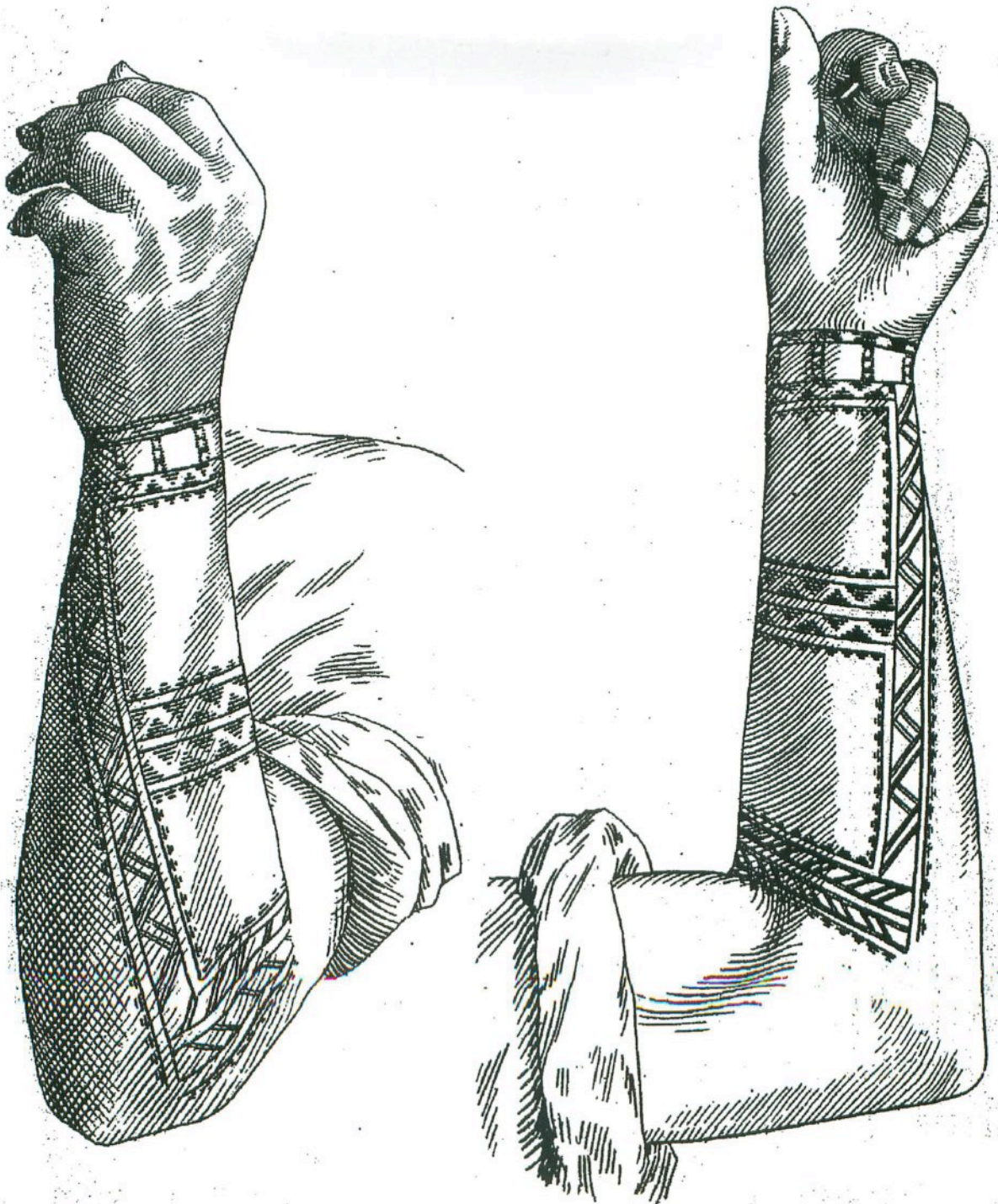
Everything that has been described above, with the king present, is done the same way at the village level, except that the chief of the village then represents the authority.



Craneos micronesios norma anterior



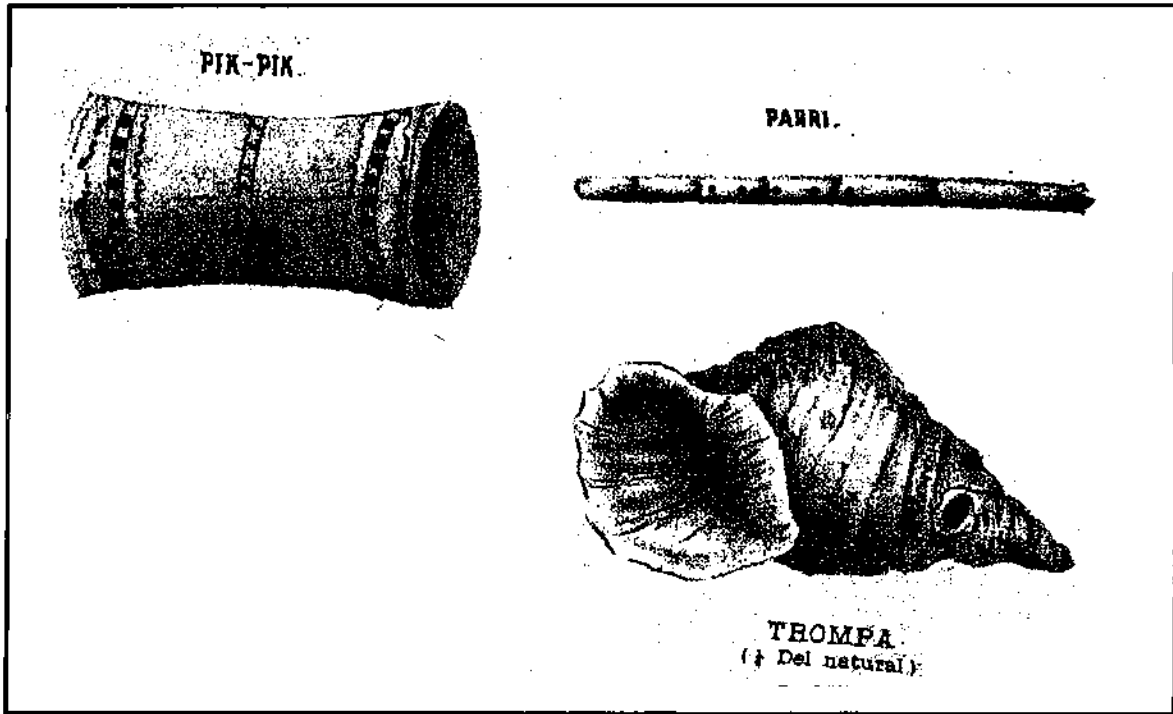
Craneos micronesios norma lateral



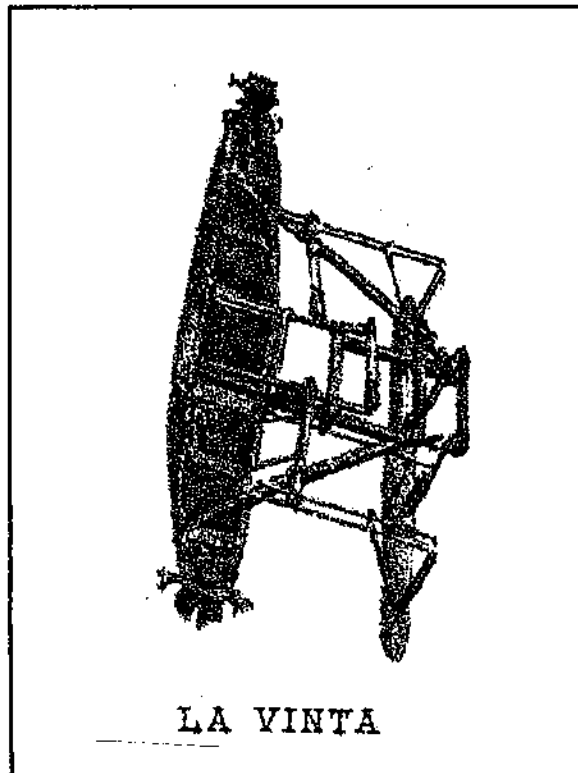
TATUAGE DE HOMBRE
(Dibujo del natural)



TÁTUAGE DE MUJER
(De Fotografía)



Native musical instruments.



Model native canoe.

Clothing.—Both men and women go almost naked; the former wear a skirt that goes down to the knees, adorned at the waist with threads or bits of wool, usually reddish, with the fibers at times rolled up to look like the rolled collars of the surplices used by our clerics. Since the arrival of the Methodists, they are getting used to more appropriate dress, and today when they go to the Colony, the leading citizens wear European clothes, some going so far as using stockings and little boots or patent leather shoes; the rest just put on a jacket or a shirt, keeping their skirt on, without any pants on top.

Formerly, the women wore the same sort of skirts as the men, made with the fibers of the bark of the *palo bobo* (Balibago in the Philippines),¹ except that it is much longer, reaching as far down as the middle of the thighs and they wore it askew, fastened on one shoulder to one side and below the armpit on the other; today it has disappeared, and just a few women use them when they go fishing. Actually, when they are inside their homes, they wear a piece of cloth tied at the waist and covering them down to the knees. If they go out of their house or go on a visit, the more modest among them wear a small piece of square cloth, like a short chasuble that they pierce in the center to pass their head through and to cover their breasts.

The Methodists have introduced among them the custom of wearing loose-fitting gowns,² of colored or white cloth, which is, in fact, a woman's night-shirt, that reaches down to the ankles, but with a high and closed collar, and long and narrow sleeves.

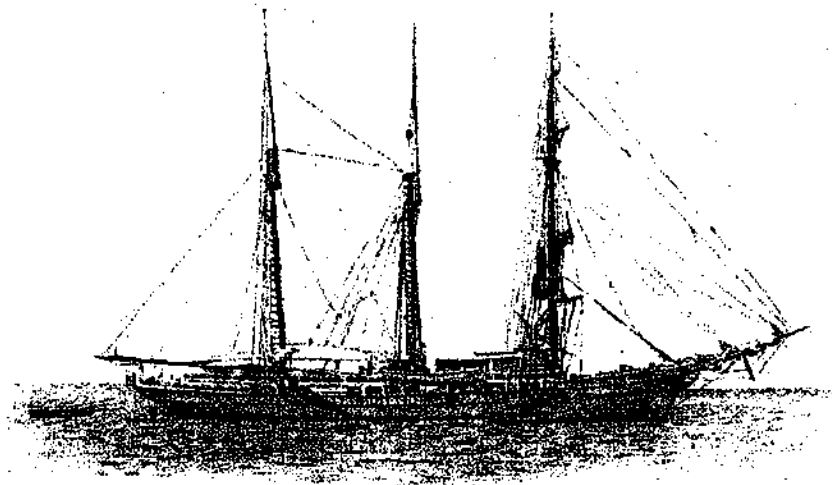
Both sexes pierce and stretch both of their earlobes, and extending the lobe more and more, with objects that they place in them, by way of earrings, or other objects; one of the most curious object consists in a very small coconut which they cut along its equator and in the circle they place a piece of mirror; the men place cock feathers in theirs, and they also pierce the upper part of the ear and there they place fringes and small balls of red wool; they wear rings of silver and tortoise-shell, which at times they wear on all their fingers. Both men and women wear their hair short; those of the women hardly reach their shoulders and they tie it like European girls do, with a red ribbon; they also are accustomed to wear necklaces of beads around their neck.

When the men dress for a feast, or when they are in love and wish to look interesting, they paint their faces, arms and body, that is, everything from the waist up, with a yellow color prepared from the root of a plant *Cúrcuma longa, L.*) mixed with coconut oil, and they place a wreath made with the braided leaf of a plant; this wreath covers no more space than a calotte would.

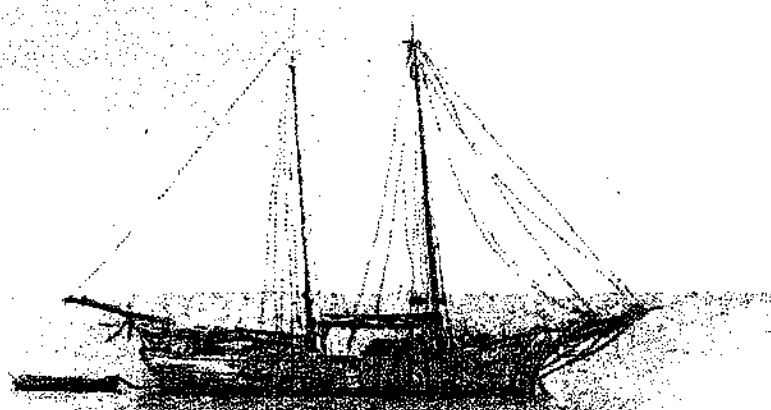
Both sexes perfumed themselves with coconut oil mixed with a grease that they extract from the head of a fish (called *sámara* in the Philippines) after it has been left to dry for two or three days, and whose proportions in the mix vary according to the degree of strength that they wish to give to the perfume; they think this perfume is superior to the best scents produced by the English perfume industry; however, to our noses it is extremely repugnant, and so intense that it is necessary to change one's clothes and

1 Ed. note: That is hibiscus, indeed.

2 Ed. note: They called them Mother Hubbards.



BERGANTIN GOLETA "MORNING STAR"
Fotografía del Teniente de navío Sr. Lanzos



POILET BOAT "FOWLER"
Fotografía del Teniente de navío Sr. Lanzos

take a bath after touching a kanaka. The women generally use it only in their hair; the men put it on their hair and also all over their body.

In order to transport products, they use some small baskets as long as one meter, which they make by splitting in half the central nerve of a coconut leaf or palm leaf, and they weave the leaves to join them together, in such a manner that the woody borders end up on the outside.

Marriages.—The Carolinians of Ponape generally have only one wife, but this does not make it a general rule; indeed, some make exceptions, specially the chiefs; nevertheless, marriage is contracted with only one woman. The others are only concubines, and they sometimes reside in the same house, but others come from outside; when they reside in the same house, they never receive the same considerations as the legitimate wife, and they accompany her when she goes out, doing all the domestic chores as well.

Women here are always well treated by the strong sex and never mistreated; they are shown respect and affection. The little work that these islanders do in the field is done by the men; the women only fetch water, sew if they know how, take care of the family and the house, and the only outside work they do is fishing, looking for sea-food and sea-shells; in these chores, they either go alone or in the company of the men, and they do it because they like it, [to have the opportunity] to bathe, swim and have a good time.

When two lovers wish to marry, the parents of the groom go to the house of their in-laws to ask for the bride, taking along as a present a small basket of fruits; if it is accepted, the next day the mother of the groom goes to the house of her daughter-in-law, pouring coconut oil on her head and rubbing her whole body with the same substance, and right after she places a wreath made with a plant on her head. The couple is then married. If the newlyweds had already built themselves a house, they move in; if not, they stay with either of their parents.

This small marriage ceremony is all that is required, but sometimes there may be a feast. Four or five days after the wedding, the newlyweds go out to visit the relatives on both sides, and they spent three, four or more days in the house of each one, as there is always a feast given to them when they arrive.

[Divorce and wife-swapping]

The ties of this union are so weak and fragile among the kanakas that divorce is extremely common and current among them. If both spouses are not reconciled, or the husband treats his wife badly, a family council is held to settle the matter, which generally ends with divorce, but much more frequently things do not reach this extreme, given that they can use the custom that they call *Isipal*, which consists in brothers and even friends interchanging their wives; this is not surprising, given the special civil constitution of this people, where the tribe or municipality is their true family, and they ignore the importance which we, in civilized countries, give to the natural family. This concept can be confirmed by the fact that the parents also abandon their children within

the tribe, with the same facility that they may adopt others whom they look after with the same care as if they were their own; the result of all these exchanges has a profound effects within a family, which has already been made confuse by the ease with which the marriages can be contracted and dissolved. This, which within our constitution of the family would result in numerous prejudices, overthere it does not provoke any conflict, because the concept of the family is broader and extends to the tribe.

Adultery.—It happens rarely. They say that in the past it used to be punished with death; but today, the customs have become softer; the offended husband generally restraints himself to beating the adulterous wife with a stick, and sometimes to abandoning her. Generally, the married woman is well respected, as her husband is always jealous of his rights. This procedure is much different than the licentiousness that is practice by the woman as long as she remains single.

The single woman owns her own body, and as soon as she becomes mubile, or before, she delivers herself to the first man who asks her. It would be an extraordinary phenomemon, indeed, for a woman to be able to offer the treasure of her virigity to the husband who selected her. All women, single or married, obey the chiefs and husbands when they are ordered to deliver herself to foreigners; they do it very willingly, and they go out to offer themselves for money.

Bands of women are in the habit of going to the Colony every Sunday, and they show themselves to be available just as much as our own disgraceful career women. In any village that one gets to, any foreigner has his own partner, since they all rent themselves out.

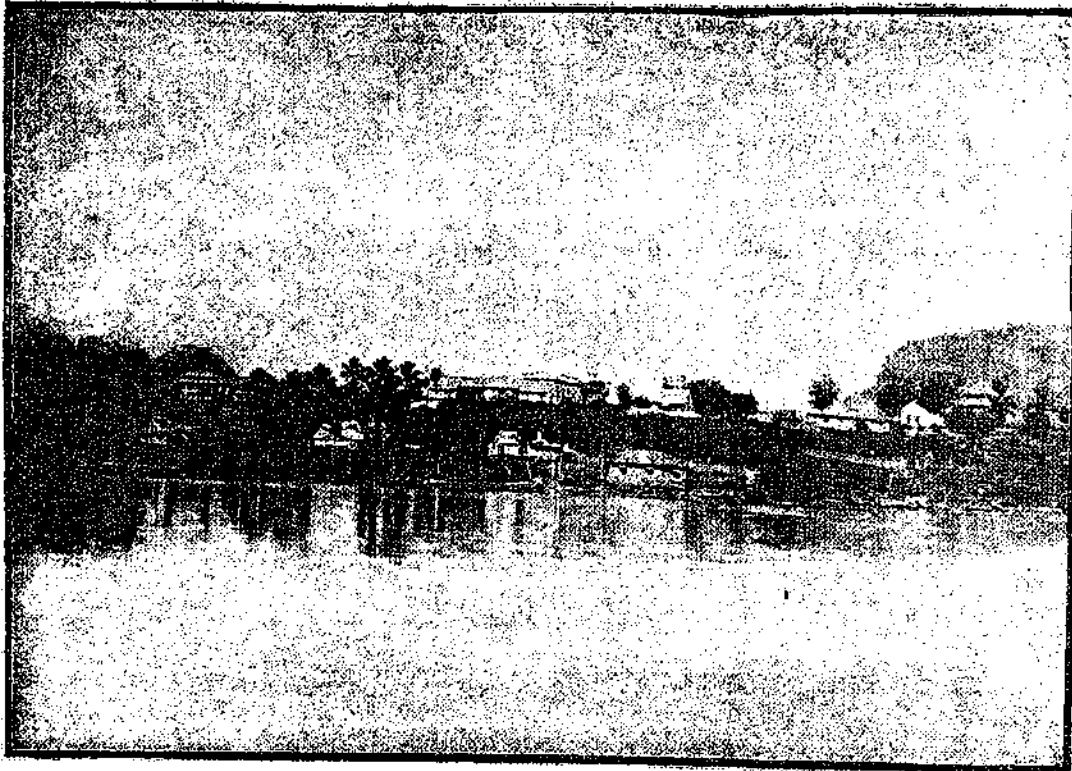
Food-stuffs.—Before the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, about 50 years ago, the inhabitants of this island, like almost all Micronesians, were cannibals;¹ nowadays they derive their food from the three kingdoms, with the vegetable kingdom being the main one; as far as the animal food is concerned, they have very perverted taste, eating even filthy things, as we shall see later.

The pig, the chicken, the wild pigeon and the dog are part of the delicate dishes that they partake of during their frequent feasts. Among the fish, they have their preferences; they always select the best for roasting, and among them figures the *samaral*. The sardine, the crab and the turtle are eaten raw when recently harvested. The *kamik* (grouper), a big fish, very esteemed by them (it is indeed very good-tasting), As far as the squid and the clams are concerned, they let them begin to rot, and then they eat them seasoned with a very spicy condiment, a sort of Guinea pepper, which they call *silelabuya*.²

They are not very scrupulous what they eat; when they do their clean-up operations, and meet with fleas or lice, they swallow them with gusto.

1 Ed. note: The proof of this statement is hard to find.

2 Ed. note: This could be written in two words, *sele labuya*, as 'sele' alone means Chili pepper.



Vista de Santiago de la Ascension capital de Ponape
Fotografia del Teniente de Navio Sr. Lanzos.

However, their staple food is the *rima* [breadfruit] which, for them, is like bread is to us Europeans, and like rice to the Malays.

The *rima* is the fruit of the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus incisa*), whose trunk grows as tall as 14 to 15 meters, and its diameter as big as a man's body. The fruit, which is about the size of the head of a child, has its own unique taste, undefinable, but rather pleasing; some people compare it to the potato, the artichoke, or white bread. The breadfruit tree not only provides the most important foodstuff of these countries, but it has many other uses. The people of Oceania use its inner bark to make a sort of cloth, and its wood to make huts and canoes; its sap, as white as milk, glutinous and juicy, makes a very good cement and an excellent glue.

The *rima* is eaten fresh or preserved to serve as food during three or four years. When it is meant for immediate use, they roast it; for this purpose, they have at the side of their house a shed that is used as a kitchen and oven; inside this shed they place firewood in a symmetrical manner, and on top of it some stones are carefully placed, to form something like the eaves of a roof, then they start the fire and when the stones are very hot (it takes about one hour approximately), they take the pile apart and spread out the stones, placing the *rima* on top after it has been split in half. They immediately cover it with other hot stones and the whole thing is covered with leaves. At the end of another hour the *rima* is roasted and ready to eat.

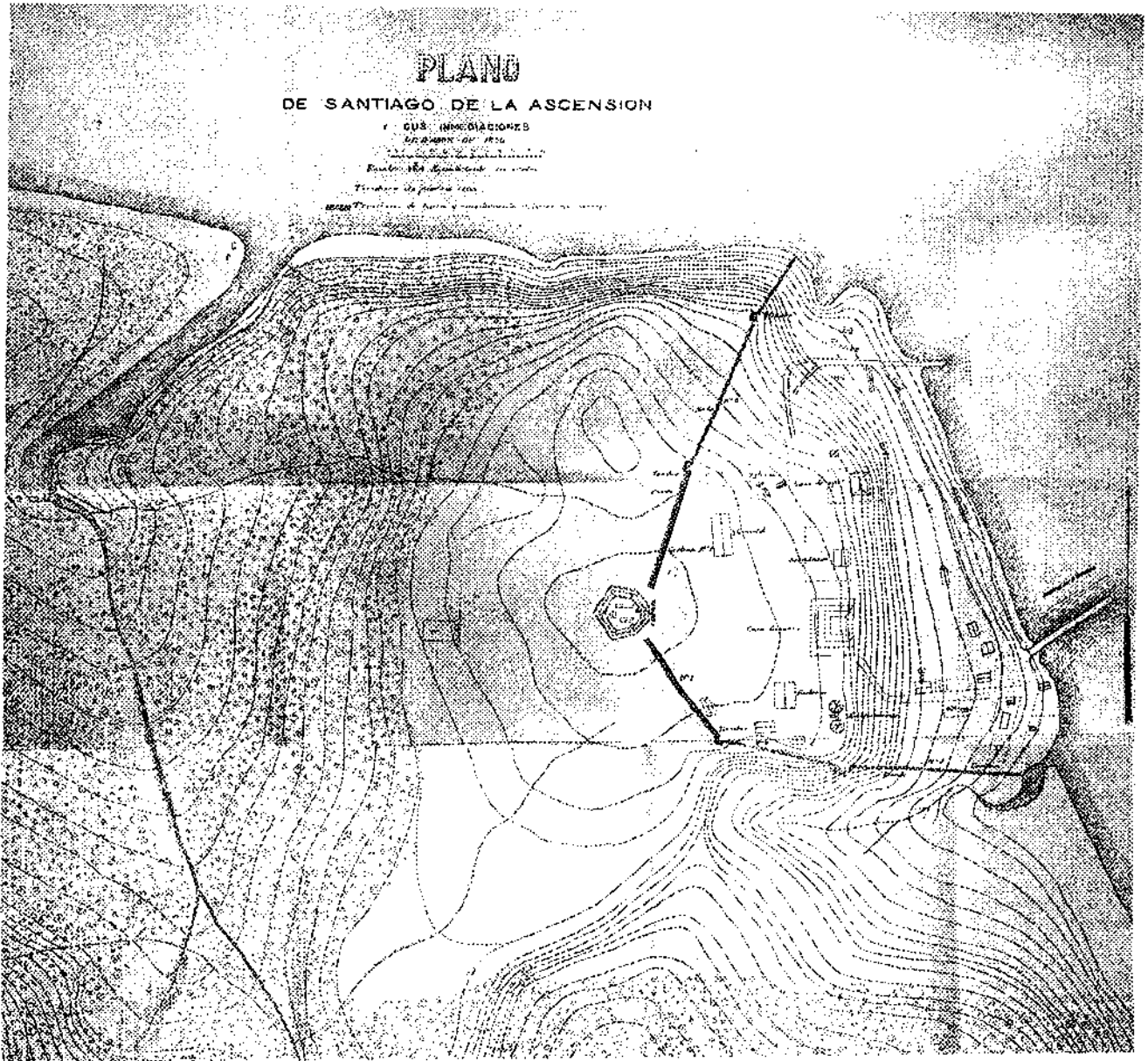
When they wish to preserve it for a long time, the *rima*, soon after it has been harvested, is peeled with a shell that is called in kanaka *Puli* (*Cypæa Moneta*, L.), and in Tagalog, *Sigai*.¹ To carry out this task, the whole population of the village gets together, during the months of August and September, which is the season when the harvest is abundant. In the localities where there are running streams, and near the houses, they select a site that receive [rain] water from their roofs. There they dig circular holes of about three palms in depth, the size depending on the quantity of breadfruits that will be accommodated in it (a hole of 1.5 meters in diameter can receive about 400 breadfruits); they line it the inside perfectly well with banana leaves, to make sure that no water or dirt can get in; indeed, the only thing they want is dampness. Inside these holes, thus prepared, they place the peeled breadfruits that have already been cut into four pieces, and they immediately cover the hole up with leaves and that is in turn covered with large stones.

At the end of six to seven months, the breadfruit has been converted into a single mass, yellowish in color, with a sour odor and taste; it can now be eaten this way. This paste remains perfectly edible for three to four years.

As they lack salt, when they wish the paste to come out somewhat salty, they dig their holes at places that can be reached by sea-water at high tide.

This paste is treated like food-stuff kept in reserve; they use it when the breadfruit trees produce little or the other types of breadfruit trees are lacking. To eat it, either as

1 Ed. note: *Pwili* is now another type of sea-shell, but *Sigai* is a cowrie shell. *Cypæa Moneta* of Linné is the money cowrie, but I doubt that one could make a good scraper out of it.



is, or mixed with grated coconut meat or with bananas; in the latter case, they make some little balls out of it which they cook until they are roasted, with a crust on them, the same way that they roast the fresh breadfruit.

Dwellings.—The architecture of the island is very simple; its buildings are the same as those observed all over the Pacific Ocean; they are four-sided and often rectangular. These islanders have two types of dwellings: one is the family home, and in each village there is another which they call *Imu-en-takai* (stone house) destined not only to store the canoes but the stones upon which to prepare the *choko*.

The houses are generally very well built; to begin with, they raise a platform of stone of the area that the house will have and about one meter in height. On top of it they build a wooden frame which they enclose with a double walls of thin cane (*Saccharum kœningii*), which is a little smaller than the small finger; the canes are perfectly joined together by means of cords made with the fiber of the coconut husk. The roofing, and even the walls of many other houses, is made with the leaf of the ivory nut tree, which they place very close together, fitting them like we do with our roof tiles. The flooring is also made of woven cane, but in the center they leave a square, rather deep, filled with earth, in which they make their fire during the night to warm themselves up and also to repel the mosquitos.

The interior furniture varies according to the possibilities of each family; the bed is everywhere a simple mat placed on the floor. Since they have learned about civilized ways, some simple furniture has made its appearance in some of the houses, such as easy chairs, simple tables some sewing machines, and in most of them their corresponding accordeon.¹

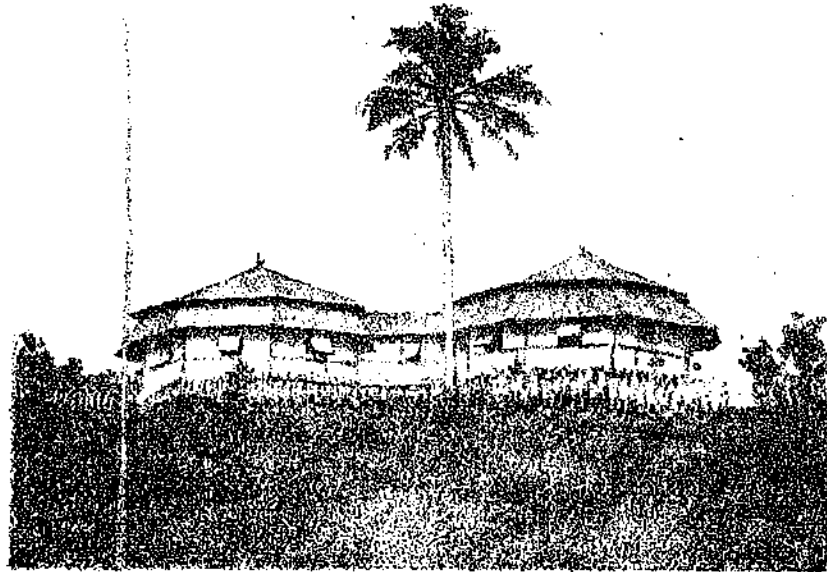
The houses have only one big room where the whole family lives.

Musical instruments.—We have just mentioned that, being so much attracted by music, it is a rare house which does not have its own accordeon, but it has been imported. The true instruments of their own, that have not yet been completely abandoned, are:

—The *Parri*, a sort of flute, two palms in length, made of jointed cane [bamboo?], closed at one end with a plug of leaves, and have six holes, in addition to the mouth-piece.

—The *Piki-piki* [drum], which consists of a piece of hollow tree trunk that they use to make their canoes, and is about 1 meter in length and 40 cm. in diameter, with the ends covered with the dried bladder of some fish, which they place there went fresh, and two days later they can use the instrument. This sort of long drum has its diameter smaller in the center. At this place, and also on the edges of the ends, they carve some squares which they paint with various colors, generally red and black. Once the musi-

¹ Ed. note: Probably the simple concertina used by sailors, and brought over as trade goods by American whalers from San Francisco.



ENFERMERIA DE SANTIAGO DE ASCENCION



CASA GOBIERNO

cal event has ended, they remove the drumheads and replace them with new ones; indeed, they break easily and are destroyed, within one week.

Dances.—The kanakas have two main dances: one that the Americans have taught them is the *Kali* [kawlek], in which only men participate; two men step on a board, about 1 meter long, one facing the other, while they execute different movements, mostly with the legs, while they are accompanied with the accordeon.

Another type of dance is the *Uen* [wehn]; for this dance, three men and three women face one another. The men wear their skirts, perfectly made wreaths on their head, anointed with oil, painted, and on their fingers, wrists, arms and legs, they wear rings and bracelets woven with fresh coconut leaves, placed in such a way that the ends stick out, so that when the leaves rub against one another during the movements, they will make a noise that is harmonious and pleasing to their ears. The women appear in their gowns, their own wreaths, but with rings only on their wrists. This dance, which is accompanied with the musical instruments that we have already mentioned, consists of rhythmic movements, not jerky, and executed mostly with the arms; this is their old, traditional, dance, in which the men are eager to perform as best as possible.

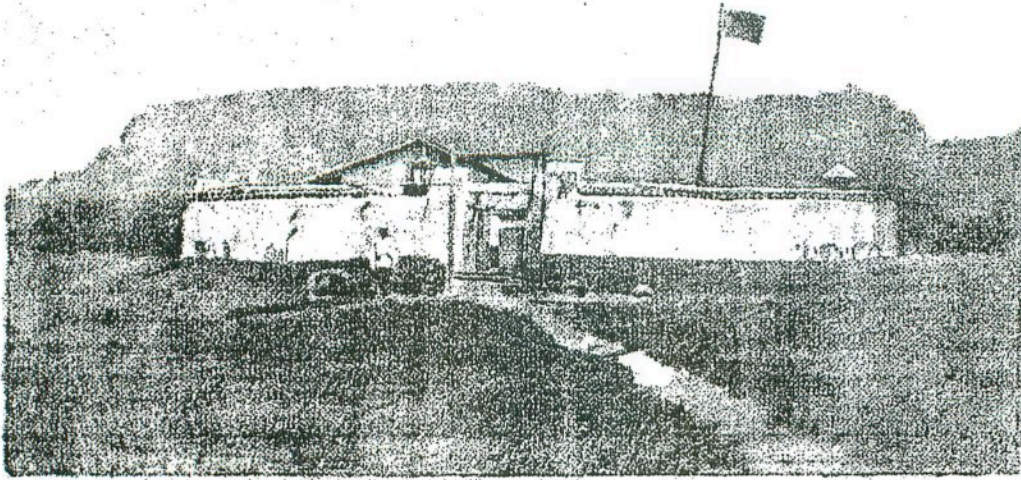
Weapons.—Formerly they used the spear, whose shank was made of *Ak* [ahk], or mangrove wood, and its point was made of the spine that is found on the tail of the ray-fish. Their knives were clam shells, which they use to this day to work soft and slim wood, such as the cane work for their canoes; to split thicker wood, they have a tool made with a piece of a large shell which is tied at the end of a stick, which looks like a sort of axe. The arrow was another one of their old weapons, but it is no longer in use; the bow was made of *katio*... and the cord was made of hibiscus bark; the arrows were of hibiscus wood and their point with the spine of the ray-fish, fastened with abaca [hemp] fiber. The sling, a weapon which they manage with an admirable precision, are made of abaca and woven hibiscus bark. Sling-stones must have been the most frequently used weapons used during their battles; indeed, to this day they are very skilled at shooting them, and they use them to hunt birds with, in order to save on ammunition.

Weapons made of steel have been introduced by Europeans; in fact, they could not have had them before, because there is no metal at all in these islands.

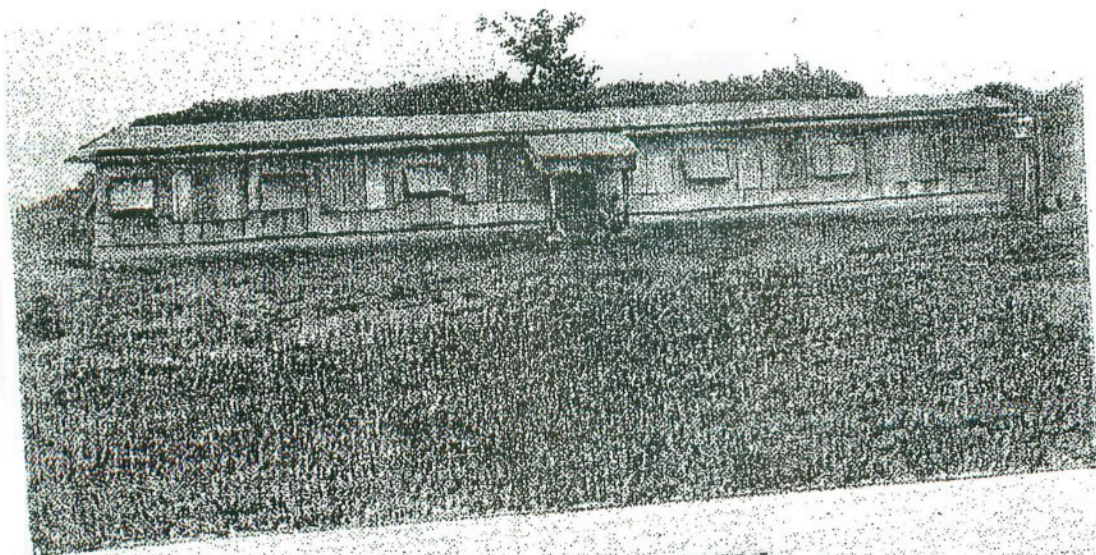
Today, due to our carelessness, they are well supplied with the latest models of firearms—thanks to our sympathetic friends, the North Americans.

As far as steel blades are concerned, the women carry, since they were girls, and under their armpit, an American-made blade which they call *Nichin-Naep* (small knife). The men use a knife that is half a meter in length and three fingers in width, with a straight edge and pointed at the end. None of them come with a scabbard or sheath.

Boats.—They are very different from those used in the Philippines and characteristics of this island. Long and fine, they are built up from the trunk of a tree, and dug out. The war canoes have high cutwaters at both ends, which give them a graceful appear-



FUERTE ALFONSO XIII
Fotografía del Teniente de navío Sr. Lanzos



CUARTEL DE DIAZ VARELA
Fotografía del Teniente de navío Sr. Lanzos

ance. In the center they have a platform that they call *tinap*. On the right-hand side, there extend a network of wood poles, and all of them, by means of others, thinner pieces of wood, are fastened to a long piece of wood, parallel to the canoe, and located in such a way that it can remain half submerged, playing the role of a float; this complicated apparatus is what constitutes the outrigger, so different from the one used in the Philippines.

Note. In their center, the canoes have a platform, called *tinap*, and on the right side above the wash board there comes out horizontally two poles, called *Kánani*, that are fastened cross-wise with four other poles; two more poles are placed diagonally, from the end of the *seinta* [sic] to the outside ends of the two horizontal poles. From each end of the canoe there come out together and horizontally two more slim wooden poles, called *Tpis*, which, upon reaching the extent of the others, curve down and their points go into another piece of wood almost as long as the canoe itself, located parallel to it, but a little lower than the keel; this piece of wood is the thickest of all, made of a very floatable kind of wood, and is called *Tam* [dahm]. This piece of wood is also supported by 8 more poles, called *Rak* [rahk], whose other ends are joined to the ends of the horizontal poles that come out of the wash board on the side of the canoe. Only the piece of wood that joins the horizontal poles is called *Aupat* and *Aupatotot*, the other two are parallel to the former and serve the same purpose.

The wood for the canoes comes only from two types of trees. Some make use of the *Tom*, which I believe is the *Diptero carpus Polyspermus*, Bl.,¹ a wood that is heavy but floats, and resists perfectly to the sun without splitting. The others make use of the *Chatat D. Mayapis*,² a soft wood that floats easily.

The large, carved, canoes are called *Uarchap* [wahr sap(?)] (carved canoes); the war canoes are called *Uarpeik* [wahr peik], and the ordinary ones, *Uar* [wahr]. All canoes carry sails; some have them made of canvas but others have them made of the woven fibers of the pandanus leaf. The paddles are made of hibiscus wood and are called *Patel*. The book hooks they call *Katian*. All of them carry a bailer, called *Lin-en-war* [lihm en wahr]. The central platform carries a shelter made with woven nipa leaves for when it rains.

The **war canoes** are the longest ones, and measure about 1.5 meters in width. The seats consist of some thwarts three fingers in width, apart a yard apart; every canoe generally has about six of those, each one accommodating four persons, the rest of the people being on the central platform. These canoes are carved, painted red, black and white, and their bows are of the shape of a swan's neck, adorned with rose-like designs, tassels of cloth and leaves dyed of various colors, and sometimes they go so far as to adorn them with hawk's bells. Their sides are also adorned with lines of different colors and drawings made of squares similar to a chess-board. The war canoes always carry a load of stones to throw at the enemy, and they even kill fish with them.

1 Ed. note: The *Dohng*, now classified as the *Camptosperma brevipetiolata*.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps the *Sadak* or *Elæocarpus carolinensis*

All of these craft are very light; they run with a high speed and, since their draught is small, they easily pass on top of the shoals. As far as size is concerned, it goes from canoes that cannot carry more than two men, up to canoes that can carry 40 to 50.

Ethnic mutilations.—As often happens among all savages, there are among them barbarous customs that is like branding, leaving some permanent mark on the body. Among them, the more innocent one is:

Epilation.—They look upon body hair with horror and they try and make it disappear, and for this they squeeze the hairs between the two halves of a clam shell, pulling them out by pulling.

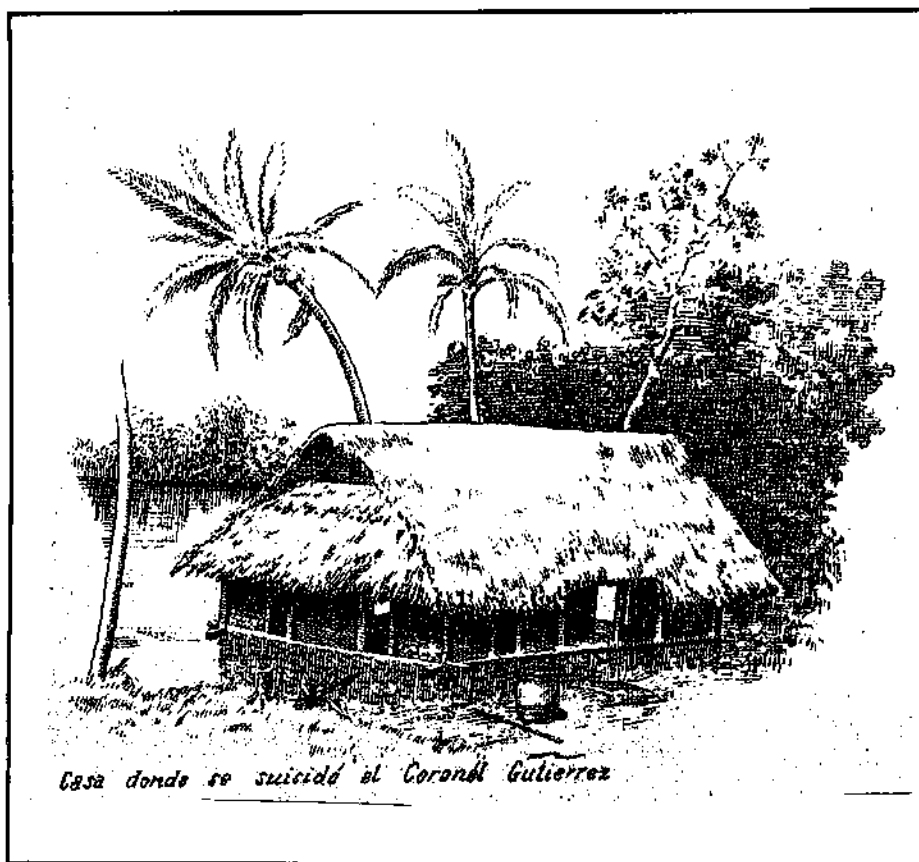
Tattooing.—Although there is a standard pattern, there is much variation between individuals, according to their fantasy, within certain limits. Both men and women wear tattoos. Tattooing is done in the following manner: firstly, they mark the design, by painting the body with ink, made from the juice of the roundish oval fruit, similar to the hazelnut, that they pick up when it is already ripe and fallen from the tree, which they call *Eñgk* from the Genus *Genipa* of the *Ruviales*, they remove the shell of this fruit and wrap the interior in a rag, which they place it over the fire in the fireplace and keep it there for no less than two months, for the purpose of drying it out; once it is dry they toast it until it is like carbon, and immediately after they crush it and pound it, mixing it with water to form an ink.

The tool for tattooing consists of 3, 4 or 5 spines from the branch of a lemon tree, fastened perpendicularly at the end of a slim wooden stick, about one palm in length. After it is dipped in the ink, they are placed on the skin on top of the drawing, and a blow is made on the stick, always with a piece of sugarcane. As this operation is rather painful, tattooing takes place over a long period of time, each lasting two to three weeks, at intervals of a few days. Among women, a new design is generally added every year; in men, who have fewer drawings, the process is much more rapid. The individuals do not bathe during this operation.

Whenever the drawings get faint in the course of time, they are renewed over the same lines.

Tattooing begins with boys when they are 8 years of age, and with girls when they reach 10 to 11, but the latter must have their tattoos complete by the time they reach puberty, as otherwise they would be ashamed to show themselves among their girlfriends. As tattooing takes place over time and must be increased as the body grows and fattens, and certain parts become discolored with the passage of time, requiring a renovation, one could say that the tattooing operation goes on during one's whole life.

There is uniformity in the designs as a whole; there exists a general type, but within it the disposition of the drawings can vary at times, but there is no special difference between individuals of different ranks; the difference is only between the sexes, being much less in extent and variety in men, which is also the same in the leg, but that of the arms being in accordance with the fancy of the operator.



Tattooing is so general in this island and this custom so deep-rooted that it is the only one against which the Methodists have fought without success; so it is that it would be difficult to find an individual who does not have his own corresponding marks. The parts that are usually tattooed here are, for the men: from two-thirds up the thighs down to the ankles, forming a band; on the arms they use star symbols, crosses, their own name or that of the women whom they love; on the forearms, various drawings that go on increasing in number with age; and on the back of the wrists, some drawings perpendicular to the axis of the arm. The women tattoo themselves on the outsides and backs of the thighs, and over the whole round portion of the calves of the legs; on the belly, from the pubic area to the navel; at that level, around the body, two bands; but it is on the area of the buttocks that the tattoos appear in more detail and profusion.

Not everyone practices the tattooing operation; there are special women for that who are usually old, and whom are called *Choñgintñg* (painters),¹ who charge for their work rather dearly, above all to women. As the operation is a long one, and is carried out by sessions which last up to two hours at a time, the operator usually live in the house of her customer during the operation.

This tattooing operation, specially when it is done rapidly and extensively, often results in accidents that inflict great pains and inflammations on the part being operated on; this forces the patient to remain lying down for up to one week; coconut milk is used in the curing process.

Castration.—This operation, barbaric and serious, is also carried out by the Kóramos of South Africa, the Bazdjas of the Red Sea and on other Pacific Islands. The kanakas do it between 16 and 20 years of age, being a rare man who refuses to submit to it; indeed, it is the ridicule of the women which they fear the most, because the women consider them to be less virile than.²

When the man, after vacillating between his cowardice and the desire not to appear ridiculous, decides to offer himself to the sacrifice, he first tell his friends and they drink together until they get drunk.

Before the operation, the individual selects the house of a friend or relative located next to a river or stream. At times, to prevent the women from learning what is happening, a house situated in the bush is selected, but always next to running water, and there the operation takes place.

When they are married, they also try to do it in secret, and in all cases only friends are present to take care of them.

1 Ed. note: Now written *soun-nting*, literally meaning practitioner of writing/tattooing.

2 Ed. note: Only one testicle is excised.

Some special men, all of them old men, who are called *Choŋg-lakalak* (castrator),¹ are those who practice the operation. In each kingdom there are, generally, three or four of them.

Once the spot has been selected in the bush, or in the house, the operation is carried out in the following manner: the individual is made to lie on the ground, on one side, with his knees against his belly, so that his testicles stand out from his behind. The operator places himself above the patient, grabs the scrotum with his left hand, handling it to expose only one testicle, which is generally the left one, by stretching the skin over it; then he grabs a sailor's knife with his right hand, makes an incision, in two quick moves, one above and one below, with speed and skill; the testicle itself then appears in the opening, and after he has applied pressure to make it pop out, he immediately cuts it off, and throw it far away.

Once the operation is over (it is very painful and makes the sick cry out), nothing is done to avoid the hemorrhaging that always occurs, they limiting themselves to washing the blood off from time to time. Then, without any bandage being put on, the man goes into the house, by himself, if he can walk; if not, his friends give him a hand. Once inside, he lies down and remains face up for three days, trying to make the least movement possible. Inflammation comes, and soon enough supuration begins; then the operated man goes to the river that is nearby, places himself in the center of the current, in a squatting position, and receives upon the wounded area, during half an hour, a stream of water which comes out of the ends of a tube of one yard in length, made of a branch of the arrow-root, called *mokomok* [mwekimwek] in kanaka. This irrigation is practiced twice a day, at sunrise and sunset. In between them, he returns to lie down, and this lasts about 8 to 10 days, at the end of which there is a scar over the wound. The operation is not exempt from risks; sometimes, when it has been badly done or the individual does not take care of himself as he should, straining himself before he is cured, then the inflammation can be violent, chills can present themselves, a high fever, and the individual dies.

To conclude, we will say that when the kanakas decide to go through with this operation, they commission the manufacture of a new dress (that is, skirt) to their girl-friend or wife; the day that he is fully recovered, he puts on the new skirt, places a small wreath, puts on much oil, paints himself yellow and goes out as cheerfully as he can to visit his friends, to show them that he now well; he also visits the house of the single women, who guess what happened from his aspect; however, when one of them does not believe what the bachelor is telling them, she becomes, as we say, a doubting Thomas, and is allowed to challenge him; he then parts the fibers of his skirt, to show the mutilated part, with the recent scar, to convince her to let go of her doubts.

Scars.—As they love strength, they appreciate physical resistance to the highest degree, by trying to support pain. Within this concept, they practice another custom that

1 Ed. note: Now written *soun lekelek*, lit. practitioner of castraton.

is one of the most barbaric, generally only the bachelors, to show their valor: it consists in giving oneself extensive incisions with the blade of a knife, though not too deep, in the chest, the arms and legs, which sometimes can be 10 centimeter in length, sometimes 20. These wounds, which, according to the resistance of the individual, are made as many as possible at one time, are not treated in any way, but left to bleed until it stops by itself, and let nature take care of scarring them.

Burns.—Another way to show one's valor is to brand oneself, making points and drawings with the end of a stick heated and used as a firebrand.

Beliefs.—Based on the little information that I was able to acquire, due to lack of time, it turns out that until recently they had a complete lack of religious beliefs, as shown by their language, which is relatively rich but has no word to express the idea of God; they ascribe a supernatural nature only to lightning (not too frequent there) which they fear, but do not worship. Nevertheless, that is not to say, that on some inferior plane, they have a few superstitions, and they believe in a sort of sorcerers, called *Ani* [ngehn]. The following belief regarding eels, which abound in their rivers, is also notorious: they are said to incorporate the spirit of their dead ancestors, reason for which, not only do they respect them, not daring to pick them up or eating them, but they also flee at the sight of them.

I cannot say anything more regarding this interesting question; I nevertheless believe that these peoples must have more beliefs, since they were in contact (no doubt about that) with other Polynesian peoples, where the sphere of religious ideas have evolved the most mythological system that can be found among primitive races.

Burials.—When a kanaka finds himself gravely ill, feasts and parties take place; they are like prayer vigils in favor of his health. When it is believed that he is incurable, and that the fatal end has come, they make ready his clothes and at the same time the coffin.

Once the individual has died, the members of his family wash his whole body with hot water, anoint it with coconut oil, comb his hair carefully and place a wreath on his head; if a man, they wrap him in a piece of cloth; if a woman, in her gown; they immediately after place the body in the coffin, placing it in the center of the room, and there it remains exposed for about two hours, during which period the body is surrounded by family and friends, who weep over his death. Today, those who are Christian and have been taught by the Methodists or the Capuchins, they say prayers.

Once the time for exposure is over, they bury them in a deep hole made inside the house, if the person was much loved; the person who loved the deceased when he was still alive then sleeps over the spot of the burial. Burials also take place outside the dwelling; in this case, they carefully place wooden boards and banaba leaves over the spot of the burial, so that, they say, the dead person will not get wet; however, O volatile

character of these people! At the end of two or three months, nobody remembers the deceased any more.

Any relative or friend who was unable to be present during the death and burial of the deceased, and arrived too late, during the few days that follow, goes and weeps over his tomb. During two to three days after the death, they hold prayer meetings in the evening, and that over, they eat and have fun. As a sign of mourning, the family members cut large locks of hair from their head, the men at different places, the women, always less, at the back.¹

Medicine.—The old women who have borne many children are the depositaries of the curative science, which is routine and primitive, and practiced among her relatives and friends.

The basic principle of her cure is hydrotherapy; indeed, in most of the treatments they use hot water, applied with a wet sponge, that is frequently renewed over the affected spot, where the patient complained of pain, where the ulcers, wounds, pimples or eruptions are located.

The sick person must be very sick indeed to give up eating, even when they have a high fever, also to give up going to the sea or river to bathe, to refresh themselves, as they say.

To cure the diseases of the eyes, which are very rare, they go to the sea at sunrise and at sunset, go into the water up to the knees and, bending over until their hands and forearms are wet, and in that posture, without wetting any other part of the body, they look at themselves as if in a mirror for a quarter of an hour.

In their catarrhs, when coughing bothers them too much, they eat two or three lemons, and also make us of some decoctions.

In some illnesses, such as when there are abscesses, in their rheumatic and sometimes paralytic states, and specially in all those whose cause and treatment they ignore (which makes them think that it is of foreign origin), they try and extract the bad blood, so they think; so, they practice bleeding, which at times is repeated frequently, until they result in the patient being completely extenuated.

The bleedings are carried out by competent persons, true bleeders who are already good at it. The lancet consists in a piece of glass, leftover from some bottle; they choose a piece that is sharp and fasten it to a piece of reed or slim stick, about one span in length; its shape is like a sort of axe. Bleeding is done at the site of the pain and therefore there is no vein of choice; that is why they can do it on the leg, the arm, the shoulder, etc., their choice being determined according only to the site of the pain.

The bleeding operation is as follows: firstly, they massage the painful part a little, by means of a striking instrument which is a flat ruler, while looking for the most obvious vein, then placing the sharp point of the piece of glass on top of it, supporting it with

¹ Ed. note: In Polynesia, the widow still cuts her hair short, and places that hair under the body of her former husband in the coffin before the burial.

hand and wrist so that it may not go in too deeply, hit it with the ruler, thus producing enough of a wound to pierce the vein; the blood flows out immediately, and they let it run, no matter how great the loss of blood, not trying to detain or stop the flow, but limiting their treatment to washing it with a sponge that has been dipped in hot water, but when the patient notes that he becomes weak, they give him a little wine.

Years ago, when the first missionaries arrived, they were hit by a terrible epidemic of a disease that was previously unknown to them, which they called *kilitóp* [kilitew] which was in fact smallpox. The natives that at least half of the people died of it.

Dysentery, *Intan* in Carolinian, also plays havoc; the cases which I have seen, rather than infectious dysentery, were acute intestinal catarrhs, a necessary consequence of their way of life.

They frequently suffer from various skin diseases and among them the infectious ulcers of tropical countries, which, for lack of care, many times become as deep as to affect the bones.

Since the arrival of whaling ships that make stopovers at this island, venereal diseases have also become citizens of the place.

HISTORY.

It is now late, and I fear that I may bother your attention, which will surely be tired by such a long conference, but before closing, now that I have made known to you the island and its people, I wish to cover as well the origin, development and conclusion of the recent events, that are the reason for my being here.

You would not have forgotten the first uprising of 1887, by the kanakas of the Chocach and Not districts, in which were vilely murdered the governor of the island and almost the whole of its small garrison.

The then-Governor Posadillo had just sent to Manila, to be placed at the disposition of the Government, the North American missionary, Mr. Doane, accused of not recognizing Spanish sovereignty, lack of respect for the authority and falsification of public documents, when, fifteen days later there occurred the insurrection that cost the life of said officer. Although nothing was proven during the summary investigation, that is still open today [1891], it is thought by everyone that such was the cause of the said rebellion. Mr. Rand, who was then on the island, was not an innocent by-stander in it either; he had taken advantage of the opportunity to send his wife and daughter away aboard the **Manila**.

When this deed became known at the capital [Manila], the Governor General ordered the despatch to the island of a new governor, Mr. Cadarso, and a new military expedition under the command of Commander Diaz Varela (an energetic man); the expedition was sent to punish the rebels. This expedition left late, either because of instructions it had received, or because of the weakness of character of the new governor; much equipment was deployed but no energy; they had prepared for war, but only made a voyage of peace, without effecting any punishment. Not one drop of blood was spilled

to avenge the blood of so many Spaniards. Only four to five men, accused of being the assassins of Posadillo and companions, still remain in the Manila jail; the rest of the natives continue to walk around through those bushes, unpunished for their crime, with our own weapons in their hands.

The uprising was pardoned in a benign manner that has no equal; the expedition in question retreated without having fired a single shot.

Governor Cadarso, using the services of Mr. Doane (restored to the island on account of the weakness of our Government, before diplomatic impositions on the part of the United States), to arrange for the submission of the rebels, thus increasing the prestige of Mr. Doane whom the natives considered their only true lord, at the detriment of our authority.

As of that date, it appears that a period of peace had begun in the country, but not of period of domination. Living far away from our colonial settlement, the natives maintained little contact with us, and very rarely did they break their indolence to come up and offer a few fowls, fish or fruits for sale.

Tranquillity was complete on Ponape and, to extend our dominatio over the island, the Governor ordered the construction of a road or trail from the port of Santiago to that of Kiti, which was completed on 30 June 1890 [sic].¹ The next day a detachment and religious mission [station] were established at that place, but in spite of the fact that the inaurgal ceremony was as solemn as circumstances permitted, the natives looked at it with the indifference that is characteristic of their race. By the end of October, the definitive works for a fort, church and mission house had been completed.

The Governor understood the relative importance of the port of Oua, on account of the American missionaries being settle there, and, placing too much trust (given the few forces available to him) on the tranquillity that the island enjoyed, he planned, and carried out, the construction of a new road from Kiti to Oua, entrusting this commission to the indefatigable Porras, who completed it on 21 May 1890. When Porras reached Oua, he established himself there with 60 men in a bad hut thatched with nipa palm leaves, and immediately and very urgently beginning the construction of a fort and a church whose inauguration was planned for the 24th of July, to correspond to the birthday of the Queen Regent.

The first project was not approved by the Captain General who let the Governor know that, on account of his having too few forces available, it was better to rely on one strong place than on various in the air. The first notice received by the Governor General of the second project was in the form of news announcing the July [father June] massacre.

During the construction of the fort and church, the Methodists complained to the Governor, because a Catholic church was being built next to the Methodist church, and for the fact that the fort was being built on land which they said Spain had no right to,

1 Ed. note: Rather 1889 (see Doc. 1889H).

because it belonged to the American mission, an idea that Mr. Doane would have imparted to them, before sailing away definitively,¹ promising to send an American war-ship. Eight days later, the natives rose in rebellion at Oua; it has been proven that the missionaries knew 24 hours before the event what was going to happen and they failed to warn the officer in charge of the detachment.

On 25 June, at daybreak, Lieutenant Porras reviewed his force which included 60 men, and dividing them into squads in charge of corporals, distributed them throughout the bush, taking along axes and machetes to cut wood and leaves. One corporal and two cooks remained behind in the fort. From the previous evening, some Carolinians had been hiding in a house near the fort; it belonged to Chaulik [Soulik] killed in the Battle of Oua, whose skull I have in my possession and whose head is shown in the enclosed photograph.² As soon as the soldiers had disappeared in various directions to do their work, the kanakas, coming out of their hiding place, attacked the fort-barracks, and killed the three men there, immediately seizing the weapons and ammunition. Now well armed, they went to the bush to complete the massacre, killing all those they could get their hands on, who were unarmed and could not defend themselves; only a few save their lives by taking flight.

Once the deed was known at the Colony, immediately, and while the **Manila** was being made ready, some boats left for Oua with 50 men at the orders of a Second-Lieutenant. With the port, the boats advanced as far as their draught allowed them to, and the officer, Mr. Serrano, deployed his forces, the soldiers advancing toward the beach with water up to their waist, being received with a very steady fire which, coming from the houses and the cover of the bush, where about 200 natives had set up parapets, was hitting the chests of our intrepid soldiers, producing considerable casualties within a few minutes. Everyone would have been affected to the last man, had not Serrano understood in time the sterility of his efforts; only then did he order a retreat in the best order, but he had lost 2 men dead and 10 were wounded, including himself.

The short resources that were available did not permit, no doubt, in the judgment of the Governor, to carry out an immediate punishment, and he was forced to limit his defence to the Colony, until reinforcements arrived from Manila.

On 21 August, there arrived at the port of Santiago the **Morning Star**, a combination sailing ship and steamer, belonging to the American missions, which had some missionaries on board, and among them the successor of Mr. Doane, Mr. Rand, who had already been on the island during the events of 1887. It is said with some basis, that these missionaries had taken part in the events, but their participation was not investigated, as a matter of misguided politics.

The **Morning Star** attracted the attention of all the Spanish in the Colony when she anchored outside the port and maintained constant communication with Oua, where the rebels were.

1 He died during that voyage.

2 Ed. note: Not published with this article.

On 11 August, the steamer **Don Juan** had arrived at Manila, with the mail courier from the Marianas, Mr. Romero, on board, who had been commissioned to bring the news to the Governor General. Three days after, there left for the CAROLINES the cruisers **Velasco** and **Ulloa**, and the merchant steamer **Salvadora**, conveying the military expedition, food supplies, ammunition and coal, giving sufficient proof that such an expedition had been organized with an activity worthy of the distinguished General Weyler.

On the 1st of September, these ships anchored in Ponape, and on the 13th we went on the first march that began the operations. To describe the hardships and the twists and turns that happened to us, the long days along infernal roads that made the march very difficult, either along the slopes of some cliffs, or through mangrove swamps that had to be crossed, with water up to our knees, or through the current of some river that we followed at times, using it as a road, with water up to our waists, and always under torrential rains that soaked us to our bones, making our teeth chatter, and which damaged our rations; it would take too much time which we do not have available. Not wishing to abuse of your attention, I will not describe the brilliant entrance of our squadron into the port of Oua, strewn with reefs and a pass that is narrow and tortuous that forced the ships to make very rapid turns that reached three-quarter turns, the bombarding of the town and the capture of it by the soldiers, in spite of the trenches that had been perfectly built to defend it on the front facing the sea and along its boundaries. To attack the town, it was necessary to go through the sea, and advance with water up to the chest over a distance of 500 meters.

I will also dispense with the brilliant actions against Ketam, on the 22nd and 23rd of November, which ended with the capture of said fort. Such missions were extremely rough, specially that of the 22nd. To give you a slight idea of the valor of our soldiers, let me say that, out of the small column involved in the attack, composed of 250 men, it suffered the enormous loss of 21 dead and 52 wounded, and out of the 11 officers who were in charge of it, there were 1 dead, 5 wounded and 2 bruised; in said action, yours truly had the honor of also paying the tribute of blood that is due to the nation.

The maps that you have upon the table and the enclosed table, will give synthesize perfectly well what I could tell you, and a simple look will make you understand what could not be explained except by spending much time; these documents will make clear to you that, until now, our domination has not been as tranquil as we had hoped but has cost us so many precious lives.

[Figure (next page): **Number of casualties received in the field of battle by the column of operation in Ponape** in the days mentioned. Note: If the casualties of the first rebellion of 1 July 1887, and those of the second rebellion of 25 June 1890, are added to the above number, the total becomes 118 killed, 73 wounded, and 14 bruised.]

NÚMERO de bajas que tuvo en Ponapé la columna de operaciones, formada por 500 hombres en los días que se señalan.

CUERPOS	Día 17 y 20 de Septiembre			Día 22 de Noviembre			Día 23 de Noviembre			Total			Jefes y oficiales		
	Muertos	Heridos	Contusos	Muertos	Heridos	Contusos	Muertos	Heridos	Contusos	Muertos	Heridos	Contusos	Muertos	Heridos	Contusos
Sanidad militar..	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	1	"
Guardia civil....	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	"	1	"
Infant. ^a de marina	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	1	1	1	"	"	1
Artillería.....	4	11	4	7	11	2	1	4	2	12	26	8	1	1	"
Regimiento n. 68.	"	"	"	4	10	1	"	"	"	4	10	1	"	"	1
Id. n. 71.	1	6	2	10	9	"	"	"	"	11	15	2	"	2	"
Id. n. 74.	"	2	"	"	"	"	4	14	2	4	16	2	"	"	"
Guías paisanos ..	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	1	"	"	3	"	"	"	"
Total.....	6	20	6	21	33	3	5	20	5	32	73	14	1	5	2

Si añadimos á estas bajas las habidas en la insurrección de 1.º de Julio de 1887, que fueron: muertos, 1 capitán de fragata Gobernador, 3 oficiales de infantería, 3 paisanos, el secretario, el intérprete y 1 indio, con más 50 soldados y clases, y en la del 29 de Junio de 1890 un oficial y 27 soldados tendremos un total general de.....

118	73	14	6	5	2
-----	----	----	---	---	---

In the interval between these two major operations, a politico- military sortie carried out on the west coast of the island, which is the side opposite to that occupied by the rebel tribe, demonstrated to us perfectly well, on account of what happened in Ronkiti, that the general disposition of the island was not favorable to us. Those crafty kanakas kept their reserve in everything that touched their contacts with us, that even when the kings and chiefs were frequently visiting the Governor, our first authority could not get one piece of news from them, that might clarify something (in the full ignorance we were of what was happening), in spite of all the protests of sincere friendship with which they were deceiving us.

Two days after the departure of the column, there anchored at the Colony the North American war schooner **Alliance**, commanded by Commander H. C. Taylor, belonging to the American squadron stationed in Japan. According to this man, he came with orders from his Admiral to place himself at the disposition of the Governor, according to instructions received by telegraph from their Government; but the real purpose of his voyage was to find out for sure what was happening here and to offer protection to the citizens of his nationality; the same thing that had been done in 1887, when another ship had been sent to protect the mission.

The compliments that are part of the official etiquette for such cases, were exchanged by both parties; the Governor and his family, as well as the officers of the squadron and the army, hurried to visit the foreign ship, which received during her stay in the port constant shows of sympathy; at the slightest insinuation of her commander, he was given 50 tons of coal, which could have caused us so much shortage, and the Governor pushed went to the extreme of delivering said coal with our boats alongside his ship, so that his would not be made diety. Such attentions did not seem to be enough, and the crew of the ship was given a banquet at Government House, which received a character of a great friendship. The dining room was found adorned with trophies in which the Spanish and American glags were intertwined, and at the end there were toasts, some discrete, others, though very patriotic, were also very untimely. Well then, were there reasons to give this ship such demonstrations of friendship? Did we have a just reason to be pleased by the presence of this ship in our port, by her proceedings? We believe the opposite; indeed, it caused a true indignation to see that, Whereas we appeared humbled by the Americans, there were also going to visit the **Alliance**, with our knowledge and tolerance, but docile to the voice of a foreigner, a multitude of visitors, conveying the natives, the assassins of Porras and his soldiers, for the purpose of giving their declarations in the case file that had been opened aboard that ship.

Conferences took place between the commander of the schooner and the governor, and they exchanged official letters; in one of them the former presented the claims made by the missionaries, regarding the burning of the church and the houses; but it was not difficult for the governor to prove to the commander of the **Alliance** (what he did not ignore on account of his own investigations) that the instigators of the rebellion had been the Methodists and countrymen, whose respect to our laws was such that, in spite of the island having been declared under a state of siege, and therefore public assem-

blies being prohibited, so-called meetings took place at Ronkiti, in which the very chief of the sect, Mr. Rand, a former shoemaker in his country, cried out against our domination.

I do not know what happened in the official process regarding this matter, on account of the thousands of spins that have been given to it; but it is true that it was no secret for any of us (through confidences made to the leader of the column and to the commander of the **Ulloa**, as well as through the declarations of witnesses, not only kanakas but also the North American themselves) that the individuals of the mission were the organizers of the revolt, and their instigator was the head missionary, Mr. Rand, who (having deserved imprisonment, which did not take place for fear of reprisals) placed himself under the protection of the schooner, moving on board her as soon as she arrived.

On November 2nd, the **Alliance** left this port, conveying Mr. Rand and the whole personnel of the mission to Kusaie or Ualan, also one of our possessions and the easternmost of the Carolines. This departure was considered by the governor as a triumph of his diplomacy, while the rest of us believed that the triumph belonged to Mr. Rand who was avoided capture, and to the commander of the **Alliance**; indeed, as one can easily understand, the latter would not be burdened with the great responsibility of removing the mission, if he had not found out that some very serious charges existed against them.

Ten days after the departure of the **Alliance**, there came into the Colony the packet boat **Ebon**, [Captain Cameron] that had on board her the king of Kusaie, Teleusar Tocosa,¹ two Englishmen and two Americans, who came to swear a complaint against Mr. Rand, who wanted to impose a tax to the latter, and the first to solicit the protection of Spain to assert his rights.

Once the war operations were finished, the forces occupied themselves with the completion of the defences and in their retreat of the detachment and the destruction of the port of FKiti, whose emplacement was a constant danger for our garrison.

In the meantime, Colonel Serrano, emphasizing his diplomatic qualities, got the kinglets of the tribes neighboring on the rebel tribe, and in a conference with them, it was determined to the district of Metalanim in tow, allocating its territory among the former; a deed that was gratefully accepted by the said kings of U and Kiti, as shown by the acts of partitioning which I have the honor of exhibiting to you, and in virtue of which the kingdom of Metalanim no longer exists.²

Once the acts had been signed and the mission of the force had ended, the soldiers embarked on the 26th of December bound to Manila, aboard the transport bearing that name and the cruiser **Ulloa**, arriving at their destination on 16 January [1891].

1 Ed. note: Tolensa Tocosa, alias Aoa-Ne Sa II, alias Charley the sailorman, who had spent some time in Hawaii and could speak English well (see Captain CAMERON's account, Doc. 1888B).

2 Ed. note: It had no long-lasting effect upon the natives (see Doc. 1890....).

Gentlemen, I have finished what I intended to say to you tonight about those far-away countries. I fear that I have excessively bothered your attention; but now you might understand that, even when trying to condensate my remarks as much as possible, it was necessary to use no short a time to expose these with enough details to be clear and precise at the same time. Thanks a lot for your benevolent attention, and many thanks also to the illustrious Geographic Society that has given so many and well-deserved services to schince and the nation, and to its distinguished president, the wise geographer, Mr. Coello, the glory of Spain and the most valiant ornament of that Society.

I will not never forget I owe to you and to the said Association for the kindnesses that you have bestowed upon me tonight.—

I have spoken.

Documents 1890R

Budget for the expedition to Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

R1. Estimates of the expenditures for the proposed expedition of 500 men to Ponape

Naval Administration in the Philippines—Estimates of the expenditures for the proposed expedition of 500 men to Ponape, Caroline Islands.

To the Colonel in charge by interim of the Military Expedition: Pedro de Bascaván.
From the Captain General of the Philippines—Headquarters.

Applications	Pesos	Cents

Credits		
For what is necessary to place one Regiment on a war footing, as per List N° 1	12,549	
For extras during 4 months for 1 Colonel, 4 Captains, 2 Physicians 1st Class, 1 administrative officer 1st class, 16 officers, 100 soldiers and 400 native [Filipino] soldiers, as per List N° 2	9,617	
Food		
For the payment of the food supplies acquired for providing rations for 4 months, as per List N° 3, made up by the trade store	16,335	
Transport		
To pay for naval rations to be used by the said forces during the round trip, calculated to last 15 days each, as per List N° 4	6,262	50
Charter of the steamer Salvadora to carry food and materiel	12,700	
Charter of one packet-boat for 3 months at 1,-000 per month	3,000	
For loading and unloading the forces, rations and materiel	300	
For contingencies, not listed	10,000	

Total	70,763	50

Manila, 13 August 1890.
Manuel Valdivieso.

R2. Standards for rations

Articles and quantities required for 250 European men each month:

First-class rations		Second-class rations	
Meat	3,000 Kg	Bacon	2,235 Kg
Bacon	187.5 Kg	Kidney beans	1,125 Kg
Chick-peas	1,500 Kg	White rice, 2nd cl.	1,500 liters
Red wine	3,750 liters	Red wine	3,750 liters
Coffee	75 Kg	Coffee	75 Kg
Sugar	150 Kg	Sugar	150 Kg
Salt	120 Kg	Biscuits	3,000 Kg
Biscuits	3,000 Kg		
		Third-class rations	
		Codfish	1,875 Kg
		Coffee	75 Kg
		Sugar	150 Kg
		Olive oil	375 liters
		Rice, 2nd cl.	1,500 liters
		Red wine	3,750 liters

The extraordinary rations consist of:

Anise brandy from Europe 750 liters.

Articles and quantities required for 200 native men for each month:

First-class rations		Second-class rations	
Meat	2,000 Kg	Bacon	750 Kg
Bacon	120 Kg	Coffee	60 Kg
Coffee	60 Kg	Sugar	120 Kg
Salt	96 Kg	Rice	5,700 liters
Rice	5,700 liters		
Sugar	120 Kg		
		Third-class rations	
		Dried fish	900 Kg
		Bacon	120 Kg
		Coffee	60 Kg
		Sugar	120 Kg

Mongo beans	840 liters
Local vinagar	60 liters

The extraordinary rations consist of:

Anise brandy (local)	600 liters.
----------------------------	-------------

[Notes:]

The rations of biscuits and ordinary rice are ordinary for Europeans and natives respectively.

The meat in the first-class rations for natives ordinarily consist of **tapa** [jerk beef].

If the meat is carried live, 32 heads of cattle are necessary at the rate of 14 for each cattle.

We have 430 storage bags.

Weight and volume of the rations:

	Weight [Kg]	Volume (cubic meters)
—First-class rations for Europeans ..	11,085	19.1
—Second-class rations for Europeans	9,255	11.3
—First-class rations for natives	4,870	17.5
—Second-class rations for natives	3,145	8.0

Documents 1890S

Second Pohnpei Rebellion—The official reports of the September operations

Source: PNA. Note: The original copies of all the plans and maps were sent to Spain and are no longer in PNA at Manila.

[Figure: Island of Ascensión (Ponape) (From *Los fondos cartográficos del Servicio Histórico Militar*, Plano 38, Sig. 14-13-12, Hoja 1).]

S1. Summary report of General Weyler to the War Minister, for the month of September 1890

[From] Chief of Staff, Office of the Captain General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency,

The steamer **Salvadora** which arrived at this port yesterday brought news of the expedition that was sent to Ponape (Caroline Islands) and whose departure I brought to Y.E.'s attention then. As Y.E. knows, it consisted of one company of Artillery, two from Regiment N° 74, one from N° 68 and another of Marine Infantry, for a total of 564 men under the command of Infantry Colonel Isidro Gutierrez Soto.

Those forces, divided half on the cruiser **Ulloa**, half on the **Velasco**, arrived without incident at the port of Santiago de la Ascension on 1 September at 2 p.m.

Later on, on 30 August, taking advantage of the voyage to Ponape of the merchant steamer **Antonio Muñoz** with coal for the squadron, 50 artillerymen with 2 officers embarked to go and join the expedition and this happened without incident.

The disembarkation took place the next day, and the forces lodged in the barracks of the Colony, awaiting the arrival of the merchant steamer **Salvadora** which had left this port for that point on 24 August, carrying food, ammunition, and coal. This ship anchored in Santiago on 5 September; 60,000 rations were unloaded for the Army and 50,000 for the Navy, as well as 400,000 cartridges, and the unloading of said ship went on for three days (7th to 9th), with the forces of the column transferring to the forces of war, food, ammunition and coal.

During the time period since the events of Oua of 25 June last until the arrival of the column, the Kings of the island maintained constant relations with the Governor, those nearest to the Colony (Jockoy and Not), and even the farthest ones except that of Me-

talanim, were in friendly communication with that Authority, all making him understand that the rebellion was limited to that Tribe.

Y.E. knows the instructions which I gave to the Head of the Expedition, of which I sent Y.E. a copy with my letter of 15 August, and therefore to avoid repetitions, I do not reproduce them again.

The plan of operations of Colonel Gutierrez Soto, after he took cognizance of things, was to go out of the Colony, head in a S.E. direction in order to pass the high point of water that separates the northern and southern slopes of the island by a gorge that exists between the two most visible peaks of the Hupirricha Mountains that constitute it and fall upon Metalanim by the basin of the Pilapentak River¹ whose mouth was near where the warships would be waiting to help the operation, thus avoiding a march along the road shown on the enclosed map there, according to confidential reports, the rebels were waiting. For this purpose, the soldiers carried rations for four days and 100 cartridges each, all borne by the soldiers themselves for an absolute lack of means of land transport, and the ships carried one month of rations and 200,000 cartridges to re-supply whatever would be consumed.

Previously, one officer and 21 soldiers to reinforce the detachment at Kiti were brought by the tyransport **Manila** which also carried rations for 45 days for said detachment. The Artillery Company explored the terrain on the 11th in the direction of the enemy and returned without incident at 4 p.m. on the day following the beginning of the operations.

At 5 a.m. of that day (13th), the column, consisting of 483 men, began its march towards Metalanim as follows: as vanguard and advanced guard the force of Artillery, followed by the Marine Infantry Company, that of Regiment 68 and that of Regiment 71, and as rear guard that of Regiment N° 74.

Following the path opened by the vanguard forces, the column advanced until 2 p.m. in the middle of torrential rain that had begun a few moments after the march had begun and did not cease until 1 in the morning which forced the soldiers to ford the river four times until 2 p.m. when they arrived at the northern slope of a conical mountain where they set up their camp. In this first day, they had to conquer many difficulties in the terrain, specially for the vanguard troop which, at the command of Captain José Monasterio, opened the trail under bad conditions, a laborious and important service, difficult to execute. In addition, the lack of means of transport increased the load carried by the soldiers, made heavier by the water which soaked it, and the column marched guided by the compass, all of which contributed to make the movement difficult. Thus, no more than one-third of the distance between the Colony and the port of Metalanim was covered. The latter place was the objective of the moment and the future base of operations, as it was the place of rendez-vous with the squadron, which, as I have said, carried the food, ammunition, and spare equipment.

1 Ed. note: The Pilap en Latwa or Retau or Chapalap River.

Once the soldiers were encamped on said mountain, some Sections of Artillery scouted ahead without incident; the advanced services of the camp were established. Even though the order was given to the soldiers to try and fire at the farms, they were prevented from doing so until night fell.

At 4 a.m. on the 14th, after breaking camp and the column was perfectly orientated to begin its march in the desired direction, the Head of the Expedition gathered the Captains of the Companies to assure himself of the state of the food supplies, as it was necessary to continue the march, given that out of the four rations that each man had been issued, there was hardly half of one left that could be used because, even though they came in leather pouches they had become rotten from the rain, the dampness of the night and the heat, in such a manner that the physicians issued their opinion to the effect that the meat had to be buried as a hygienic measure.

In view of the fact that supplies were not sufficient for the two more days of march that remained, and that the march was becoming more arduous as the terrain was now completely unknown, the Head [of the expedition] decided upon a retreat, which the column carried out without any incident happening that would be worthy of note.

Meanwhile, the ships were shooting their guns at the islands of Tamuan [Temwen], Narpali [Napali], Narcap [Nakap], Nar [Na or Naa], Patitipan [Pantieinu] Point and the coast of Ponape. Within Metalanim, they made small landings to burn a few houses without more resistance than a few shots by the Kanakas of the island of Tamuan, residence of the King; the result no doubt contributed effectively to a good march for the column threatening Metalanim overland by forcing the enemy to divide its attention between the land and sea forces.

As a consequence, it became necessary to adopt a new plan and keeping in mind the difficulties offered by an overland march, Colonel Soto thought of effecting a landing in Metalanim, thus embarking the column aboard the transport **Manila** and the merchant vessel **Antonio Muñoz** that were to be found in the bay.

One of the ships would be located before Oua with sufficient stores, and the others would remain in Metalanim to support the operations that would take place between both points. The column would move inland for about two days and would divide itself to march in two directions, for the purpose of pursuing the rebels, in case they would take refuge in the bush; given the intelligence that it was not possible to do so very far from the coast for lack of edible plants in faraway zones.

The said officer also planned a similar operation south of Metalanim as far as Iod where another ship was to be located as a store ship. To carry out the operation in question, the column embarked on 16 September in the said steamers **Antonio Muñoz** and **Manila**, the Artillery in the former as well as the force from Regiment N° 71, and in the latter those of Regiment N° 68, Regiment N° 74 and the Marines, and the said ships sailed at 11 a.m., arriving at the port of Metalanim at 2 p.m.

The disembarkation of the column began at 3:30 p.m., the Artillery force going as vanguard, and once a reconnaissance was effected by one of its sections, the column set

up camp in Patitipa [Pantieinu] after having occupied the high ground around the watering point without being attacked and there they spent the night.

The following morning, the 17th, the Colonel in charge of the expedition, Mr. Isidro Gutierrez Soto, was found dead in his bed. Immediately, the Acting Lieutenant Colonel, Captain Commander of Artillery, Mr. Victor Díaz, destined to replace him in command, held a meeting to decide who was to take command. The Commanders of the ships took charge of them, of course, Navy Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, Mr. José de Paredes, took charge of operations, and the said Commander Díaz took charge of the column. When the latter was consulted about the appropriateness of marching overland, he said that he did not expect to accomplish immediate military results that way, and that given the difficulties presented in the directino of Oua, his opinion was that it was proper to re-embark the column to bring it by sea to Oua as it was positively known that the enemy was gathered there and entrenched and it was urgent to punish them at the place where our soldiers had been assassinated, adding also that after the great fatigue of the past without seeing the enemy, it was necessary to keep the soldiers in the best condition possible and not tired. Consequently, the re-embarkation was agreed upon.

Between 9:30 a.m. of the same day, the 17th, one Sergeant of marine infantry was killed and one soldier from Regiment N° 71 and two others from N° 74 were wll three wounded by bullets during the advances on account of some Kanakas having approached without being detected, favored by the thickness of the bush; for this reason, the line advanced to take position on another higher point.

On the 18th, the re-embarkation took place, without incident, at 5 p.m.

On the 19th, the **Antonio Muñoz** with the ARtillery force and the company from Regiment N° 71, the war transpot **Manila** with the company from N° 78 and that from N° 74, the cruiser **Velasco** with the Marines, all weighed anchor and headed for the anchorage between Haru [Aru] Point and Oua [Oa] Point, and they reached it at 2 p.m., after making great efforts to enter this very dangerous port.

During the afternoon, and during the evening with the help of the electric [search-] light, the cruisers shelled the enemy trenches that followed the contours of the coast for a distance of one kilometer, and which could be easily seen. The enemy responded with a few rifle shots.

At 6 o'clock on the morning of the 20th of September, after a brisk shelling from the ships, the disembarkation of the column began, the force of Artillery and that of Regiment N° 71 advancing first; 500 meters from shore, the boats ran aground and the officers and the soldiers threw themselves into the water and three sections of ARtillery fanned out in an orderly manner and two remained as badkup, the company from Regiment N° 71 remaining in reserve. A few moments later, the enemy started firing from the trenches on the left, towards where an attack was simulated to fall rapidly upon Oua Point which in effect was occupied by our soldiers at running speed, managing to locate themselves in a position dominating the trenches and cutting its line. When the enemy understood the intent of this movement, they tried to oppose it by climbing to

occupy the hill that arises at Oua Point, but they met the force of Artillery at 300 meters and were forced by it to retreat to the houses nearby where they fortified themselves and caused a few casualties to the troop.

The company from Regiment N° 71 took position left of the force of Artillery, and in this position repelled two attacks that the enemy made to dislodge it.

About one hour later, the companies from Regiments N° 78 and 74 disembarked, the first covered the right of the Artillery as far as the seashore and N° 74 advanced to take the flank of the trenches on the same side. This was done and an iron gun in bad condition was captured and immediately spiked.

In the third boat wave came the Marine Infantry and at its arrival, the whole line of trenches was occupied. In this disposition, the troop was re-supplied with ammunition and it was decided that it would advance on the right wing and turn in upon the position held by the Artillery company that had to support the movement, and this was carried out by the Companies from N° 78 and 74; the town was taken with bayonets despite the enemy having fortified themselves in their houses, causing the decision to burn them out. The Kanakas were routed and they fled in a disorderly manner into the bush, being pursued by said Companies.

The enclosed sketches will give Y.E. a clear idea of how the combat that I have just narrated took place.

The soldiers returned and occupied their first position, and after some rest, proceeded to re-embark under the protection of the force of artillery in the reverse order that the disembarkation had been carried out, without the enemy making any opposition; not a single shot was fired.

After these events, a meeting was held on 24 September, at the initiative of the Governor of the Eastern Carolines, at Government House, and with his assistance and that of the gentlemen mentioned in the attached report of the meeting, it was agreed, firstly, to suspend the war operations against the Metalanim tribe and to await superior orders from the Archipelago, letting the Superior Authorities know that it was considered that the said tribe had been punished in such a manner that our flag and our prestige in Ponape are now at their highest, and secondly, that they did not see any prejudice in this suspension, given that the soldiers could be employed to improve the defence conditions of the Colony, and its presence in the island for one more month would be appropriate for a better clearing up of the events related to the rebellion already punished at Oua, and even to carry out some other war operation that might be considered necessary if the situation were to change.

In summary, Your Excellency, the operations carried out can be condensed thus: overland march from the Colony towards Oua; landing at Metalanim; landing at Oua and punishment of the rebels. The result is that the offence that had been made to the Nation by the Kanakas, has been avenged, giving a rough lesson to those who had dared think that it was possible to oppose themselves to our power.

To achieve this result, our soldiers have shown their proverbial valor and historic bravery as always and the spirit that is abated before difficulties, be they from the na-

ture of the enemy, or the bad weather, or the difficulties of the terrain as unsurmountable as they appear, thus demonstrating once again that with such soldiers the honor of our flag will forever be safe.

The Navy people have been equal to their mission as much by their zeal in transporting the troops and the care with which they treated the soldiers, as well as for their efficiency which they applied to the end attained, shelling the enemy positions and always behaving with the abnegation and valor peculiar to them; they have proven it in all occasions, also contributing to land operations with the marine infantrymen who have been as equal to the task as the other forces.

By the nominal list of the dead and wounded that is enclosed, Y.E. will be able to learn that our casualties had been **6 dead and 26 wounded**.

According to the reports by the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, in charge of directing the operations after the death of Colonel Soto, the Governor of the Colony and the Officer in charge of the column, all, officers and men, have accomplished their duty, at their complete satisfaction.

As a complement to this, I enclose the report regarding the causes that motivated the events of 25 June at Oua, and other matters relative to the Colony of Ponape, written by Colonel Soto on 10 September last.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 12 October 1890.

Valeriano Weyler

S2. Colonel Gutierrez's report dated 10 September 1890

[From] the Expeditionary Column to the Carolines.

Note: The reader must keep in mind that this is the last message of Colonel Gutierrez before he committed suicide, out of despair.

To the Captain General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency:

We arrived at this Colony after a successful voyage, the soldiers in the best conditions possible and in the best of health due to the good food aboard the ships and to the extreme care taken not only by their officers but by the officers and subordinates of the squadron with one and all. The behavior on board has left the Commanders of the **Velasco** and **Ulloa** completely satisfied as they have told the Governor in writing at the time of arrival.

As a means of making the food adequate, it was agreed with the Chief of the Squadron that they would provide 2,500 complete rations for Europeans until the arrival of the steamer **Salvadora** when they would be given back in kind; in this colony, there are only rations for native soldiers.

The Governor, Navy Commander Luis Cadarso, could not have been more correct, courteous and active to lodge the soldiers and for whatever was required.

The situation appears as if nothing had occurred, the kings are in constant contact with the Governor; those nearby have come already to present themselves and those faraway (except that of Metalanim) are in constant contact with the Governor and nothing until now makes anyone fear a general rebellion. Even if it were to take place, it would be of little importance, given that, although they could place 2,000 men in the field by gathering them from all the settlements of the island, they have few rigles available; even if one were to double the number which the North American missionaries say are in their possession, it can be supposed that they would have 400, of various types, and with an insufficient number of ammunitions. They have nothing that can be called a military organization. Even if all the inhabitants of the island were to revolt, I think I have sufficient resources now to control the country.

[The causes of the rebellions]

From what I have heard from many foreigners and our missionaries, I think that the unpleasant Oua affair has been produced by two main causes. Some time ago, the late Lieutenant Marcelo Porras, while in Mutok, summoned Edgar, a native of a certain importance (from Metalanim), who was secretary of Mr. Doane and according to what is publicly said (even though the interested party denies it), secret secretary of the kinglet of Metalanim also. This Edgar refused to appear; the Lieutenant threatened him, dismissed him from the appointment of pilot for the port of Mutok and cancelled his hunting permit that he had gotten from the Governor. Later, and by this time in Oua, the same Lieutenant Porras had another temperamental outburst with said Edgar; he even threatened with hanging him from a coconut tree, and not just him but the Methodist teacher of Oua, a kanaka. These natives are treacherous. Edgar, who has an education relatively superior to his neighbors, is arrogant, as I was able to convince myself in the meeting that I had with him a few days ago. There is no doubt and it has been proven by declarations by foreigners who have seen it that his weapons have been distributed to the assassins at the moment of the events, and he even gave them cartridges, but inconstant like all his countrymen, and perhaps afraid of the punishment that he was warned about, he later tried to appear to act as a peace-maker; he turned over a few weapons and he showed himself to be propitious to this pure comedy. The same chiefs of Metalanim appear to condemn the insurrection, including the brother of the kinglet and the 2nd chief, heir to the government. I have shown myself inclined to believe it even though I doubt it very much; I will believe it only when I see it. I have been strong during the interview and they appeared terrorized; however, I have noticed a few looks of anger that, although instantaneous, could not have passed unnoticed.

The second cause of the insurrection is logical in nature and was to be expected. We have come to a country which has been exploited for the past 40 years, it is unavoidable to say so, by a modern, active and practical race [USA] which by means of its missionaries has softly taken control over the country at the same time as it practiced its commerce. They have admitted Germans to enjoy their exploitation, also out of a practical spirit. Both exploiters were in possession, they had beautiful houses, they

placed schools everywhere, they educated the most apt portion of the population and they made helpers out of those who joined them. raising the most worthy, like Edgar, David, Nanpey of Kiti, etc. We arrive to impose ourselves. We bring as soldiers a race inferior to the Kanaka race, [Filipino] Indians. We bring missionaries with poor elements for the rites and for their presentation in their house and in the street; they are dressed in strange and little attractive clothes and although it cannot be denied that the personalities that represent them here are generally sympathetic, they lack one main element that in these countries the Methodists can use for their preachings: the woman to influence the woman by means of education; in the Methodist meetings in good houses they have harmoniums that captivate the savage.

With respect to the Colony, there is an ordinary Royal House, but nothing else to attract attention. The fort is average; the clearing around it is very slow for lack of tools, and I have had to send people to buy axes and machetes to chop down what was necessary during the march. In the Colony there are only 12 or 14 axes and as many machetes, completely useless.

The Hulk **Dofia María de Molina** is in very bad shape on the outside and it will become useless unless she is painted, better maintained and with the tiny amount that is allotted a ship of such a size, given the many tasks that today would have to be done by the Commander, it is not possible to do it.

We have thus implemented a practical spirit of slow colonization but our poverty of resources, political as well as moral, and we have not even tried to show in a short time a colony that would truly excite the imagination of the natives, that would attract them by its multiple resources, by its abundance of everything, by its exuberance, its shiny aspect, to the foreign influence. What has influenced the two rebellions and been exploited for their benefit, although this cannot legally be proven, are our deficiencies. On the island of Langar, there is a German supplied with every necessary items at prices much lower than those of Manila. What can we put up before them? Nothing. It is even necessary to go to him for military expeditions.

It appears from the summary investigation set up to find out what happened that Miss Palmer and Miss Cole had knowledge of the plan to revolt. They say that they warned Lieutenant Porras about it. Would that be true? It is impossible to find out. It is my moral conviction that, with the exception of Mr. Naroung [Narrahn], the foreigners have exploited Edgar's rage and our poverty of resources when we arrived; also the impunity in which the first rebellion took place; to prove it I do not think is possible, even though the Governor of the Colony keeps trying to prove it.

My opinion is therefore that it is necessary to show ourselves as we must at all cost, or not to show ourselves, that is, place the Colony as it is necessary to be to compete with the American civilization (which without exaggeration has doubtless infiltrated these savages), or, otherwise, abandon this island after imposing a memorable punishment like the one that I will impose with the help of the forces which Y.E. has deigned to entrust me with and in the name of the outraged nation which Y.E. so worthily represents.

At first, [it is necessary] to clear the bush around the Colony as military practice dictates, and to enclose it at least with a good stockade that it lacks and build a proper fort, to paint and fix the Royal House to try and place it in a condition worthy of an Authority representing Spain, to build the church and mission house in conditions of [permanent] buildings, for them to properly fulfil their functions with decorum which is not the case now, to design a settlement as it should be, and is not now for lack of resources to level the ground and clear it where necessary, to build four or five decent houses for officers, even if rent must be charged for them. To send one trustworthy laborer from the Engineers with sufficient materiel for carpentry, axes and machetes of good quality exclusively for the work of cutting trees and the clearing that must be done at least in a radius of two kilometers, carefully storing that wood for construction and for burning that results from this and making use of it as need be. The Hulk must be painted and fixed very well and be given more personnel than she has now, and instead of the large ships there must be two gunboats that would waste less and be of more service. And if the economics cannot allow us to do it this way, we can nevertheless support a model colony if only for the sake of national pride, given that this island is not, has not been, and will never be in the hands of anyone, much less ourselves, sufficiently productive to repay us for such expenditures. After today's lesson which I hope will be very tough, if we work hard and they oppose us on some side, to destroy as much as we have and leave it, because **it should never have been occupied**. It could for now produce something for a private company that would make major expenditures, in the copra business and that of ivory nuts, the only products exportable from here, as part of many other businesses of various types and in other islands. It should copy the fanaticism of its co-traders to bring it about. But to maintain here a garrison, Authorities from the Navy, is to suppose that this [island] can never give anything to support it, decorously even without thinking about compensating ourselves for the sacrifices made. To pretend to sustain a colony as we are used to do it, that is, without real elements, even after what happened, at the distance that this island is from Manila, 12 days on the average and with communication every 6 months, even if this time span be reduced to 3 months, appears to be foolishness to me. Within two or three years or before, another scene such as the past one will re-occur and every time with more elements, that the foreigners will make sure to increase fraudulently, and it is just to think about what these small islands have cost us up to now and whether they deserve the pain and the sacrifices in lives and money that we have made.

This is the naked truth, Your Excellency. To say something else is to create nothing but illusions. It is also necessary to say that, in case we decide ourselves, it must be with the enterprise that I have outlined and with the purpose to obtain little by little the departure of the American missionaries, on account of difficulties that would be created from them. Otherwise, to eliminate the race, which would be the work of a few months, would be today one way to obtain a permanent peace for the future, and this in the century in which we are would have to be done with caution in order to avoid interventions from Governments that have given themselves this right because the others have

allowed them to take it, given their stupidity, weakness or mistake of our diplomats who seigned treaties inappropriate for our freedom of action, but they exist.

I beg Y.E. to forgive the excessive proportion of this report, begging your authority not to see in it anything other than the desire to say the true impressions that I have heard from everyone and that I have believed my duty to bring to your authority without hiding anything.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 10 September 1890.

Isidro Gutierrez [Soto].¹

S3. Narrative of the first phase of naval operations

[From] the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, N° 312.

To the Commander General of the Navy Headquarters.

Your Excellency:

As I already have had the honor of bringing to your superior attention, on the 13th at 8 a.m., this ship as well as the **Ulloa** being ready, we weighed and left the Port of SANTIAGO, sailing with two boilers, properly headed to skirt the reefs that surround the whole island, with direction towards the Port of Metalanim where the forces of the Army that were to leave Ponape in the early morning ought to join us. In passing before the Port of Haru [Aru], having seen, during a break in the showers, that the rebels had a sort of watch tower and at its foot something like a fort, I allowed the **Ulloa** to fire at them, taking into account the range of her guns which is superior to those of this ship. It was not possible to put my wish into practice because the whole coast became blurred with rain, but after a while he shot at other neighboring hamlets and it pleases me to report to Y.E. that those shots showed in a precise manner that the gun corporals responded to the wishes of the Government and the service needs.

We continued sailing headed for the Port and upon entering it, the **Ulloa** as well as this ship brought the light artillery and the machine guns upon various hamlets located on various islands and the coast. There were some magnificent shots and no less positive, because soon the houses of the hamlet which, although it is of nipa palm, they have moral and material value for the natives, were seen on the ground.

When both cruisers were anchored and their personnel had cleared the decks for action, shelling was begun on both sides with the whole artillery, using more or less elevation as required by the objective. Although the crews are new and have not been tested, they demonstrated that they belong to a warship and they know how to carry out multiple tasks. The Port can be said to have been secured, without fear of making a mistake, as it was completely abandoned by its natives, during the two hours that firing went on, not a single human being was seen. In Ponape, it was said to have been abandoned; reality has until now proven this to be true.

¹ Ed. note: He himself used only his father's name as his family name; therefore, others were wrong to refer to him by his mother's name only.

When night fell, the electric light of the **Ulloa** was used very well and was useful to make a few more shots, not just to create damage but also to have the natives understand, by the detonations reaching many cable-lengths inland, that night and day we are alert and ready to punish their infamies.

What was carried out and I have narrated, was agreed to with the Colonel in charge of the expedition with the idea to keep the natives in constant check and that the shots at night might perhaps be used by the said officer to orientate himself in his march.

At midnight, rockets were fired, 3 from this ship and as many from the **Ulloa** at intervals of a few minutes with the idea that they might be seen by the Army that we thought might be at the shoulders of some hills that form the background of the Port. The day has been so rainy, however, that I fear very much that the ARmy has advanced the full distance that its worthy Colonel had proposed to cover.

The electric light of this ship would have rendered us a great service but unfortunately, as I have had the honor to let Y.E. know, it does not work in spite of the work that the first machinist has done and continues to do.

For greater safety in entering ports, the Governor has sent on board the German subject, Mr. Frederich Narrhun to act as local pilot, a person whom I will not tire of recommending, because he is worthy of a reward. His behavior not only in the present case but also when he showed his suitability by what he did when the **Manila** ran aground.

On the 14th at 8 a.m., the disembarkation companies of both cruisers as well as the small boats, with gunners, and the whole thing under the command of Navy Lieutenant Antonio Fernandes de la Puente, as the most senior officer, carried out a reconnaissance of Tauche [Temwen] Island and a convenient site to land the force after the light artillery of the **Ulloa** and the machine guns of this ship had fired at it, to protect the operation that was to take place.

A site of easy access was found to disembark. There were no signs whatever of a possible resistance; the artillery of the boats did not fire and landing was effected and there followed a reconnaissance of part of the other island, the Head of the Column taking all precautions recommended by prudence in every military act; a few houses were burned and many things belonging to natives for sure were destroyed. At 12, the said force returned without having to lament the smallest disagreeable incident and not the least injury in spite of the bad terrain and the fact that our seamen were not accustomed to march through it.

At 1:30 p.m., the said column went out again headed for the said island, then under the command of the Navy Lieutenant belonging to the crew of this ship, Mr. Juan Fontanez(?). Taking the same precautions, he landed and continued the burning and destruction, and luckily one of the houses burned was the residence of the kinglet of this tribe and who, according to reports, had taken not a small part in league with his tribe in the events that we came to punish, for finding themselves all allies with those of Haru and the port of the same name.

The column returned at 4 p.m. and the total number of houses burned down during the day was 35; some of them were relatively good like that of the kinglet. Some objects of little or no value were also seized, and many of them were later thrown into the sea, and two canoes that the said king had; one was burned and the other was given to the **Ulloa** so that it may soon be of service when the moment would arrive to supply the Army with food, given that there are many shoals, it would ease the operation as it passed on top of them. I have the idea that I could count on a few craft such as the one in question and I would get some satisfaction if I do not make a mistake, because they might be of good use to us.

During the day, my ship as well as the other fired a few shots with different artillery depending on the objective in sight. At 2 p.m., a canoe crossed the bottom of the bay. It was loaded with people. Excuse me, Your Excellency, if I have to tell you that we fired upon it. We ignore the result, as it passed at such a great speed that we could not observe the effects of the ever magnificent shots.

During the evening, that is, from 8 to midnight, the electric light of the **Ulloa** was in operation, focussed as it was upon the bottom of the port, site where we calculated that the operationary column was to come out. We withheld our fire so as not to expose us to a lamentable event. At 12, the 6 rockets were again fired as on the previous night for the same purpose and it is the same as the one that guided us to focus the electric light in the indicated manner.

Before concluding this badly worded narrative of the services carried out on this day, I comply with my duty to report that everyone regardless of rank has shown great enthusiasm and those who have had the honor to read Y.E.'s words have kept them engraved in their hearts so that nobody could forget his duty but rather always do honor to the uniform that we wear. I have the intimate conviction that if resistance had been met, it would never be fierce, the results would have been the same. However, I am happy not to have to lament the slightest incident in the whole personnel who have worked so much today.

I still have to report that the pilot about whom I spoke yesterday has rendered us a very important service, given that he is knowledgeable about the whole island, the object of our attack; his advice has been very useful to us for more sureness in selecting the landing site and the road then followed. He rendered this service voluntarily and did so more than anyone.

On the 15th at 7 a.m., the two disembarkation companies ready under the command of Navy Lieutenant Joaquín Matos left for the islands of Narpali and Nar with the intention of effecting a landing on both. The landing took place with due precautions, on the first, a few houses were burned and the force went on to the second. It was an arduous march because it was necessary to go on foot along a stony reef, but when there is enthusiasm everything is easy. After arriving at the second island, a few more houses were burned, for a total of 14. They intended to go on to the third island of Narcap but the day was already advanced and it was proper to eat and rest, which was done.

At about 12:30 on this day, a small craft from the **Ulloa** went to reconnoiter near the ships on some shoals to see if there was a deeper channel. Her crew received various shots from shore which, Y.E. will excuse my having to say this, were instantly answered in a way that shows the brilliant training of the said cruiser and that her crew respond to the wishes of her Commander.

I can say that the sound of the said shots had not yet died down when there fell upon this piece of shore a rain of projectiles from the machine guns and rapid guns of many ships. At that moment, the expeditionary companies were returning. Their commander increased the speed of the oars and the armed boats shot many times.

At 3 p.m., the same companies went into action again at the command of Navy Lieutenant Puente. It covered the whole section of coast where the shots had come from; guns and rigles were fired upon it. They returned at 5 p.m. Now, there is no doubt that there are people in the vicinity but they are not large groups but only small ones and as it is less than impossible to attack them as the bush and the mangrove swamp help them to hide; thus, Your Excellency, the method of shooting that we use to let them know that it is difficult for them to surprise us.

At 5:30, a boat coming from Ponape made contact with us and brought me an envelope. There were two letters inside, one from the Colonel in charge of the expedition, another from the Governor. In both, they let me know what I feared, that it was impossible for the operationary column to march overland, given that not only the road but even the elements are against it. The Colonel had decided to embark his force on the **Manila** and the steamer **Antonio Muñoz**, recently arrived, to come to this port and disembark here. A sure thing, Your Excellency, and I propose shortly to place the forces ashore at a very small distance from the ships which will help much and without any danger of exposition. If only I had known this Port as deeply as I do now, I would have tried to influence the Colonel's mind about landing here. Nothing is lost though, because now we have no excuse nor the least doubt about the impossibility of coming overland.

In my humble opinion, I think the moment has arrived for the end of the first phase of the mission that Y.E. has deigned to honor us with and therefore to report to you as Supreme Chief of the Squadron to which we belong, what only for the proper desire that animates us all and the love of the uniform that we wear we were able to accomplish what I had the honor to report to Y.E., from the time we left that Capital. The lack of personnel for the crew of these cruisers is so great that, without exaggeration, there were moments when we had to abandon one service to attend to others; this was neither possible nor appropriate. By having enough personnel, everything falls into place. It is in moments like these that we most miss the 10 men who have been taken away from the complement, a huge number as they almost represent half of it and if in addition is added the change in personnel from Europeans to natives, which is fine for small ships but not for large ones such as these, Y.E. will understand that I do not exaggerate in the least.

We also miss the Marines who have been eliminated as well as the sea officers, the corporals 1st and 2nd class and the firemen.

It is not my intention, Your Excellency, to write purely to complain but so that you may know how difficult it is for these ships to respond to your mission with the complements with which they have been manned, because, even though it may appear pedantic, if until now we have been successful, Y.E., it has not been due to the merits of those we comand but rather because of the good and complete harmony that reigns among all of us and the desire that some day we may have the satisfaction that our actions, those of everybody, will deserve the superior approval of Y.E. and later that of the nation.

Please excuse the length of this report but I believed it to be my duty to relate even the smallest details, so that you may not ignore anything.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard, at Metalanim, 16 September 1890.

José de Paredes.

S4. The suicide of Colonel Gutierrez Soto

[From] the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, N° 316.

To the Commander General of the Navy Headquarters.

Your Excellency,

To the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines, I say, in a letter of this date, what follows:

“At these moments, i.e. at about 7 a.m., I have just been informed of the very sad and unexpected news of the death of the Colonel in charge of the Expedition as a result of his having committed suicide during the night by shooting himself with a revolver.

“As soon as I learned about the event, I took over the interim command of all the forces until such time as you, as Military Chief and Governor, knowing the instructions that the said officer had and also the conditions of the country, decide what you judge most appropriate.

“Aboard the transport **Manila** is the body of the unfortunate Colonel and it is on the way to the Colony so that he may be given sepulture there in the form which you judge most appropriate.

“The ships will continue anchored in this port and the land force awaiting instructions, and therefore I beg you to urgently decide what you think is best, given that it is inappropriate to suspend the operations, begun twice already, for any reason, as this could result in a loss of prestige for our forces.

“Which I regret to forward to you, for your superior attention in compliance with my duty.

“May God save you for many years.

“Aboard at Metalanim, 17 September 1890.

“José de Paredes.

S5. The landing at Oua

[From] the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, N° 326.

To His Excellency the Commander General of the Navsl Squadron.

Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir:

As I had the sad duty to bring to your superior attention, at 12 o'clock on the 17th, the **Manila** left for the port of Santiago carrying the body of the unfortunate Colonel in charge of these expeditionary forces as well as that of a Marine Sergeant as a result of a wound received during an advance, and finally one Infantry soldier with a serious wound received during the same service.

As soon as the most senior Army officer communicated with me, we assembled with those of the anchored ships in council. We spoke about what was the appropriate action until the Governor could answer the letter which the Commander of the **Manila** carried to him, and it was decided that the force would continue to bivouac where it is near the ships with facilities for its provisioning and even though the advance is on hold, shots received should be answered. The situation is no doubt rather arduous and exposed, but the circumstances force us to sustain ourselves if only not to abate the morale of the soldiers which is already depressed on account of the death of whom had been their Chief and because any other measure would be counterproductive.

The Commander of the **Manila** carries with him a very special request for the Governor, who is knowledgeable of the native personnel who has been loyal to us, to try and send us a few guides [local scouts] for the roads, because although no absolute trust is placed in them, in any campaign and march it is proper to have them. That there exists a relatively good road between this Port and Oua, it is a fact; one must only go and look for it, as the landing column where it is less exposed to a setback and not where perhaps would be more suitable. It is also not unknown that there exists a trail from where the force is encamped to the aforesaid road; it is proper to follow it and the guides will be useful for this.

Your Excellency, two main points were dealt with in the said Council, besides the decision for the force to stay put for a few more hours, one was whether it was proper to have guides to walk overland to Oua, the other whether the force should be embarked and carried there for the landing.

About the first point, I excuse myself to say this to Y.E., we contented ourselves to listening to the Chief of the force who is better prepared and has more knowledge than us, who have naturally been serving the nation aboard ships since we were children; the said Chief mentioned the disadvantages of marching overland, even for a few hours, through a country so full of vegetation as this island is, so impossible its terrain as the march has to take place by narrow roads or foot paths and the force would have to stretch a few kilometers, the march being in addition exposed, given that the enemy would try, even with a small number of individuals, to attack the center or the rear

guard, thus succeeding in delaying the march for many hours, when it could take only two or three hours in normal times.

The second point was, if you wish the result of the other, given that the force would again be embarked aboard the steamers **Manila** and **Muñoz** and along with the cruisers go out to Haru and land there after the artillery of both ships had destroyed whatever might oppose the landing operation, and near Oua without exposition or danger, at least imminent.

A definite agreement was not taken, hoping that the Chief of the force would assemble a Captain's Council and hear the opinion of everyone which was unanimous in considering the impossibility of going overland to Oua and the suitability of embarking the force and to carry it there for a landing at Haru.

I did not decide anything while awaiting the answer from the Governor. This answer arrived in the **Manila** at 11 a.m. on the 18th. This letter, as Y.E. will see, delegates to me the direction of the operations and placing the most senior ARmy officer in charge of it.

Your Excellency, I again assembled the Council; the embarkation was insisted upon and I did not hesitate in accepting it, the more so because it is urgent to go to Oua where it is said that they are waiting for us and because that is where we must avenge the death of our brothers.

The re-embarkation having been decided upon, it was carried out under the direction of the 2nd commander of this ship, the force being divided between the steamers **Manila** and **Muñoz**, and this cruiser under my command, and not in the **Ulloa** so that her deck be kept clear for the handling of the artillery. The order was noteworthy and the operation was quick on account of the officers like Messieurs Chiqueri and Ambolodi who, in order to expedite the troop movement, were in the water all the time that it lasted and that speaks much in their favor; it would be unjust not only to mention the Officer whom I put in charge of the embarkation but also the Officer in charge of the force were also responsible for the order that I do not tire to recognize.

The enemy did not bother us except that a few shots were heard that did not cause any harm to our forces, and during the embarkation, the guns of this ship's boats were firing at the flanks. The troop, before abandoning its camp, burned the houses.

As soon as the last boat left the beach, the light artillery of all the ships and the machine guns as well as a few rigles were brought to bear upon the marauders who would surely advance upon what had been the camp site. It is only fitting that the war should do them the most harm; to think otherwise would be a miserable waste of time.

During the night, a few shots with rifles and machine guns were made upon the points now known as being chosen by the rebels for their misdeeds. Perhaps no victims had been made but the souvenir of the damage that we have done ought to remain with them for many years; they have asked for it and I think that the stay of our Army and also, our ships in this Port of Metalanim will serve them as a tough object lesson.

At 7 a.m. of the next day, the four ships were ready, the anchors were weighed and we headed out in the order already decided, that is, **Manila**, **Muñoz**, **Ulloa** and **Ve-**

lasco. Now in the open, the **Ulloa** headed for Haru, anchoring in a proper site, then she changed her position to a better spot, immediately the same pilot came aboard this ship, later the **Muñoz** and finally the **Manila**. The service rendered by this pilot is so great, Your Excellency, that it can only be understood when one sees this Port. His assurance and tranquillity are so great that he was able to give us, the commanders of the ships, some of it. Otherwise, I am positive that none of us would have entered, given that it is one of those ports that can only be taken under those conditions when one must do it for the service of the nation, an objective of which we have many examples in our history and there is no merit whatever in copying them.

It would be to act in a manner little patriotic if, in the moment when the said pilot came to notify me that all the ships were anchored, I had not shown enthusiasm for the eminent service that he had rendered to our nation. Perhaps, Your Excellency, I depart from my responsibilities, but he is a loyal man, disinterested and truthful. I told him that for the service that he had rendered to us, I had in the cash box of this ship 500 pesos at his disposal, a sum which he refused and he wanted nothing. At first sight, this sum appears great but it is not, when one considers that, not just today, but since we left the Colony, he has acted to the great benefit of the best success of the operations and he has given us his help with his knowledge of the localities, at sea and on land.

Once anchored, as I have said, the three warships opened fire at a given signal upon Oua. Although I may sound presumptuous, more potent squadrons would perhaps have created more fire with guns superior to ours, I do not agree. Let it be said, Sir, that not only the three of us commanders say so, but also all those who were witnesses say so.

There were people who fired a few rifle shots at the **Ulloa**, but it was but a show off. At the first gun shots, they were seen running behind some trenches that they have made as they say to defend themselves; the machine guns took charge of decreasing their number. At 4 o'clock, the firing was suspended after having lasted two hours. I did not get carried away with firing; rather there were few but good shots.

At 8 p.m., the electric light of the **Ulloa** was focussed in a proper manner and a few shots from both cruisers were made, always to remind them that there is no night when one comes to avenge injuries.

Before concluding today's narrative, which is somewhat detailed, Sir, because I think it is my duty to do so, it would be an unforgivable oversight not to recommend in a proper manner the captain and crew of the steamer **Antonio Muñoz**. Not only has he agreed to everything with enthusiasm and graciousness but even his boats helped us to embark the soldiers, an important service, because when it is question of war operations, nobody may calculate which one must fight the enemy and every good Spaniard must do his share for the honor of the nation; however, one must not forget that the mission of a merchant ship does not include putting her crew at risk and that this duty belongs to those of us who serve with weapons in hand.

At 7 in the morning of the 20th, we again began firing upon the hamlet in question and its neighboring hills, aiming more at the trenches while the armed boats were busy

preparing and embarking the force in the manner agreed to by the Chief of the ARmy with his Captains and myself, as well as with the Commander of the **Ulloa** who had been charged with this service. As the force was advancing into the boats, the guns went ahead and shelled the flanks. This bombardment did not cease until the advanced troop was ashore and their positions occupied. The landing of the rest of the force took place without loss of time. At 9:30, we had taken the hamlet and the enemy was seen running to the right, so that we concentrated our fire there.

The deed, Your Excellency, has such a great importance that surely our superiors do not ignore it; the task was not simply to take over a village but to take possession of trenches over a great distance and from which the enemy made a steady fire, but at the cry of Long live Spain, they were dislodged. We have to lament casualties whose number I will report upon when the brilliant Officer in charge of the column will advise me about it. The troop was up to it; it never flinched but the Navy did no less and I am pleased to say that to do more would be impossible. The assured leadership and the orders [were] carried out by officers and by all with a mathematical precision. Our boats received much fire but they had to advance and they advanced to protect the column that had to disembark with water up to the waist.

These are the facts without comments. I only dare say that it has been one more day of glory for Spain and I was honored to send the following telegraphic message to the ships: "Long live Spain," given that we were in possession of everything that for the natives was out of reach. They simply did not know that they were fighting Spanish soldiers who, at the mention of the name of their country and honor, can overcome the greatest dangers that surely were not lacking.

Your Excellency, here ends, in my humble opinion, the second phase of this campaign, all of which I submit as always to your high regard in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard, Port of Haru, 20 September 1890.

José de Paredes.

Editor's note.

There exists also a report by the second officer of the cruiser **Don Antonio de Ulloa**, José Rodríguez Trujillo, also dated 20 September 1890. It gives the details of the landing forces: 234 men from the **Antonio Muñoz**, 156 European artillerymen and 78 Filipino infantrymen from the N° 71. There were two local pilots: Mr. [Frederick] Narrhun and Mr. Christian [Barbus]. The boats from the **Ulloa** were in charge of Navy Ensign Juan Cerbera and Marine Guard José M. Gomes y Marasi, and the boats from the **Velasco** were in charge of Navy Ensign Luís Rodríguez and Marine Guard Emilio Alcas, and the boats from the **Manila** in charge of Navy Lieutenant Saturnino Nuñez. In a second wave, the boats took 244 men from the **Manila**, those from N° 68 & 71, and the third wave was the 50 marines from the **Velasco**. A total of 528 men were landed over a period of one hour.

There is yet another report by Lieutenant Colonel Díaz in charge of the land attack, which is reproduced below.

There are still other reports by the Commanders of the **Ulloa** and **Manila** but they are not reproduced here as they are somewhat repetitious. They cover the period 13-21 September.

There also exists a short report by Captain Rogelio Vazquez, in charge of the 48 Marines. His second-in-command was Lieutenant Vicente Bernal.

S6. Report of Army operations at the Battle of Oua

Note: It is well to remember here that Commander Paredes had replaced Colonel Gutierrez as the overall commander of the combined Army-Navy operations, whereas Lieutenant Colonel Victor Diaz took over the Army portion only.

[From] the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, N° 342.

To His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station.

Your Excellency,

To the Captain General of the Philippine Islands, I say in a letter with today's date what follows:

"Your Excellency: The Officer-in-charge of the Expeditionary Column to the Eastern Carolines, in a letter dated 21st instant tells me what I copy:

"Yesterday the 20th, after a lively and sure fire from the ships, the landing of the column started at 6 a. m. under the orders of the undersigned in the following manner: Section 2 of the Artillery Company with one officer of extreme vanguard, the rest of the Company in vanguard, and as head of the column the Company from Regiment N° 71, all in the first voyage made by the boats with the undersigned; at about 500 meters from shore, they ran aground and the troop and the officers jumped into the water up to their waist and the first deployed its Sections 2, 4 & 5 in an orderly manner, leaving the 1st and 3rd in a support position, continuing that of N° 71 as reserve. Within a few moments, the enemy began a continuous rifle fire and some or other shots from cannon located in the trenches to our right where an attack was simulated, falling upon Oua Point as fast as possible and occupying it on the run, managing to capture a position dominating their trenches and to cut their line with our force. When the enemy realized the advantage of this movement, they tried to prevent it by climbing to occupy the hill that forms the said Oua Point but the force of Artillery met them at some 30 meters repulsing them and forcing them to retreat to the nearby houses from where fire continued which caused a few casualties to our force. The Company from N° 71 continued the movement and occupied the left flank of the Artillery; in this position the said force resisted two attempts that the enemy made in an effort to dislodge them.

"At approximately the time of the landing of the vanguard and head of the column, the rest arrived, i.e. the forces of N° 68, to cover the right as far as the seashore, fold-

ing upon its left to take up position with Sections 2 & 3 of Artillery and N° 74 advanced on the right to take over the trenches where the enemy had been dislodged from and seizing an iron cannon, it was immediately spiked.

"In the third landing wave, the Marine Infantry arrived and one section ran to the trenches on the right, another to occupy the left, thus occupying both ends of the line.

"At the end of this first phase of the attack, the vanguard had 30 rifles rendered useless for having been hit by bullets and stuck barrels; the latter defect being due to many rifles having been soaked and the cartridges in sea water and also to the steady firing that had to be maintained to respond to the enemy. A few rifles were repaired by removing the blockages while the people who could not make use of their rifles were employed in taking down the wounded and bringing up the ammunition for the Artillery and N° 71.

"After all the forces had landed and the line supplied with ammunition, the undersigned ordered an advance on the right turning upon the position occupied by the Artillery Company which ought to support the movement and this was done by the Company of N° 68 and that of N° 74 taking the village with bayonets fixed and burning all the houses in it because in all of them the enemy had fortified themselves until the destruction forced them to flee in disorder to the bush where they were pursued for a time by the said Companies. Once this operation was completed, the force that had carried it out returned to occupy its first line and for the necessary rest, then the re-embarkation of the Column took place under the protection of the Artillery Company and in reverse order in which the disembarkation had taken place without having been bothered by a single enemy shot.

"I am pleased to report to Your Excellency that the operation has been very brilliant, with the disembarkation, capture of the trenches and of the settlement with a live force, and the re-embarkation of the entire column, all taking place in a few hours without any other mishap than the simple personnel casualties about which I enclose a report despite the desperate and temerary boldness of the enemy and the elaborate defence works [whose construction] no doubt had been directed by persons who had seen them many times and were defended by about 300 to 400 Kanakas who hve left three dead in the field and according to the blood seen in the houses before they were burned, the number of their casualties must exceed 60 in all, killed and wounded today, and they may have suffered as many as a result of the unexpected shelling from the warships yesterday.

"About the behavior of the officers and men under my command, I cannot say enough in their praise. All have brilliantly seconded my decisions, standing out from among the most distinguished is Artillery Captain José Monasterio on account of his calm and superior boldness at all costs. He and all the officers of his company have performed like heroes, and if I must mention the names of a few subordinates because the post that they held puts them in front, I will mention Lieutenants Juan Cebrián, Emilio Sergio and Ceferino Fandos. This last person rendered special service, after the Column Adjutant, Captain Luis Beltrán de Lais fell wounded at my side, he took over his

*duties covering the line to give orders and making two trips to the **Ulloa** to bring ammunition, always finding himself in the places of greatest danger, and finally accompanying the Column in the attack on the settlement.*

"The Captain of the Company of N^o 71, Mr. José Vilches, and his only subordinate officer, Lieutenant Saturnino Serrano, have also given proofs of the bravery of this company led by them almost as much as that of Artillery which has shown what our soldiers are capable of, when at the orders of officers of their caliber. The landing seemed like it was carried out on a training field and the firing as calm as during a simulated battle.

"In the rest of the Column, I must specially mention the Lieutenant of N^o 68, Mr. Prudencio Bessorril, Captain Miguel Abriats of N^o 74, the Physician 1st Class Felipe Ruíz who was attending to the wounded unde renemy fire and the Paymaster of the Column, Officer of Military Administration 1st Class Ernesto Martín who carried out his difficult task at my complete satisfaction. I repeat that absolutely all officers have fulfilled their duties, although the posts assigned to them during the battle may not have allowed them to distinguish themselves as those mentioned above.

"It is only proper to give special mention to the Adjutant of the Column wounded during the first phase by deed of arms as related, Captain Luis Beltrá de Lais who, on account of his job as adjutant, perhaps too close to the Chief of the force for the latter to extol said Captain as he would deserve, I will limit myself to say that since I joined the Column, I have seen him work day and night in the Colony as well as during the march and in camps and that yesterday he fulfilled his job of adjutant in all occasions with true devotion and calm until he fell wounded and I replaced him with Lieutenant Fandos.

"I must tell Your Excellency that as a result of the action, the Kanakas of the Metalanim tribe have really been punished and that in spite of their desperate resistance they all fled demoralized as can be demonstrated by the fact that they did not fire a single shot during the delicate operation of the re-embarkation. In addition, I tell you that the special conditions of this terrain almost makes impossible the immediate and efficient pursuit of an enemy disseminated in small pockets; some result could only be obtained, though meagre, through much time spent in partial sorties around a central camp during the day by selecting the sites most appropriate for embarking at night, a system of warring which in my opinion would require twice the number of forces that now exist in this Colony."

"Which I have the satisfaction to bring to the superior attention of Y.E.; it is entirely in accordance with the writings of the most worthy Chief of the Column."

Which I have the honor to forward to Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard, Santiago de la Ascensión, 22 Sept. 1890.

José de Paredes.

S7. Commander Paredes' report on the withdrawal from Oua

[From] the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, N° 335.

[To] His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station.

Your Excellency,

I closed my previous letter when we were in possession of Oua. From that moment the most worthy Chief of the Column did not try anything but to see how he could position his force within what is practiced in the art of warfare. He studied the terrain with calm and he found out that in order not to be surprised he required a force so great that it exceeded our numbers which could no doubt resist for one day but if this service comes after the very important and arduous one like the one that has just been performed, it would be to forget the needs of the soldier who must always be the prime object of the one who commands him, making sure that the sacrifices of the war be made for the greatest effect so that when the moment comes for a sacrifice nobody will falter.

The site where the force made a landing does not have water; there was some from a sugarcane field nearby from which the Kanakas must have struggled to supply themselves with that element so necessary. It would have been necessary to distract a large part of the force and that in a small column would be to forget the most rudimentary things.

All of these reasons that the said Chief let me know about were believed by me from the first moment to be just and very sensible, so that I did not hesitate to accept them. Also he told me that his plan was to burn whatever houses were in sight, that is, almost the whole settlement but specially those houses which the rebels had fired from, then to fold back upon the coast and there re-embark the force aboard the ships.

So it was done. At 1:30 p.m. we saw the first houses burning and immediately all the boats were sent, including those armed with guns to effect the re-embarkation which took place with great order and tactics and when the last soldier left the shore, numerous houses were still burning.

Even though they were not bothered by the Kanakas who it is known had fled, this does not erase the fact that the operation was splendid. It appears that the same idea moved us all and it is with order and some calm that everything has turned out so well.

I think, Y.E., that today has been what is called a good page in our history, given that within a few hours there took place a landing, a large settlement was captured, as well as its good and practical trenches in which can be seen the hand of the Europeans who are our worst enemies, the enemy was put to flight, their houses were burned, the force was re-embarked; and they sleep peacefully under the care of our crews. The soldier has worked hard, there is no denying it. But the navy personnel? Nevertheless, all breathe contentment and enthusiasm and what about the casualties? They, of course, must affect every noble and charitable heart. It would be unfair to end without relat-

ing here the many deeds of the crews, but Y.E. will learn of it with the reading of a detailed campaign report.

Tomorrow morning, we will abandon this very exposed Port to go to that of WSantiago, this ship being the last one to leave its waters.

Before concluding and to turn over the direction of the operations to the Governor of the islands, I believe it to be my duty to give my opinion, although it may be considered weird or worthless.

Here the term warfare can be applied as such, because for this an enemy would be required. They exist, no doubt, but their tactics consist in never appearing but to assassinate the soldiers from positions of ambush. The island besides does not deserve that the Nation make great sacrifices as we will never get a benefit from it or from these savages. There is no warfare possible except that of destruction and for this a column of 500 men is not enough; many more are required to cover all, cut, burn and annihilate everything in their path, but this would cost us many victims as there are no roads, only a very thick bush and a forest floor that in many places even the natives find impossible. To sustain an ARmy corps to convert it to woodsmen and incendiaries is at most very costly and to take it away from its mission, and expose it to the loss of military custom to convert them into highwaymen. It is sad to have to say this, but this is what must be said if Spain wants to continue its domination.

Today, it was one tribe that offended our flag, and assassinated comrades-in-arms; tomorrow it will be another, one that appears more devoted [to us], and thus, Your Excellency should not doubt that it will always be so. The natives are guilty on account of their indomitable character but they are helped by the advice from European foreigners who reside in the island, some on account of their religious ideas contrary to ours, others from mercantile reasons given that, although they have no obstacles to their monopoly, they nevertheless see authorities naturally imposing just and logical obstacles, but with them they do not agree as they make them lose power and they show that on top of them there exists a legal authority that could cut abuses and enforce remedies.

In my opinion the expeditionary column has complied with its duty; it has caused the most harm possible in the whole Metalanim tribe and very specially in Oua where the assassinations of our soldiers took place; the Navy has contributed a lot to it and the natives will now keep a memory of them for many years to come. Will it serve as a lesson? Only time will tell.

On the 21st in the morning, the ships being ready, we left the very dangerous Port of Haru, the **Manila** being in the lead, carrying the wounded, followed by the **Ulloa**, then the **Muñoz** and finally this cruiser, all under the guidance of the pilot. We headed for the Port of Santiago, the **Ulloa** waiting in the open for this ship and together we headed for this Port where we anchored at 3 p.m. Once there, where the authority of the Governor resides, I handed over to him the direction of the operations. The force will disembark tomorrow and at once we will look after the unloading of the **Salvado-**

ra and **Muñoz**, moving the latter to the **Ulloa** to give coal and then to this ship for the same purpose.

That is all I have the honor to present to the superior attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard, Santiago de la Ascensión, 21 September 1890.

José de Paredes.

Documents 1890T

Second Pohnpei rebellion—Official reports for the October 1890 operations

Source; PNA.

T1. Report of Governor Cadarso, dated Pohnpei 1 October 1890

[From] the P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines—M° 250, regarding the war operations just completed in Metalanim.

To His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency,

To His Excellency the Captain General of the Archipelago I say what follwos:

The events since the departure of the **Salvadora** are few: ARtillery Lieutenant Ceferino Fandos went aboard that ship as bearer of the correspondence. Notwithstanding the short time passed, I am pleased to tell Y.E. that the country is visibly improving, and that the rebels continue to be downcast and contrite for the crime committed on the 25th of June. The kinglet of Metalanim, who has taken refuge in the village of Chapalap and is sick, has written me a letter i which he implores pardon for all, indicating that they are all contrite and the tribe has been completely destroyed, on account of the numerous victims made by our sea and land forces. I have replied to him, saying that I am ready to continue the war unless they give visible signs of submission, such as surrendering their weapons, and he and his chiefs must present themselves to account for their deeds. Besides this, I have commissioned Mr. Rand,¹ the Methodist missionary, to tell them to come forwsard immediately with their weapons. Without prejudice, various Kanakas led by the Portuguese Cristian [Barbus] have offered to bring me the head of the King, in exchange for the prize of \$100 that the Colonel [Gutierrez] had offered.

The news has been confirmed about Chief Kraun [Kiroun] who is seriously wounded in the calf of a leg and in one nipple in the chest; Tok has the chest pierced through; and Nanpei en Kinakap in one leg. These, as Y.E. knows, were the main actors in the rebellion, even though those responsible appear to be Etgar [Edgar] and Henry [rather

1 Ed. ote: There is a note added in margin by another hand: "It is not appropriate."

David?], acting in revenge against Lieutenant Porras.

The natives of the other tribes continue to give proofs of adherence and to be interested in peace. I have no complaint whatever about these; to the contrary, I am highly satisfied with the Kinglet of Kiti who has given proofs from the first moments of being a subject very fond and faithful toward the flag of Spain; for this reason, I take the liberty of indicating to Y.E. the suitability that he be granted the Medal of Civilian Merit, with the corresponding decorations. As for [Henry] Nanpei, Mr. [Charles] Bowker and Mr. Filomeno Rodriguez, their certificates have been received, and it would be to good effect to present them with the decoration, above all to the Kinglet of Kiti.

The **Morning Star** returned from the Island of Kusaie, and Mr. Rand asked me permission to land at his farm in Kiti, to which I made no objection. These missionaries have said nothing so far, but it is to be supposed that they will present a claim for the destruction of their houses and church. The troops and ships did not shoot at them while they were not used to harrass us; however, when they fortified themselves in them, the Kinglet himself who has always been very much fond of the missionaries, and the teacher Henry who was appointed by them also, there was no remedy but to answer and dislodge them. The buildings were already old and of little value; and the fruit trees are worth almost nothing.

In my opinion, if the Metalanim tribe continues to be threatened [by us], and under the pretext of war, the American missionaries are not allowed to establish themselves in the tribe, the country will gain by their departure in a forced but soft manner, and very soon the island could find itself in conditions of complete peace and under domination. The need for some small ship is notorious; without great expenditures, I believe that a permanent peace and effective domination would be obtained.

With regards to the expeditionary force, it continues in its special service, and under the direction of the zealous officers, it leaves the Colony in good defence conditions. If the almost constant rains do not prevent it, this could be done in a short time period. The morale of the force and its health are unimprovable.

The **Antonio Muñoz** is going out and I cannot help mentioning to Y.E. the satisfaction that I feel for the services rendered by her Captain, Mr. RAMÓN Osorio.¹ As a Spaniard and also as the representative of a Spanish trading house, he has given excellent proofs of abnegation and patriotism, worthy of special mention.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascensión, 1 October 1890.

Which I have the honor to tell Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

[Ditto]

Luis Cadarso.

1 Ed. note: A note in margin by another hand says: "Medal of honor" or some other decoration.

T2. Telegram to Madrid, dated 11 October 1890

“Manila, 11 October 1890.

[From] the Governor Captain General.

To the President of the Council of Ministers and Ministers of Overseas and of War.

Returned merchant steamer *Salvadora* that carried food Ponape—Carolines—with news that after operation on land and the squadron shelled port Metalanim column disembarked live force twenty September in Oa taking trenches defended by one cannon. We had seven dead and nine wounded causing to enemy one hundred fifty casualties leaving said field completely bare. Column re-embarked for Ponape where busy putting it in defence. *Salvadora* left and seven days later satisfactory news was received about results obtained by others and good raltions. I believe will leave 14 and bring detailed news.”

[Note:] Communicated to the chiefs of the provinces of Luzon and published in the *Gaceta de Manila*.

T3. Another telegram sent to Madrid.

“Manila 11 October 1890.

The Governor Captain General.

To the President of the Council of Ministers and Ministers Overseas and War.

Towns of Metalanim and Oua have been completely destroyed.”¹

T4. The Governor General's opinion

To the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Caroline Islands (Ponape).

20 October 1890

I have taken note of your letter of the 1st instant, copied from a letter addressed to the Captain General's Office, regarding the events that occurred in that Colony since the departure of the steamer *Salvadora*. I have to tell you that I cannot approve in any way that you have entrusted the Methodist Missionary Mr. Rand with the official mission that you indicate at the court of the Kinglet of Metalanim, because I consider it not very political and because having at your disposal enough elements you must make yourself understood and respected by those tribes directly.

May God, etc.

T5. Report of operations for the month of October 1890, by

1 Ed. note: The file also contains another telegram to the Minister of Overseas from the Navy asking for a credit of 145,000 pesos for the Caroline operation.

Lieutenant Colonel Victor Díaz

[From] the Captain General of the Philippines—The Chief of Stall

Column of operations to the Eastern Carolines.—Diary of the operations carried out by the column during the present month.

1 October.

The unloading of the **Antonio Muñoz** being finished, the force of the column was employed in the work of fortification, except half a company of the Infantery Regiment N° 68 that went to work aboard the Hulk **Doña María de Molina** as helpers. In this situation, the column continues to work until the 12th inclusive, except on holidays and days of rain.

...

13 October.

A column of 250 men was prepared to follow, at the command of Captain Monasterio, an overland road from the Colony to Kiti in order to go on a politico-military excursion; the **Manila** was loaded with food for their messing, for the purpose of being carried to the Kiti Detachment, and 20,000 cartridges.

14 October.

The column, composed of Artillery: five officers, 119 Europeans soldiers, and 16 natives [i.e. Filipinos]; Marine Infantry: one officer, 46 Europeans and 4 natives; Infantry Regiment N° 71: three officers, 4 Europeans and 80 natives; Sanitary Pool: one officer and 2 natives; total: ten officers, 169 Europeans soldiers, and 102 natives, supplied with 150 cartridges each, and carrying as well five stretchers, one pouch for their rathions and three knapsacks of ambulance [i.e. medical supplies], and the troop rationed for two days. The rest of the column was busy on works of fortification of the Colony, except the force from N° 68 that continued aboard the Hulk.

14 October.

The expeditionary column continues its march to Kiti and the rest in the same form as on the previous day.

16 October.

Captain Monasterio's column arrives at Kiti, after having sent at daybreak from Ronkiti thirteen sick to the **Manila** and arriving with 70 Europeans, shoeless on account of the bad road; the rest of the force in the same form as on the previous day.

17 October.

The column on the politico-military excursion rests and awaits orders from the Governor, and the rest of the force continues as on the previous day, all the volunteer soldiers remaining from N° 68 passing to the Hulk on work details.

18 October.

In the same situation, the rest of the force resting on account of the holiday.

19 October.

The column embarks in Kiti, taking the whole day as it was necessary to wait for the morning and afternoon tides; the rest of the force at work in the Colony and Hulk.

20 October.

The Kiti column arrives at the Colony and disembarks, the rest of the force in the same situation as on the previous day.

21 & 22 October.

Rest of the force that went to Kiti in order to wash their clothes; the rest in the same situation as on the previous day.

23 October.

The whole force available to work in the Colony, with the Company from N° 68 continuing aboard the Hulk.

24 October: The same as on the previous day.

25 October: A holiday; clean-up and inspection.

26 October: The works in the Colony continue.

27 October: The same as on the previous day.

28 October: Idem.

29 October: Idem.

30 October: Idem.

31 October: Rest on account of a recommendation by the Physician in view of the excessive number of sick: 48 in hospital and 75 in the companies.

Santiago de la Ascensión (Ponape), 31 October 1890.
The Lieutenant Colonel [Acting], Major Victor Diaz.

T6. The march to Kiti, 14-17 October 1890—The report of Captain Monasterio

At a quarter to 6 in the morning of the 14th, I undertook the march towards Kiti,

having as vanguard the Company of Infantry Regiment N° 71 led by Captain José Vilches, in which some soldiers had previously done the trip and in addition Vicente, the male nurse knowledgeable about the road. There followed the Section of Marine Infantry, led by Second-Lieutenant Vicente Bernal, and the rearguard consisting of the ARTillery Company led by Lieutenant Juan Cebrián.¹

The road converts itself into a trail at a short distance from the Colony due to the fact that it has not been used for four months. It is rather good, and continues that way as far as a large plain that it traverses through its center. From that point on, the terrain becomes more and more hilly; it is shaped by a succession of ravines with very steep slopes, through which run streams of various volumes. The slopes join one another quite acutely at the bottom of the valleys as well as at the peaks, so that there is not the least flat portions; the constant march up and down makes the soldiers very tired, causes numerous delays because the bad spots are many, and at each one, it is necessary to halt in order to keep the Column together.

The rather thick forest forms a roof over the road which makes it dangerous because the enemy can come within 6 or 8 meters from the Column without being seen.

At 8 o'clock, I crossed the first settlement that is found on the road; it is Nalpounal² belonging to the Jokoy tribe, and which consists of four houses, with a total of 20 inhabitants, according to one of the natives.

Right after the hamlet there is a rather deep and steep ravine whose descent turns out to be very laborious, because in certain places, one must grab the underbrush of the road so as not to slide down to the bottom where a stream is running. I called a halt on its bank at 8:30 a.m. and established a watch, to rest the men.

As Lieutenant Vilches of the Company from N° 71 became sick and one artilleryman, I had them return to the Colony, giving them an escort of a corporal, four artillerymen and six native soldiers. At 8:15, I continued my march.

After crossing ravines, the road becomes somewhat more passable on the peaks of the mountains, some of which are clear and form savannas; one of them, located at the border between Jokoy and Kiti, is rather extensive.

At 11:30, a halt was called to give the troop time to eat their rations of meat, and at 12:30 the march was resumed. The road becomes once more very bad from the last savanna; in addition to the ravines, various mangrove swamps must be crossed, 200 to 300 meters long, with water above the knees in some spots, and over three trunks in others. Such places are very dangerous because the soldier can only pay attention to the march, and in case of attack, defence would be very difficult because there would be no way to assemble the troop fast enough to resist it.

At 3 p.m., another rest of 3/4 hour was given, then the march continued as before, and through the same type of terrain until 6 p.m. when we came up to the Palang River

1 Ed. note: For the track of this route, see the map in Doc. 1888H.

2 Ed. note: Written Nampalmal on the map accompanying Dr. Cabeza's report; the area is that of the modern Sekere Section.

that we had to cross with water up to the middle of the chest; we had to hold the arms and ammunition high so as not to wet them.

On the other bank is Palang where I camped for the night in the houses situated on the said bank and which I surrounded on the other side by a cordon of sentinels and two to watch the river.

This site provided me with a small encampment, easy to guard with few people, something that must be kept in mind, because the march had been very tough, and it was necessary to bother the people as little as possible in order to continue the march the next day under good conditions.

At 4:30 in the morning of the 15th, réveillé was sounded and at 5:30 the march was begun in the same order as on the previous day.

Soon we had to cross a swamp that deserves special mention, because it is one of the most dangerous sites of the route. To cross it, there are coconut tree trunks that oblige one to walk unsteadily and it is not possible to throw oneself on one side or the other, as the people would sink into mud above the knees; it is bounded on all sides by reeds and produces a very great suffocation which makes vigilance impossible as well as the movement of the Column without mentioning that of the individuals themselves.

I followed with the march under very bad conditions; the road is like the one that I have described and I was detained at each moment by soldiers who became sick; in this manner, and making frequent rest stops, one to assemble the Column to cross the Ronkiti River which is the biggest of all those in this Tribe, and after climbing a hill, I left the sick with two Sections of Artillery to get some rest and I continued with the rest of the Column towards Ronkiti that was only one kilometer away and where I arrived at 2 p.m. The sick with their escort rejoined us at 4.

As it was already afternoon, the people were worn-out and the sick could not continue marching, I decided to spend the night in Ronkiti, making camp in three houses owned by Salomon that were close together and this way a small encampment was possible, and under good conditions of defence. The road before arriving at Kiti makes a large detour, going north and then toward the east for a long time, which lengthens the route considerably; but perhaps it is necessary to avoid the low-lying part that must be full of mangrove swamps. I have passed through the following hamlets: Tomron [Tomorolong] at 9:30; Haru [Alaju] at 10:30; Chamidiao at 10:..; Macapar at 11; and Man [Mahnd] at 12.

The troop had consumed its rations and I had to buy bananas and breadfruits that were distributed among the troop, taking care to have everyone cook his appointed share within the limits of the camp.

I saw myself obliged to hire manpower in order to get rid of the sick who would have been unable to reach Aleniang the next day. As you will see from my previous letter, they arrived safely aboard the **Manila** at 3 a.m.

On the 16th, I left Ronkiti at 6 a.m. The road from this point to the fort of Aleniang is rather good, and has only two bad spots, a short swamp near Ronkiti and a very steep and long hill at the end; it also crosses a rather long savanna.

I went by Poc [Pok, or Pwok] at 7:45 and at 8 I called a halt on the bank of a stream to let the troop rest and we continued the march again at 9:45. A short time after passing Anipen N° 2, I met with the Officer in charge of the administration of the expedition who distributed brandy to the troop. This contributed in restoring the morale, somewhat abated by fatigue and lack of proper food. I continued my march through Anipen N°. 1 and Mocot [Mukot] and arrived at the fort at 12:15 with the people completely tired, with the clothing destroyed and over 70 European men without shoes, unable therefore to continue the march to Lod [Harbor], as I had been ordered, unless they took a sufficiently long rest and their shoes were replaced.

I lodged the Artillery Company and the Marines inside the fort, and the Company of N° 71 in a little house located on the side of the fort.

On the 18th and 19th, the troop rested and attended the field mass by order of the Governor.

...
As you would have seen by the short description that I have made of the road, it is very bad, specially between the Colony and Ronkiti. In some places where the terrain allows it, one can see signs that the road had been somewhat wider but the underbrush has closed it completely now. The dangerous spots abound and it is not possible to establish flanks as the bush is thick on both sides of the road.

I have not seen a settlement where the troop could camp with average comfort, because the houses are far apart and it is not possible to come to the help of the Colony by sea because in all of them there is a large distance of mangrove swamps on the coast that impede all communication.

Of all this, I believe I can conclude that in case the Kiti tribe takes upon itself to cut this road militarily, it would be impassable in any one of the dangerous spots which I have mentioned.

...
The fort of Aleniang is situated on the highest part of the town, and although it is built entirely with local materials, appears solid enough to accommodate a garrison for its defence as long as the food and war supplies last. It has food supplies for six months but it lacks water storage ... [2 lines unreadable]... It is composed of an octagonal stockade of vertical trunks of rather large diameter very well jointed to one another and leaving a line of battlements. This palisade is surrounded by a rather deep ditch upon which a small lift bridge has been built to provide access to the fort. The entrance is located facing the town. In four faces diametrically opposed, there are embrasures with their respective embankment to place the two field pieces that the fort is equipped with.

The lodging of the troop and officer is in the center of the fort; it is a spacious and well-built house but it has the serious defect of being entirely built of nipa and therefore very exposed to a fire. The stock of powder and ammunition which is in the said house must in any case be taken out of it.

In summary, the fort is in very good conditions of lodging and defence, built with care and intelligence and it is a credit to the unfortunate Lieutenant Marcelo Porras

who directed its construction.

The terrain is clear all around, although over a short distance but sufficiently to avoid a surprise.

With respect to its location, if one takes into account the possibility of rebellion of the Kiti tribe, it has the serious defect that it lacks an escape route; it is very far from the beach and to get there, one must cross a channel made in the mangrove swamp which is long and about 20 meters wide.

The assistance to the said detachment would present also many difficulties and to get to the fort, it would be necessary to sacrifice a good number of men.

I think that the said assistance cannot be given with only the elements that the Column has...

Everyone, officers as well as the troop whom I have had at my orders have shown that they can suffer with courage the pains inflicted by a march such as this one, and I have the honor to tell you about it.

Santiago de la Ascensión, 21 October 1890.

Captain José Monasterio.

T7. Comments by Governor Cadarso, upon forwarding the above report to Manila

I am not surprised by the bad state of the road in some parts, given that we were not able to use it for months and the constant rains make the brush grow. One must also take into account as well that such a large Column must surely find greater obstacles than the other which, with 40 soldiers, covered the same distance in 10 hours five months ago.

With respect to the fort, I found it well defended, and with all the elements necessary for war, except the matter of strategy, in which it leaves something to be desired, for the case today remote, that the whole tribe would rise in rebellion. Y.E. knows perfectly that when the fort and detachment were established there, they were not purposely so but forced upon us by circumstances. The Kinglet and all the Chiefs flocked to the unfortunate Lieutenant Porras, and the latter to me on their behalf, so that the fort not be built in Ronkiti as both of us intended but to please them, given the permanent loyalty of those of Kiti, I granted their request, but always thinking that it could be moved to Kiti, in due course. Right now, there is in Mutok six months of food supplies, and when the two cisterns that the Commissioner has requested from Manila (I hope they get here soon), then the remote danger of lacking water will disappear, as they have there some tin sheets to collect it. Later on, Later on, I repeat, it may be appropriate to change the location of the fort.

T8. Instructions given to the Commander of the Velasco by Governor Cadarso

As you already know the instructions which I gave to the Commander of the Ulloa

for the mission which he carried out with great tact and intelligence on the waters of the Metalanim tribe, from the 13th to the 23rd inclusive, and you also know my plans and intentions with respect to the pursuit of the operations that lead more practically to the purpose that you and I are pursuing, given that my directives were all ... [2 lines missing] ... my wish, I do not need to insist with you upon the suitability of continuing to harass the enemy, cowardly retired into the bushes and the settlement of Ketan and Chapalap. We have indeed talked about this and we are in complete agreement on the matter.

Therefore, I have the honor to let you know that, if you find it appropriate, the presence in the port of Metalanim of the cruiser under your worthy command would give healthy results. The hostility of that tribe must necessarily be fatal for the rebel cause, given that the present kanaka generation will surely never forget the powerful and well-aimed guns of the **Velasco**.

That is what I have the honor to tell you for appropriate action.

T9. Answer from the Commander of the Velasco, of same date

In answer to your official letter of this date, I have the pleasure to tell you that next Wednesday 27th, I will leave this port to head for that of Metalanim to continue the mission that had been conferred on the cruiser **Ulloa**, and I must tell you how determined I am to always back up the high intentions that always mark your actions.

[Note by Cadarso:] The said cruiser went out to the port of Metalanim and began firing which was heard from the Colony, and then it anchored there.

Documents 1890U

Theft from a German trader in Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

U1. Letter from the German consul in Manila

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1892. Section 1.— File opened by the German Consul in this Capital asking for information on the present status and the prompt resolution of the legal suit instituted by the P.M. Governor against the author of the theft of \$750.80 committed against the Agent of the German Company “Jaluit Gesellschaft,” Mr. August Helgemberger.

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

Manila, 22 September 1892.

Your Excellency,

The agent of the German company “Jaluit Gesellschaft” in Ponape has written to this Consulate and he is interested in the prompt resolution of the pending suit against the perpetrators of a theft committed against him. In October 1890, \$745.80 Mexican pesos were stolen from him and he reported the fact to the Politico-military Governor of the Eastern Carolines and the proceedings instituted were not accompanied by any result whatever. In October 1891, the German subject Linnemann passed by Ponape on a voyage from Jaluit to Manila and received from the inn-keeper Narruhn, resident of Ponape, the amount of 160 pesos to deliver to a certain person in Germany. As the said Narruhn was making the voyage to Manila aboard the same steamer as Linnemann, he told the latter that the money that he delivered to him was not his but that of his partner, Schmidt, also residing in Ponape, who had acquired it in an illegal way coming as it were from the theft committed against the agent of the Jaluit Company and the said Schmidt kept the rest of the money. As a result of this information, the said Linnemann deposited the money received in this Consulate declaring what Narruhn had said in a statement whose copy I sent to the said agent of the Jaluit Company in Ponape. The latter communicated that declaration to the Politico-military Governor in Ascension. The investigation was concluded at the beginning of this year but he was not advised of any result, except that the file had been sent to the superior authority in Manila for resolution.

Fearing that a long delay of the case might help the authors of the threft to avoid punishment and prevent the said company from recuperating the sum stolen, I have the honor to beg Y.E. to please inform me about the status of the affair in question and to force the competent authority to take care of it with more promptitude than heretofore.

Y.E., please accept the renewed assurance of my most distinguished consideration.
The Consul of the German Empire,
O. von Möllendorff.

[Minute:]

Ask the P.M. Governor of Ponape for information.

U2. The answer of the Governor of the Eastern Carolines

[To] The Governor General of these Islands.

[From] the P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines.

Your Excellency,

In answer to the letter of Y.E. dated 8th of last month [Oct. 1892] regarding the claim made by the representative of the German company established in this jurisdiction through the representative of the said nation in that Capital with respect to the summary investigation that was undertaken in the court of this Government on account of a theft committed within that settlement, I must report to Y.E. in my double character as Governor and Judge of First Instance that the said case is still open and the investigation continues to clarify a new denunciation presented by the said claimant and that it has fallen twice into disist because my predecessors found that the first denunciation of this crime was unjustified; furthermore, I mention to Y.E. that the said case is pending a declaration from Mr. Schmidt, who is not to be found at this place and he has temporarily gone to his house on the island of Piking [Pakin].

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Ponape, 29 November 1892.

The interim Governor,

Captain Bienvenido Flandes.

Documents 1890V

USS Alliance, Captain Taylor, visited Pohnpei—U.S. claims against Spain

Source: PNA.

VI. First letter from Commander Taylor to Governor Cadarso

Notes: In a report dated 28 November 1890, sent to Governor Weyler, Governor Cadarso says that Commander Taylor's letter was written in French and English, although the only version left in the Manila archives is the Spanish translation. Cadarso says that his answer was in French and Spanish. It can be assumed that their conversations took place in French, which was then the international language of diplomacy. The original letters are now to be found at Madrid in the Archives of the Ministry of External Affairs, under Carolinas—Ultramar H2952.

Spanish version.

*Abordo de la Corbeta de guerra americana **Alianza**.*

Puerto Santiago, Ponapé 23 de Octubre 1890.

Al Sr. D. Luís Cadarso, Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.

Señor Gobernador:

*Al recibir la noticia de la sublevación de los naturales el 25 de Junio último, se me ordenó saliese para Ponapé con la corbeta de guerra **Alianza**, á reiterar las muestras de simpatía de mi gobierno á las autoridades españolas, y ofrecerlas nuestros servicios si los necesitaban, á proteger á los americanos que habitan en la isla de Ponapé.*

En conversación con V.E. pude observar, que culpaba en gran parte en esta sublevación, á los Misioneros americanos; y que los consideraba enemigos de la autoridad y religión española. Por esta razón, hé tardado en escribir á V.E. hasta estar perfectamente enterado de este asunto; pero hoy voy á hacer respetuosamente á V.E. una descripción de la situación de estos asuntos tal como me parece; y espero de V.E. se servirá prestarme atención.

Cuando estalló la sublevación el 25 de Junio, Mr. Rand, hacía 18 meses que estaba en los EE. UU. Mr. Doane muerto despues de su marcha había ido cinco meses antes de la sublevación. Como únicos representantes de la Misión solamente había dos señoras en esta época. Estas señoras tenían especial cuidado con no mezclarse en nada que no fueron los asuntos de la misión.

La sublevación en Oua, en donde tenían hacía mucho tiempo los misioneros americanos, una iglesia de la misión y varias casas.

Al llegar á Ponapé Mr. Rand, el 10 de Agosto de 1890, pidió y le fué concedido permiso para ir á Oua; pero más tarde, cuando se trató de atacar dicho punto, todo el personal de la misión abandonó Oua. Se me dice, que esto lo hicieron entoncés aconsejados por V.E. Los misioneros se marcharon entoncés á Ronquiti y un poco tiempo después, las tropas atacaron á Oua y al concluirse la batalla, incendiaron algunas y quizá todas las casas incluso la iglesia.

Esto, solamente V.E. y sus oficiales podrán juzgar si la destrucción de estas propiedades era ó no una necesidad militar; pero me permito hacer respetuosamente presente á V.E. que todavía no se ha hecho nada para dar á estos misioneros otras casas en lugar de las destruidas; así como tampoco se les ha propuesto para indemnizarles. Ahora, se hallan protegidos por los naturales de Kiti que son leales al Gobierno de V.E.

Después de esto, en 11 de Octubre de 1890, se prohibió á los misioneros por orden de V.E. tener meetings; y sus trabajos de iglesia y colegios, se hallan completamente paralizados.

Ahora, espero de su amabilidad permiso para transcribir algunos parrafos de la correspondencia habida entre los Gobiernos de Madrid y Washington sobre este asunto.

En carta del 4 de Mayo de 1886, al Secretario de Estado, Mr. Bayard, el Sr. Moraga, Ministro Español en los EE. UU. dice lo siguiente:

“En cuanto á las consideraciones que deben recibir los súbditos americanos en las Islas Carolinas y Palaos, S.M. la Reina Regente, de conformidad con lo resuelto por sus Ministros en Consejo, se ha servido dirigir al que suscribe, para informar al honorable Secretario de Estado que las consideraciones que deben recibir los súbditos americanos en este Archipiélago será las mismas que se tengan con los alemanes y demás extranjeros. Así mismo, el artículo 2 del tratado de España con Alemania dice lo siguiente: Todos los derechos adquiridos (de propiedad y terreno) serán respetados. También en otra carta del 12 de Marzo de 1886, del Sr. Valera, Ministro de España en Washington al Secretario de Estado Mr. Bayard se dice lo que sigue: El Ministro de Estado de España en 18 de Octubre de 1885, participó á la legación de los EE. UU. que nada estaba más lejos de la intención del Gobierno de España, que molestar ó embarrasar en lo más mínimo el trabajo de la predicación de cristianismo y enseñanza, á que se refería el Encargado de Negocios de los EE. UU. habiendose resuelto por el contrario favorecer tan benéficos trabajos.”

Así, el estado de estos asuntos és el siguiente: una sublevación de los naturales, y por consiguiente las tropas les atacaron, en cuya rebelión los misioneros americanos, según creo, no han tenido nada que ver y por el contrario sienten muchísimo que las consecuencias de la guerra interrumpan sus predicaciones religiosas y la enseñanza á las cuales habían dedicado por completo todo su interés.

Dichos misioneros han sufrido pérdidas de intereses y grandes molestias, y no creen garantizados sus bienes por las autoridades españolas.

También quería rogar á V.E. se sirva informarme sobre los asuntos siguientes: (1) Las condiciones en que quedarán más adelante, estos ciudadanos americanos. (2) Después de cuanto tiempo piensa V.E. indicar á estos misioneros un punto fijo para vivir bajo su protección; y (3), cuando querrá V.E. permitir que vuelvan á empezar sus trabajos religiosos y de enseñanza.

Me permito asegurar á V.E. que estos ciudadanos, estarán siempre dispuestos á seguir los excelentes consejos de V.E. y á la autoridad Española.

Antes de terminar esta carta, permítame V.E., darle las más expresivas gracias, por las atenciones que conmigo ha tenido, las cuales estimo en alto grado.

Quedo de V.E. Sr. Gobernador, con el mayor respeto, su más aftmo. S.S.Q.B.S.M. J. [sic] C. Taylor—Capitan de Fragata de la Armada de los EE. UU.

*Comandante de la Corbeta **Alianza**.*

Es copia—Luis Cadarso.

Re-translation to English.

Aboard the U.S. Sloop-of-war **Alliance**.

Jamestown Harbor, Ponape October 23rd, 1890.

To Mr. Luis Cadarso, Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

My dear Governor:

Upon receiving the news of the uprising of the natives on June 25th last, I was ordered to go out to Ponape with the sloop-of-war **Alliance**, to show signs of sympathy on behalf of my government to the Spanish authorities, and to offer them our services, if required, in order to protect the Americans who live on the island of Ponape.

While conversing with your Excellency, I was able to observe that you blame the American missionaries in a large part for this uprising, and that you considered them to be enemies of Spanish authority and religion. For this reason, I have delayed writing to your Excellency until I was perfectly informed about this matter, but today I will respectfully describe the situation of these matters to your Excellency as they appear to me, and I hope that your Excellency will pay attention.

When the uprising broke out on June 25th, Mr. Rand had been in the United States for 18 months, Mr. Doane had died after his leaving the island five months before the uprising. At that time there were only two ladies left to represent the Mission. These ladies were careful not to mix themselves in nothing that was not mission business.

The uprising was in Oua, where the American missionaries had had one mission church and various houses for a long time.

When Mr. Rand returned to Ponape on August 10th, 1890, he asked for and was given permission to go to Oua, but later, when the idea of attacking said point came up, all the personnel of the mission abandoned Oua. I am told, that they did this upon the advice of your Excellency. The missionaries then went to Ronkiti and a short time later,

the troops attacked Oua and at the end of the battle they burned down some and perhaps all the houses, including the church.

This, only your Excellency and your officers might judge whether the destruction of these properties was or not a military necessity; however, permit me to respectfully represent to your Excellency that the missionaries have not yet been given other houses to replace those that were destroyed; also, they have not been offered anything by way of compensation. Now, they are being protected by the natives of Kiti who are loyal to the Government of your Excellency.

After this, on October 11th, 1890, the missionaries were forbidden by order of your Excellency to hold meetings, and their church and school works have been completely paralyzed.

Now, I hope that you will be so kind as to let me transcribe a few paragraphs from a correspondence that took place between the Governments of Madrid and Washington regarding this matter.

In a letter dated May 4th, 1886, addressed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Morada, the Spanish Minister in the United States, says the following:

“With regards to the considerations that American citizens must receive in the Caroline and Palau Islands, Her Majesty the Queen Regent, in accordance with what was decided by her Council of Ministers, has been pleased to direct the undersigned, to please inform the honorable Secretary of State, that the considerations that must be given the American citizens in this Archipelago will be the same ones that the Germans and other foreigners are to get. In addition, Article 2 of the treaty between Spain and Germany says the following: “All the acquired rights (of property and land) will be respected.” Also, in another letter dated March 12th, 1886, from Mr. Valera, Minister of Spain in the United States, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, says the following: “The Minister of Spain, on October 18th, 1885, informed the legation of the United States that nothing was farther from the intention of the Spanish Government, than to bother or impede in the least the work of preaching and teaching Christianity, which the Chargé d’affaires of the United States was referring to, given that, on the contrary, such beneficial works were looked upon favorably.”

So, the state of these matters is as follows: an uprising of the natives, and therefore the troops attacked them, and, I believe, the American missionaries had nothing to do with this rebellion but, to the contrary, they very much deplore the consequences of the war that has interrupted their religious preaching and the schooling to which they had dedicated their whole interest.

Said missionaries have suffered losses of some importance and great disturbances, and they do not think that their properties are guaranteed by the Spanish authorities.

I would also like your Excellency to please inform me regarding the following points:

- (1) The conditions under which these American citizens will find themselves later on;
- (2) How much time, your Excellency, think it will take before these missionaries will be

assigned a fixed place to begin their works under your protection; and (3) when will your Excellency permit them to begin their religious and teaching works again.

Allow me to express to your Excellency that these citizens will always be disposed to follow the excellent advice of your Excellency and Spanish authority.

Before I conclude this letter, allow me, your Excellency, to give you the most expressive thanks, for the attentions that you have shown me, which I esteem very much.

I remain, my dear Governor, with deep respect, your most affectionate servant, who kisses the hands of your Excellency.

H. C. Taylor, Commander, U.S. Navy.

Commander of the sloop **Alliance**.

V2. First answer of the Governor

Original text in Spanish.

Santiago de la Ascensión, 25 de Octubre de 1890.

*Mr. Taylor, Comandante de la Corbeta de guerra americana **Alianza**.*

Me siento viva y satisfactoriamente impresionado, con la lectura de la carta oficial, que referente á los desagradables sucesos de Ponapé del 25 de Junio, he tenido la honra de recibir de manos de V.S. Al contestarle, crea S. Sa. que hé de procurar corresponder á la hidalgía y cordialidad con que me favoreció en nuestra conferencia verbal, y á los propositos nobles y desinteresados, que manifiesta en su notable comunicación á que aludo.

Comienzo ante todo manifestando á V.S. que en nombre de mi Gobierno, me congratulo y acepto reconocido, los sentimientos generosos de simpatía y ofrecimiento hecho á mi autoridad, del hermoso buque de su digno mando, para cuanto pudiera ser preciso; y que no acepto, por contar con elementos suficientes para sofocar la rebelión, ya vencida.

*Ya que la presencia de la **Alianza** tiene por objeto tambien proteger los intereses de los súbditos Norte-Americanos, me pongo incondicionalmente á disposición de V.S. para favorecer á todos aquellos que merezcan tan justo apoyo. Siempre ha sido mi lema, en los tres años que hé gobernado este archipiélago, respetar los intereses de todos, y hacer justicia en cuantos litigios de mayor ó menor cuantía se han promovido. Y para dar á V.S. la seguridad más completa de mi aserto, apelo al testimonio de todos los habitantes de la isla, sean ó nó afectados en estos momentos á mi autoridad, y seguro estos confesarán siempre, que el distintivo de mi conducta, ha sido en todos momentos el agrandar á mis gobernados, y hacer suave y grata como lo ha sido para los naturales, la dominación de España. Pero si satisfecho en extremo estado en tan largo periodo de todos los naturales de la isla, sensible me és decirlo, y lo hago con pesar; la influencia de los Misioneros Metodistas, me hé persuadido que en nada favorecía los intereses de España, bien necesitada como V.S. comprenderá del apoyo común, en los primeros años de dominación. Los Misioneros Metodistas, repito, han procurado hacer proselitos, posponiendolo todo, al fin que estas misiones persiguen; y no se diga que el*

Gobierno de España no les enseñaba el camino; en todos los actos de la vida, se ha reflejado siempre el desinterés de la Madre Patria, y el marcado aprovechamiento material de aquellos. Lo mismo antes que después han cobrado una contribución directa, sobre todas las familias de la Isla á cuantos hacían entrar en la religión cristiana. El impuesto existe aún en estos días, y consiste en 20 cocos por matrimonio, y 5 por cada niño ó adulto que se bautize. Cierto és, que tal contribución, se le ha enseñado á decir que és para Dios todo poderoso; pero en justicia, más justo sería que este tributo real y efectivo se pagase á la Nación Española, que está haciendo cuantiosos sacrificios, por favorecer y civilizar á estos desgraciados, casi salvajes; pués si no lo fueran, no sentirían un yugo como el de la contribución injusta que pagan; con tanto más razón, existiendo en la isla otros virtuosos misioneros, que enseñan la sana moral y la religión cristiana, que para estos ignorantes, és enteramente similar, sin gravar en nada los escasos intereses de los naturales.

No trato en este momento de acumular cargos, contra los Misioneros Mr. Doane y Mr. Rand. Me basta que se llamen súbditos americanos, para que guarde, como hé guardado siempre, singulares consideraciones para con ellos. Pero está tan directamente relacionada la conducta anterior y presente de aquellos, con la rebelión de Oua, que me veo en la necesidad de exponer á V.S. los hechos, para que juzgue con verdadera imparcialidad, si és ó no justo el concepto que tube el honor de manifestarle en nuestra conferencia, me merecían actualmente, en general, las misiones metodistas.

*Es muy general oír de labios de extrangeros y algunos naturales, que Mr. Rand con especialidad, predicaba antes de su viage á America, en sentido poco favorable á los españoles; y tengo en este momento persona de bastante significación en el país, por lo allegado que ha sido siempre á los misioneros, pero hoy sin duda desagradecido, que declara ser cierta la anterior aseveración; agregando así mismo, que en el meeting que celebró en Oua después de su llegada reciente de America manifestó á los rebeldes su marcado disgusto por que el Gobierno trataba de establecer allí un destacamento; pués Oua debía ser exclusivamente para los Cristianos, aumentando con tales predicaciones el espíritu de rebelión. En la reciente visita que ha hecho una Columna de tropa Europea é indígena por toda la tribu de Kiti, el Jefe de aquella, me informó á su regreso del magnífico recibimiento hecho en todos los pueblos del transito donde eran solo naturales; y la frialdad marcadísima de los misioneros en Ronquiti; manifestando alguno de los residentes en aquella tribu que en donde quiera que haya metodistas había retraimiento. El súbdito americano Mr. Gifford, que representa una Compañía respetable de San Francisco, manifestó igualmente al Sr. Comandante del Crucero **Ulloa**, que tenía la completa persuasión de que la rebelión de Oua, ha sido organizada exclusivamente por maestros metodistas; y en el expediente que hé formado resultan responsables como principales autores, un tal Edgar, preso hoy en el **Ulloa** y Henry, maestro este último y de íntima amistad de Mr. Rand; con la circunstancia agravante, de que está probado que Henry fué el que en Oua dirigió la fortificación y alentó á los rebeldes, marchándose luego, cuando se retiró Mr. Rand el día 9 de Setiembre á Ronquiti; en donde estubo protegido por este, que evidentemente sabía que era un traidor al Go-*

bierno de España. Si V.S. tuviese por conveniente hablar con Mr. Narruhn, súddito alemán, y muy afecto á America oiría seguramente palabras poco afectas á los misioneros metodistas; pués este cree firmamente que la influencia exclusivista de los ya citados misioneros és altamente perjudicial al prestigio y soberanía de España. Y por si fuera necesaria alguna razón más á las ya expuestas, citaré á V.S. un hecho, á juez de buen condecor como seguramente lo és V.S. en asuntos de esta índole le harán notar por tal detalle, el verdadero estado de este país.

Tres años hace, como tube el honor de decir á V.S., que me hallo al frente de este Gobierno, ejerciendo á la vez el cargo anexo de Juez de primera instancia. Todas las cuestiones que se han suscitado sobre propiedad de terrenos, disturbios domésticos, y litigios de alguna importrancea, han sido siempre en la tribu de Metalannim, en la cual aparecían siempre como intermediarios los misioneros y sobre todo, Mr. Doane, habiéndome visto varias veces, en la necesidad de llamarle la atención seriamente.

Paso ahora á ocuparme de otro punto en que se fija, la muy atenta comunicación de V.S. El bombardeo de Oua, fué una necesidad imperiosa, porque allí, aún en presencia de Mr. Rand, se fortificaron grandemente y solo me lo participó aquel, cuando yo le pregunté la longitud que tenía la trinchera. Y aún cuando yo le había dado garantías de seguridad á Mr. Rand y misioneras, para que continuasen habitando las casas de su propiedad, al ver que trataban de defenderse de una manera tan formidable, y que eran el reyezuelo y Henry, enteramente afectos y dominados siempre por Mr. Rand, le manifesté, que talvez no pudiera yo garantizar sus casas, en el caso de que los rebeldes les tomasen como baluartes. Así fué que me propuso establecerse en Ronqiti, y accedí á ello.

Al atacar á los rebeldes en Oua, estos se atrincheraron en el fuerte, y luego, en la Iglesia y casas de Mr. Rand, desde donde empezaron á causar algunas bajas; y en tan crítico momento, el Jefe de la Fuerza, Comandante D. Victor Díaz, se vió obligado á atacar con toda la columna, produciendose el destrozo que era conseguiente y que yo lamentó mucho.

Pero, ya que de este punto se trata, considero oportuno exponer á V.S. cual era la situación de Oua. La llamada Iglesia, era un camarín construido por los naturales que siempre trabajan gratis á los misioneros, en esta clase de edificios; el techo de hoja de marfil, etc. y con esto, juzgará V.S. de la importancia del llamado edificio ó iglesia. Las casas de los misioneros, se hallaban en su mayoría en bastante mal estado; y la mejor de ellas, que era la vivienda de Mr. Rand, costó en total \$1,000. La de Mr. Doane, completamente abandonada y vieja, y todas en general habían prestado ya sus buenos servicios en este clima tan lluvioso. El resto del pueblo lo componía casas de propiedad de muchos canacas, afectos todos á los misioneros, y que constituían allí una especie de Estado, en el que no reconocen casi otra autoridad que la de Mr. Doane, dado el dominio que aquel misionero llegó á tener sobre tan sencillos moradores.

Dicho esto, tengo el gusto de manifestar á V.S., que decidido á complacerle en cuanto de mi depende, acepto desde luego la petición de indemnización que Mr. Rand quiera dirigir al Gobierno de España, y yo confío ciegamente, en que V.S., que me ha

dado repetidas pruebas de hidalguía, apreciará en su justo valor, el intrínseco de los perjuicios materiales causados en Oua á dichos misioneros; y apreciará asimismo que dichos edificios tienen un valor distinto cuando están instalados en puntos fortificados ó protegidos por fuerzas regulares á cuando deliberadamente se establecen en puntos donde habitan salvajes, que de tales puede calificarse á los naturales de Oua. Sentado esto, me pongo por completo á disposición de V.S. y acepto la reclamación indicada.

Paso ahora á otro punto, que los que trata la respetable comunicación que tenga el honor de contestar. Ciertamente, que en 11 de Octubre, publiqué un bando prohibiendo toda reunión, de cualquier clase que fuese; y tal disposición se fundaba en primer término, en que el día 12 de Setiembre se publicó otro Bando declarando en estado de guerra la Isla; y V.S. sabe perfectamente, que al declarar tal estado excepcional, en España al menos, quedan suspendidas las garantías constitucionales, y se prohíben todas las reuniones á fin de evitar aglomeración de gente á impedir se fomente algún foco de insurrección. Pero esto coincidió, con haber llegado á mi noticia, que desde la instalación de Mr. Rand en Ronquiti, vario el aspecto de aquellos naturales, antes muy adictos á las autoridades; notándose gran frialdad en los Jefes, á quienes Mr. Rand ha llamado siempre, á su antojo, y se celebró una reunión y fiesta en Ronquiti, que duró 9 días. Dejó á la ilustrada consideración de V.S. el declarar conveniente ó no el decreto del 11 de Octubre.

Nadie más esclavo del cumplimiento de los compromisos sagrados, que el que tiene la honra de dirigirse á V.S. y por lo mismo, nunca faltaría ni faltaré á los acuerdos tomados por los Sres. Ministros de Estado de los EE. UU. y de España, de común acuerdo, y con mucha más razón, tratándose de una Nación sinceramente amiga. Por esto creo oportuno dar á V.S. las seguridades más completas, de que los súbditos americanos tendrán aquí todos los derechos que legítimamente les corresponden, y son los mismos que los demás ciudadanos alemanes ó extranjeros, dejando de este modo contestada la primera pregunta con que termina su muy ilustrada comunicación.

A la segunda debo manifestar á V.S. que no hallo inconveniente alguno por mi parte, en que dichos misioneros se establezcan en las proximidades de la Colonia, en donde disfrutarán de toda clase de consideraciones y protección por parte de mi autoridad. Y á la tercera que tendrán completa libertad para tener reuniones, tan luego cese el estado excepcional de guerra en que aún está el país.

Al terminar esta carta oficial, permítame S.Sa. le exprese mi gratitud, por la amabilidad, templanza, y esquisito tacto con que se ha dirigido á mi autoridad, que nunca olvidará á tan notable diplomático, cumplido caballero, y leal amigo, como lo es S.S. mío en esta ocasión.

Con el mayor respeto y consideración distinguida, queda á sus órdenes, su muy fiel servidor.

Luís Cadarso—Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.

Es copia—Luís Cadarso.

Translation.

Santiago de la Ascension, 25 October 1890.

Mr. Taylor, Commander of the U.S. Sloop-of-war **Alliance**.

I am deeply and satisfactorily impressed, after reading your official letter, which refers to the disagreeable incidents of Ponape of June 25th, and which I have received from the hand of Your Lordship. In answering it, Your Lordship should believe that I have to try and respond to the nobility and cordiality with which you have favored me during our verbal conference, and to the noble and disinterested proposals that your express in the notable communication to which I allude.

I begin by manifesting to Your Lordship, on behalf of my Government, that I congratulate myself and gratefully accept the generous feelings of sympathy and the offer made to my authority, of the beautiful ship under your worthy command, for whatever might be necessary; but I cannot accept it, because I have sufficient elements to suffocate the rebellion already crushed.

Now that the presence of the **Alliance** has also the objective of protecting North-American citizens, I place myself unconditionally at the disposition of Y.L. to favor all those who so justly deserve it. It has always been my motto during the three years that I have governed this archipelago, to respect the interests of everyone, and to do justice in as many legal cases of major and minor importance as have been opened. And the better to give Y.L. the assurance of my assertion, I appeal to the testimonial of all the inhabitants of the island,¹ whether or not they are presently in favor of my authority, but I am sure that they will admit that my conduct was always distinctive, as it has always been my intention to please the people I govern, and to make Spanish domination as sweet and pleasing as it has been for the natives. However, if I have been extremely satisfied with the natives during such a long period of time, I am very sorry to admit, and do so with sadness, that the influence of the Methodist Missionaries has proven to be not at all favorable to the interests of Spain, and one that, as Y.L. will understand, was much required, during the first years of occupation. The Methodist Missionaries, I repeat, have tried to make proselytes, by postponing everything, so that these missions might prosper, and let it not be said that the Government of Spain did not show them the way; the disinterest of the Mother country has always been reflected in the actions of everyday life, to their clear material advantage. The missionaries have continued to impose a direct tax upon all the families of the island that joined their Christian religion. This tax continues to be applied, at the rate of 20 coconuts per family, and 5 for every child or adult who is baptized. True it is that they were made to say that such a contribution is for God Almighty, but in justice, it would be more just if this real and effective tax were to be paid to the Spanish nation that is making large sacrifices, to favor and civilize these unfortunate people, almost savage; indeed, if they were not, they would not accept the burden of the unjust tax that they pay; the more so because there exist on the island other virtuous missionaries who teach a healthy morality

¹ Dated 6 May 1890 (see Doc. 1890L).

and Christian religion which, as far as these ignorant people are concerned, is completely similar, except that it does affect the least [material] interests of the natives.

I am at this moment in the process of accumulating charges against the missionaries Mr. Doane and Mr. Rand. It is sufficient for me that they be called American citizens, for me to keep, as I have always kept, singular considerations in their favor. However, their previous and present conduct is so directly ratalated with the rebellion of Oua that I do not see the need to express to Y.L. the facts, for you to judge with true impartiality, whether the concept that I had the honor to present to you during our conference is just or not, which the Methodist missiona deserve at present.

It is very common to hear from the lips of foreigners and a few Spaniards that Mr. Rand in particular, before his trip to America, preached in terms that were little favorable to the Spanish; and I have eright now a person of some local importance, as he has always been in relation with the missionaries, but is today definitely ungrateful, who declares that the above assertion is very true; also adding that, in the meeting that Mr. Rand held after his return from America in Oua, he told the rebels that he was very displeased that the Government was establishing there a detachment; indeed, according to him, Oua should be exclusively for Christians, thus increasing the spirit of rebellion by his preaching. Suring the recent visit made by a Column of European and native soldiers through the whole Kiti tribe, the officer in charge of it informed me, upon his return, of the magnificent reception they met with in all the villages along the way, where only natives live, but of the decidedly cool reception on the part of the missionaries in Ronkiti; some of the [foreign] residents in that tribe have said that wherever there are Methodist missionaries there is withdrawal. The American citizen, Mr. Gifford, who represents a respectable San Francisco company, has also told the Commander of the cruiser **Ulloa** that he was fully convinced that the rebellion of Oua had been organized exclusively by Methodist teachers; and in the case file that I have opened, it came out that the main guilty parties are a certain Edgar, now being held prisoner aboard the **Ulloa** and Henry, the latter a teacher who is intimately linked with Mr. Rand; with the aggravating circumstance that it is proven that Henry was the man who directed the fortification of Oua and encouraged the rebels, only to leave later on, when Mr. Rand withdrew, on 9 September, to Ronkiti, where he was protected by him, who obviously knew that he was a traitor to the Government of Spain. If Y.L. finds it convenient to speak with Mr. Narruhn, a German subject, and very fond of America, he might surely hear words little flattering toward the Methodist missionaries; indeed, this man firmly believes that the monopolizing influence of the above-mentioned missionaries is high prejudicial to the prestige and sovereignty of Spain. And, in case it be necessary to provide further reasons to those already exposed, I will mention to Y.L. one fact, which, to a good judge of matters of this nature such as Y.L., will surely impress you by its details as representating the true state of this country.

As I had the honor to say to Y.L., i have been at the head of this Government for the past three years, exeercising as well the functions of judge of first instance. All the questions that have been raised regarding land ownership, domestic troubles, and law-

suits of some importance, have always been in the Metalanim tribe, where the missionaries, specially Mr. Doane, always appeared as intermediaries, and I have had the occasion, many times, of seriously warning the latter about this.

I now go on to occupy myself of another point raised in the very kind communication of Y.L. The bombardment of Oua was an imperious need, because there, even when Mr. Rand was present, they strongly fortified themselves, but he only told me about it, after I asked him how long was the trench in question. And even when I had given guarantees of safety to Mr. Rand and the missionary ladies, urging them to continue occupying the houses of their property, upon seeing that they [the rebels] intended to defend themselves in such a formidable manner, and that the kinglet and Henry were completely fond and always dominated by Mr. Rand, I told him, that perhaps I could not guarantee their houses, should the rebels make use of them as bulwarks. That is how he proposed to me that he should settle in Ronkiti, and I accepted.

When the rebels of Oua were attacked, they fortified themselves in the fort, and then, in the church and houses of Mr. Rand, from where they began to cause a few casualties; and at such critical moments, the officer in charge of the force, Major Victor Díaz, saw himself obliged to attack with the whole column, thus producing the destruction that was its consequence, and which I deplore very much.

However, now that we are discussing this point, I consider it timely to bring Y.L.'s attention to the situation at Oua at the time. The so-called church was nothing but a shed built by the natives, who always build this type of building for the missionaries for free; its roof was thatched with nipa palm leaves, etc. and this is enough for Y.L. to judge the importance of this so-called building or church. The houses of the missionaries were for the most part in rather bad condition, and most of them, that is that of Mr. Rand, cost a total of \$1,000. That of Mr. Rand, completely abandoned and old, and all in general had already given their good services in such a rainy climate. The rest of the town consisted of properties of many kanakas, all attached to the missionaries, and they constituted there a mini-state, in which they did not recognize almost no other authority but that of Mr. Doane, given the superiority that said missionary came to exercise over such simple inhabitants.

Having said this, I have the pleasure of manifesting to Y.L. that, decided as I am to please you inasmuch as depend upon me, I therefore accept the claim of indemnification that Mr. Rand may wish to address to the Spanish government, and I blindly trust Y.L., who has given me so many proofs of nobility, to be able to appreciate in their just intrinsic value, the material damages caused to said missionaries in Oua; and you might also appreciate that said buildings have a value that is different when they are installed at places that are fortified or protected by regular forces and when they are deliberately established at places where live savages—as the natives of Oua can be called them. This having been said, I place myself completely at the disposal of Y.L., ready to receive said claim.

I now go on to another point, mentioned in the respectable communication that I have the honor to answer.

It is true that, on 11 October, I published a proclamation forbidding any meeting, of any type whatever; but such disposition was founded in the first place, on another Proclamation declaring the island in a state of war; and Y.L. knows perfectly well that such an exceptional state, in Spain at least, means that constitutional guarantees remain suspended, and all meetings are prohibited, in order to prevent the gathering of people and the plotting of any insurrection. However, the motivation for it was that information has been received, from the settlement of Mr. Rand in Ronkiti, that the attitude of those natives had changed. They were very obedient to the authorities before, but now a great coldness was noticed in the Chiefs, to whom Mr. Rand has called wherever he pleases, and a meeting was celebrated at Ronkiti, with a fiesta that lasted 9 days. I leave to the illustrious consideration of Y.L. to declare convenient or not the decree of October 11th.

There is no-one more obedient to sacred promises than the one who has the honor to address himself to Y.L.; I would never fail, nor will I fail, to follow the agreements taken between the gentlemen Ministers of State of the United States and of Spain, by common accord, and with much more reason, when a Nation that is sincerely friendly is concerned. That is why I think it is proper for me to give to Y.L. the most complete guarantees that the American citizens will have here all the rights that legally correspond to them, which are the same as those for the other German or foreign citizens; thus the first question made in the very illustrious communication of Y.L. has been answered.

In answer to the second question, I must tell Y.L. that I find no inconvenience on my part, for said missionaries to settle in the neighborhood of the Colony, where they would enjoy all types of consideration and the protection on the part of the authority. To the third question, they would have complete freedom to hold meetings, as soon as the exceptional state of war affecting this country has been lifted.

Upon concluding this letter, let me, your Lordship, express my gratitude for the friendliness, moderation, and exquisite tact that you have used in addressing my authority. I will never forget such a notable diplomat, accomplished gentleman, and loyal friend, as your Lordship is, on this occasion.

With the greatest respect and distinguished consideration, I remain at your orders,

Your very loyal servant,

Luís Cadarso, Gobernador of the Eastern Carolines.

This is a copy—Luís Cadarso.

V3. Second letter from Commander Taylor

Spanish version.

Corbeta de los EE. UU. Alianza.

Ponape 30 Octubre de 1890.

A su Excelencia Sor. Dn. Luís Cadarso, Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.

Hé leído con interés su notable carta fecha 25 de Octubre, contestando á la mía fecha 23 en la que se exponen muy atenuados razonamientos.

El testimonio que hé recibido de los naturales y de otras personas és de tal naturaleza que si os dignareis admitirlos, casi me atrevo é creer que modificariais vuestra opinión respecto á los misioneros ó la cambiariais por completo. Pero reconozco por otra parte, que vuestra posición en este asunto no puede cambiar, y no debe discutirse este punto concreto.

Agradezco mucho vuestra sincera respuesta á mi primera pregunta y la seguridad que S.E. me da de que los súditos americanos serán en todos tiempos protegidos por su autoridad.

Considero por mi parte asunto de interés y agradezco la respuesta á mi segunda proposición, en la cual se sirve V.E. aceptar como método seguro de garantir la seguridad de los misioneros, establecerse en la Colonia, cerca de vuestra autoridad. Asi como, á mi tercera pregunta, que los misioneros obtendrán permiso de S.E. para reanudar sus funciones religiosas y de enseñanza, cuando se haya restablecido por completo la tranquilidad en la isla.

En lo que se refiere á estas dos últimas cuestiones estoy completamente persuadido que vuestra gestión esta governda y dirigida por esta justicia, bondad y generosidad que ha caracterizado siempre vuestra administración en los negocios públicos. No obstante, yo no juzgo justificado recomendar á los misioneros la aceptación de estas condiciones; y les aconsejo, por el contrario, se retiren de Ponapé, y se establezcan en cualquier otra isla, en espera del día en que el Gobierno Español tenga á bien considerar la isla tranquila y en condiciones de que los misioneros puedan gozar de los privilegios anteriores. Los misioneros han decidido seguir mi consejo, si teneis á bien concederles les acompañen algunas niñas naturales de Ponapé (5) y otras islas (2) [rather 12], asi como 4 hombres y una muger, criados de Mr. Rand.

Si tuviereis la bondad de permitirlo, yo podría talvez, conducirles con su menaje en el buque. Todo lo de su propiedad que necesita dejar aquí, debe quedar al cuydado de Mr. Bowker y otras personas, hasta la llegada del consul de los EE. UU., que tendra á bien encargarse de su custodia, hasta que los misioneros dispongan de un buque que los recoga.

Las muchachas, para las cuales solicitan vuestro permiso Mlle. Fletcher y Mlle. Palmer, son las siguientes:

Rhoda del grupo Mortlock

Esther " " "

Edith " " "

Aleta de Isla de Mokil

Myra " " " "

Lulu " " " "

Mary Jane Smit de Mokil

Nancy Hellan " "

Elsie del grupo Marschall

Sophie Juniper del Grupo Marschall

Nellie de la Isla Pingelap

Jael " " "

Estas niñas (12) obtuvieron permiso para abandonar la Isla en Setiembre de 1890; y habían venido en Set. 1889.

De Ponape (en la escuela de la misión): Juana, hija de John de Silva de Kiti, entro en la escuela (1886); Alice, hija de John de Silva de Kiti (1885); Juliana, orfélina, parientes antxs de Majijo (1884) Malpene, hija de Pempen de Oa (1886); Dora, hija de David de Majijo (1886).

Estas cinco niñas, desean abandonar la isla desde Setiembre último; y las Sras. misioneras serán responsables de no descuidarlas, en cumplimiento de sus deberes.

En vista de lo expuesto, y si comprende su autoridad no hay inconveniente en ello, espero se digno conceder el permiso deseado.

Mr. Rand desea le acompañen las personas siguientes que son sirvientes de su casa: Llewellyn y Clara (casados) de la tribu de Kiti; Charles, niño de corta edad de la tribu de U; Bernardo, antes de la tribu de Kiti, y que reside hoy en casa del secundo Jefe de Metalanim, que está en Kiti, bajo la protección de su autoridad; Samuel de Mokil; y Miniskilo, intérprete hoy de la goleta Japonesa.

En espera de su contestación, permítame Sor. Gobernador, le manifieste mi gratitud por las cordiales y generosas frases de vuestra carta, las cuales me han servido de gran satisfacción, y miraré siempre como un distinguido honor, el haberme asociado á su Excelencia; considerándome orgulloso para lo futuro, en contar como amigo mío, á un oficial tan distinguido: un Gobierno tan ilustre, como lo es Su Excelencia.

Soy Sr. Gobernador, con el homenaje de mi más alta consideración y respeto, y vuestro excelente y fiel servidor.

H. C. Taylor—Capitan de Fragata de la Armada—Comandante de la Fragata Alianza de los EE. UU.

Es copia—Luis Cadarso.

Re-translation to English.

U.S. Slopp-of-war Alliance.

Ponape, October 30th, 1890.

To His Excellency, Mr. Luis Cadarso, Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

I have read your notable letter of October 25th with interest, that answered my own, bearing date of the 23rd, which contains very detailed reasonings.

The testimonies that I have received from natives and other persons is of such a nature that, if we were to admit them, I am almost convinced that you would modify your opinion respecting the missionaries or would change it completely. However, I recognize, on the other hand, that your position in this matter cannot change, and this point must not be discussed.

I thank you very much for your sincere answer to my first question and the guarantee that Y.E. gives me to the effect that the American citizens will at all times be protected by your authority.

For my part, I consider it a matter of interest and I thank you for the answer to my second proposal, in which Y.E. accepts, as a sure method of guaranteeing the security

of the missionaries, to settle in the Colony, near your authority. Also, to my third question, that the missionaries will get permission from Y.E. to renew their religious and teaching functions, when the tranquillity of the island has been completely restored.

As far as the two last questions, I am completely persuaded that your move is governed and directed by this justice, kindness and generosity that have always characterized your administration in public matters. Nevertheless, I do not think it justified to recommend to the missionaries the acceptance of these conditions, and I advise them instead to withdraw from Ponape and to settle in any other island, in the hope that one day the Spanish Government will consider the island quiet and in conditions to allow the missionaries to enjoy the former privileges. The missionaries have decided to follow my advice, if you should agree to let some girls to accompany them, five of them born in Ponape, and twelve others born in other islands, as well as four men and one woman, the servants of Mr. Rand.

If you should be so kind as to permit it, I could perhaps convey them with their baggage aboard this ship. Everything belonging to them that they need to leave behind here, must remain in the care of Mr. Bowker and other persons, until the arrival of the United States Consul who may accept to take charge of it, until the missionaries may arrange for a ship to pick it up.

The girls, for whom Miss Fletcher and Miss Palmer with your permission, are the following:

Rhoda, from the Mortlock group	Sophie Juniper, from the Marshall group
Esther, " " " "	Nellie, from Pingelap Island
Edith, " " " "	Jael, " " "
Aleta, from Mokil Island	
Myra, " " "	
Lulu, " " "	
Mary Jane Smit, from Mokil	
Nancy Hellan, " "	
Elsie, from the Marshall group	

These girls (12) have received permission to leave the island in September 1890; and they had come in September 1889.

From Ponape (in the mission school): Juana, the daughter of Juan da Silva of Kiti, she joined the school in 1886; Alice, the daughter of Juan da Silva of Kiti (1885); Juliana, orphan, her parents formerly from Majijo (1884); Malpene, the daughter of Pempen of Oua (1886); Dora, the daughter of David of Majijo (1885).

These five girls wanted to leave the island last September but the missionary ladies were responsible for them and wished to take care of them, to comply with their duty.

In view of what is said here, and if your authority does not see any inconvenient in it, I hope that you may deign grant the required permit.

Mr. Rand wishes to be accompanied by the following persons, his house-servants: Llewellyn and Clara (married) from the Kiti tribe; Charles, a boy of young age from the U tribe; Bernardo, before from the Kiti tribe, but now residing here in the house of

the second Chief of Metalanim, who is in Kiti, under the protection of your authority; Samuel, from Mokil; and Miniskilo, now the interpreter of the Japanese schooner.¹

In the hope of receiving a reply, permit me, my dear Governor, to express my gratitude for the cordial and generous phrases in your letter, which have caused me great satisfaction, and I will always look upon as a distinguished honor to have been associated with your Excellency; I am proud to consider in the future among my friends, such a distinguished officer, such an illustrious Governor, as your Excellency.

I am, my dear Governor, with the homage of my highest consideration and respect, and your excellent and faithful servant,

H. C. Taylor, Commander, U.S. Navy,
Commander of the U.S. Slopp-of-war **Alliance**.

It is a copy—Luís Cadarso.

V4. Second letter from Governor Cadarso

Santiago de la Ascensión 1º Noviembre 1890.

*A su Excelencia Mr. H. C. Taylor, Comandante de la Corbeta de los EE. UU. **Alianza**.*

Sor. Comandante

*La lectura de su carta oficial de fecha de ayer, que demuestra de una vez más, lo legítimas que eran mis esperanzas de un arreglo amistoso y completo, en lo referente á los misioneros americanos. No en valde comprendí desde nuestra primera conferencia que el noble Almirante de la Escuadra á que pertenece la **Alianza** había elegido para el arreglo de los asuntos diplomáticos que pudieran presentarse, á un Jefe que da honor á la ilustrada marina de los EE. UU. de América, y mucho más al modesto Gobernador de este Archipiélago que recordará siempre con satisfacción inmensa, los buenos oficios y atenciones que hé recibido de su Excelencia...*

[3 lines are unreadable] ...

*la salida de los referidos Misioneros de la isla, asi como de las Sras. Misioneras y de las colegiales y servidumbre, cuyos nombres me refiere en su notable carta, los cuales pueden ser [...] desde luego en la **Alianza**, como se digno proponerme, para ser conducidos á otra isla.*

En lo que se refiere á los demás súbditos americanos residentes en esta [isla?] puede su Excelencia abrigar la completa seguridad para que todos disfrutarán los privilegios otorgados por el Ministerio de Estado Español, como corresponde á una Nación verdaderamente leal y amiga.

Ruego á su Excelencia, Sor. Comandante que para lo sucesivo, me premita el honor de contarme entre sus más afectos admiradores, y recuerde como yo con singular agrado el tiempo que asociados y, con un mismo fin, hemos contribuido al bien general y á la duradera paz en este país.

1 Ed. note: A reference to the first so-called 1890 Japanese commercial mission to Ponape (see Doc. 1890X).

Soy, Sor. Comandante con la más distinguida consideración y respeto, su seguro servidor.

*Luis Cadarso,
Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.*

Translation.

Santiago de la Ascención, 1 November 1890.

To His Excellency Mr. H. C. Taylor, Commander of the U.S. Sloop-of-war **Alliance**.

My dear Commander:

The reading of your official letter, dated yesterday, which shows once more how legitimate were my hopes of a friendly and complete arrangement, with regards to the American missionaries. It is not in vain that I understood as of our first conference that the noble Admiral of the Squadron to which the **Alliance** belongs, had selected, for the arrangement of diplomatic matters that might offer, an Officer who does honor to the illustrious navy of the United States, and much more to the modest Governor of this archipelago who will always remember with enormous satisfaction, the good offices and attentions that I have received from Your Excellency...

[3 lines unreadable]...

the departure of the said Missionary from the island, as well as the Missionary Ladies and the school girls and servants, whose names are contained in your notable letter, who may then be [taken], of course, aboard the **Alliance**, as you have deigned propose to me, to be conveyed to another island.

As far as the other American citizens residing on this [island] are concerned, Your Excellency may rest assured that they will all enjoy the privileges granted by the Ministry of State of Spain, as corresponding to a Nation that is truly loyal and friendly.

I beg Your Excellency, my dear Commander, that in the future, you may allow me the honor of counting me among your most affectionate admirers, and will remember with fondness the special time that we have been associated with each other, and, for a common purpose, have contributed to the general welfare and a long-lasting peace in this country.

I am, my dear Commander, with the most distinguished consideration and respect,
your loyal servant,

Luis Cadarso,
Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

V5. Comments of Governor Cadarso

...
The said frigate left on the 3rd [November] headed for Kusaie, where the Methodist missionaries have their residence, when the **Velasco** was still bombarding the Metalanim tribe; already it can be noticed here that they are gone, as foreigners and natives who did not dare show it before, on account of the fear of speaking a word against that

mission. In the summary investigation that was carried out, it appears that they were secret enemies of Spain and propagators of ideas that do not in the least favor us. The kinglet of Metalanim was seen to be very oppressed, when upon the return of the **Velasco** to this port he wrote me a letter, on his own behalf and that of his main chiefs, requesting clemency and pardon, as they were sorry, and obliged to stay there because the youths of Chapalap would not consider him safe if he delivered the weapons.

Meanwhile, the work of fortification in the Colony continued, while a ship from Manila was awaited. On the 14th, at 2 in the afternoon, the **Cebu** came in, towing the Spanish bark **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** loaded with 200 tons of coal. One hour later, the merchant steamer **Uranus** arrived, bringing aboard her Colonel Manuel Serano, Major and Captain of Artillery Antonio Diez de Rivera and approximately 150 soldiers, among whom were 53 artillerymen; there were as well rations from the Army and Navy...

...

V6. Complaint of the ABCFM, dated Boston 1 November 1890

Spanish version.

(Boston 1 Noviembre 1890)

Ministerio de Ultramar—Ministerio de Estado—Sección V—Copia traducida.

Corporación Americana de Comisarios de Misiones Extranjeras.

Boston 1 de Noviembre de 1890.

Al Honorable James G. Blaine, Secretario de Estado, Washington.

Muy Señor mío:

Con noticias á la vista recibidas en el instante, de nuestros misioneros en las islas Carolinas y especialmente de Ponapé, residencia del Gobernador Español de dichas Islas, me permito llamar su atención sobre ellas y pedirle la fije según la importancia del [sic] asunto parece demandar.

La carta que hé recibido me ha sido escrita por una de las jóvenes mugeres que residen ahora en Ponapé y describe una sublevación de los indigenas contra los españoles, provocada, según parece, por la conducta de estos.

Según parece las autoridades españolas han tratado de levantar edificios, para su uso, al lado de las casas ocupadas por nuestros misioneros y han colocado un edificio destinado á los sacerdotes católicos á una distancia de seis pies de la puerta de la Iglesia indigena [sic], que se había erigido allí bajo el cuidado de nuestros misioneros.

Estas cosas parecen haber excitado la suspicacia de los indigenas y dado ocasión, aunque no supongo que hayan sido la causa, á la sublevación.

La causa se encuentra sin duda en el recuerdo de los daños hechos á los indigenas hace unos tres años.

Nuestros misioneros, al conocer el ánimo de los indigenas, hicieron cuando les fué posible para contenerlos, para persuadirles que abandonaran su intención y después

que comenzó la lucha fué tan solo por sus esfuerzos que algunos sacerdotes y soldados se salvaron de una muerte inminente y fueron escondidos en nuestra casa misión hasta que pudieron escapar sin peligro.

Nuestros misioneros han hecho cuanto estaba en su mano para obligar á los indigenas á abandonar su posición y á someterse lealmente á las autoridades españoles. Según nos informa, el Gobernador español ha escrito á Manila pidiendo auxilio y és probable que cuando vuelva un barco de guerra se tome venganza sumaria de los indigenas y és fácil que la propiedad de nuestros misioneros y hasta sus vidas puedan sufrir á consecuencia de ese estado de cosas.

Firmado—Judson Smith.

Está conforme—Hay una rúbrica—Es copa—El subsecretario—Muñoz.

Re-translation to English.

(Boston 1 November 1890)

Ministry of Overseas—Ministry of State—Section V—Translation.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Boston, November 1st, 1890.

To the Honorable James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, Washington.

My dear Sir:

With news that have just been received from our missionaries in the Carolines and specially from Ponape, where the Spanish governor of said islands reside, I take the liberty of calling your attention to them and to ask you to fix it according to the importance that the matter seems to demand.

The letter that I have received has been written by one of the young women who reside now in Ponape and she describes an uprising of the natives against the Spanish, provoked, it seems, by the conduct of the latter.

It seems that the Spanish authorities have tried to put up buildings, for their use, next to houses occupied by our missionaries and have placed a building meant for the Catholic priests at a distance of six feet from the door of the native [sic] Church, which had been built there under the direction of our missionaries.

These things appear to have excited the distrust of the natives and given occasion, although I do not suppose that they have been the cause, to the uprising.

Our missionaries, knowing the mind of the natives, did whatever they could to contain them, to persuade them that they should abandon their intention and after the battle started it was only through their efforts that a few priests and soldiers were saved from an imminent death and were hidden in our mission house until they were able to escape without danger.

Our missionaries have done what they could to force the natives to abandon their position and to submit themselves loyally to the Spanish authorities. It seems that the Spanish Governor has written to Manila to ask for help and it is probable that when a warship comes a summary vengeance against the natives will take place and it is easy

to imagine that the property of our missionaries and even their lives may suffer as a result of that state of affairs.

Signed—Judson Smith.

Translation OK—There is a seal—It is a copy—The Subsecretary—Muñoz.

V7. Above letter transmitted officially

Spanish version.

(Madrid 25 Nov. 1890)

Ministerio de Ultramar—Ministerio de Estado—Sección V—Traducción.

El Encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos al Ministro de Estado.

Madrid 25 de Noviembre de 1890.

Excmo. Sor.

Tengo el honor de remitir á V.E. la adjunta copia de una carta dirigida al Departamento de Estado de Washington por el Secretario de la Corporación Americana de Misiones Extranjeras, llamando la atención hacia la intranquila condición de los asuntos en Ponapé y sobre los esfuerzos de sus misioneros para conservar la paz y mejorar las relaciones entre los indigenas y la guarnición española.

Nuestro Consul recientemente nombrado en dicha plaza, ha recibido instrucciones para emplear los mayores esfuerzos en restablecer buena voluntad y promover relaciones pacíficas de los misioneros americanos y de los indigenas hacia las autoridades españoles.

Es de esperar que el Gobierno de que V.E. forma parte, apoyará cordialmente á nuestro Consul para que consiga este fin, puesto que tanto él como los misioneros pondrán gran empeño en el mantenimiento del orden y la ley.

Aprovecho, etc.

Firmado—H. R. Newberry

Está conforme—Hay una rúbrica—Es copia—El subsecretario—Muñoz.

Re-translation into English.

(Madrid, 25 Nov. 1890)

Ministry of Overseas—Ministry of State—Section V—Translation.

The Chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Minister of State.

Madrid, November 25th, 1890.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to remit to Y.E. the attached copy of a letter addressed to the Department of State in Washington by the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, calling his attention to the uneasy condition of affairs in Ponape and about the efforts made by its missionaries to preserve peace and improve the relations between the natives and the Spanish garrison.

Our recently appointed Consul at said place has received instructions to make use of his best efforts to restore good-will and promote peaceful relations between the American missionaries and the natives toward the Spanish authorities.

It is to be hoped that the Government that you are part of, will cordially support our Consul so that he may achieve this purpose, given that he as well as the missionaries will endeavor to maintain law and order.

I take this opportunity, etc.

Signed—H. R. Newberry.

Translation OK—There is a seal—It is a copy—The Subsecretary—Muñoz.

V8. Claim made on behalf of the American missionaries

Spanish version.

Secretaria del Gobierno General de Filipinas: Año de 1891: Núm. 2, Negociado 1.

[Summary:] *Expediente sobre una protesta presentada por el Encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos en Madrid contra actos atribuidos á los oficiales españoles destruyendo casas y edificios de los Americanos en Ponapé (Carolinas Orientales) y pidiendo el cumplimiento del compromiso de Kenan¹ é indemnización.*

Ministerio de Ultramar—Ministerio de Estado—Sección 5.

El Encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos al Ministro de Estado.

Madrid 25 de Noviembre de 1890

Exmo. Sor.

Tengo el honor de poner en conocimiento de V.E. que hé recibido ultimamente despacho del Secretario de Estado de Washington relatando los recientes disturbios de Ponapé y ruego á V.E. prestar á este asunto toda la atención que requiera por ser de grande importancia para mi Gobierno.

Cuando el [Gobierno] de S.M. tomó posesión de dicha Isla como parte integrante de los dominios españoles, se dieron seguridades de que las propiedades de las misiones Americanas, garantizadas en debida forma y sostenidas desde hace muchos años como pertenecientes á las Escuelas de dichas Misiones, serían debidamente respetadas.

Pero dichas propiedades han sido tomadas y ocupadas por los Oficiales Españoles, sin ninguna indemnización, y aún cuando en virtud de representación de los Estados Unidos el Gobierno Español ha convenido en el pago de cinco mil pesos por daños ocasionados, todavía no se ha satisfecho ni un céntimo. Esto por lo que respecto á la propiedad ocupada y perjudicada en el pueblo de Kenan, en la citada Isla de Ponapé. Ahora además bajo la protección y con permiso de los oficiales españoles, los Sacerdotes Católicos se han ceñado sobre propiedades pertenecientes á Americanos allí residentes y

¹ Ed. note: Kenan (derived from the biblical word Canaan) was the plot of land in Not where the original Protestant mission was located. It was chosen as the best site for a Colony by the Spanish upon their occupation in 1887.

no obstante su protesta, han erigido una Iglesia á doce pies poco más ó menos de la Capilla de la Misión Americana.

Adjunta acompaño copia de la carta de Mr. [rather Mrs.] Cole dando cuenta de hecho tan ilegal y del trastorno que ha producido.

En nombre de mi Gobierno protesto seriamente contra la invasión de la propiedad y derechos de los Americanos en Ponapé é insisto al Gobierno de S.M. para que lleve adelante el arreglo convenido respecto á los perjuicios causados en Kenan, y que por lo que se refiere á las presentes circunstancias, se dicten órdenes á los Oficiales Españoles en aquella Isla para que devuelvan las propiedades que de derecho pertenecen á los Americanos. Me atrevo de nuevo á solicitar de V.E. la necesidad de un pronto arreglo á estas dificultades confiando en que el deseo del Gobierno de S.M. será como en todas ocasiones, mirar este asunto con rectitud y justicia.

Aprovecho, etc.

H. R. Newberry.

Está conforme—Hay una rúbrica—Es copia—El Subsecretario: Muñoz.

Re-translation to English.

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1891: N° 2, Business Office 1.

[Summary:] File regarding a protest presented by the Chargé d'affaires of the United States in Madrid against acts attributed to Spanish officials in the destruction of houses and buildings belonging to Americans in Ponape (Eastern Carolines) and requesting that the compromise of Kenan¹ be complied with and an indemnification.

Ministry of Overseas—Ministry of State—Section 5.

The Chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Minister of State.

Madrid, November 25th, 1890.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Y.E. that I have just received a despatch from the Secretary of State in Washington narrating the recent disturbances in Ponape and I beg Y.E. to regard this matter with all the attention that it requires, as it is of great importance for my Government.

When the Government of H.M. took possession of said Island as an integral part of the Spanish dominions, guarantees were given that the properties of the missions belonging to the Schools of said Missions would be duly respected.

However, said properties have been taken and occupied by Spanish officials, without any indemnification, and even when by virtue of a representation of the United States the Spanish Government has agreed to pay five thousand pesos for damages

¹ Ed. note: Kenan (derived from the biblical word Canaan) was the plot of land in Not where the original Protestant mission was located. It was chosen as the best site for a Colony by the Spanish upon their occupation in 1887.

caused, still not one cent has been paid. This with regards to the property occupied and prejudiced in the town of Kenan, in said Island of Ponape. Now, in addition, and under the protection and with the permission of the Spanish officials, the Catholic priests have walled themselves up on land belonging to American citizens there, and, in spite of their protest, have built a Church twelve feet more or less from the Chapel of the American Mission.

Enclosed please find the copy of a letter from Mrs. Cole narrating such an illegal act and the disturbance that it has produced.

On behalf of my Government, I seriously protest against the invasion of the property and the rights of Americans in Ponape and insist to the Government of H.M. to carry on with the arrangement agreed upon regarding the prejudices caused in Kenan, and, with regards to the present circumstances, to issue orders to the Spanish officials in that Island so that the properties be returned that by right belong to Americans. I again dare to solicit from Y.E the need for a prompt arrangement to these difficulties, trusting in the desire of the Government of H.M. will be, as always, to look upon this matter with rectitude and justice.

I take this opportunity, etc.

H. R. Newberry.

Translation OK—There is a seal—It is a copy—The Subsecretary—Muñoz.

V9. Letter of Mrs. Cole to ABFCM, dated Pohnpei 14 July 1890

Spanish version.

Documento exhibido A: Copia de una carta de Mrs. Lucy M. Cole, Ayudante de la Misión de Ponapé, Escuela de niñas, fechada en Ponapé el 14 de Julio de 1890.

El 17 de Mayo (los españoles) vinieron á Oua y pidieron un sitio para edificar. Se les dió la colina al lado de nuestra Iglesia y empezaron á preparar el sitio y dos semanas después vinieron dos sacerdotes y pidieron un sitio para edificar sobre él y no les convenía más que el de Mr. Doane cerca de la Iglesia. Empezaron á edificar su Iglesia unas cuatro yardas de la puertas de la nuestra[.] desde luego nos quejamos de esto al Gobernador, el que al principio dijo que se apartarían. Escribió á los sacerdotes acerca de esto pero dijeron que este era el único lugar bueno(?). No podíamos hacer ni decir más.

El 25 de Junio por la mañana nos despertó el ruido de gritería y tiros. El Teniente y sus hombres acababan de marchar á sus obras y los naturales se echaron sobre ellos y los mataron. Unos pocos huyeron á los bosques y los naturales los cazaron como cerdos; no tenían ningunas armas y no pudieron hacer nada.

Habían dejado todas sus armas en la casa en que vivían y los naturales las cojieron. Cuando al principio oímos el ruido Nanpey bajó corriendo á la Colina precisamente á tiempo para salvar á los dos sacerdotes. Los llevó á nuestra casa y el y su mujer salvaron á cinco hombres de Manila y un Jefe salvó á otro y á todos los tuvimos en nuestra casa dos días y noches. Aquellas noches eran de ansiedad para nosotros; no sabíamos

en que momento podrían entrar y matarlos. Nuestras propias vidas estaban también en peligro; pues estaban furiosos contra Nanpey porque los había salvado. La segunda noche Nanpey y Mr. Bowker los sacaron con cuidado de la casa y los llevaron al puerto y fuera del arrecife á donde estaba el buque de guerra y fueron con seguridad á bordo. Cuando la noticia llegó al Gobernador este envió cuatro botes armados pero fueron rechazados por los naturales que mataron á nueve individuos é hirieron á nueve. Hacia las cinco del mismo día vino el buque de guerra y encalló en el arrecife ebto un com-pate y salvo las vidas de la gente que teníamos en la casa y talvez también las nuestras. Ahora ha ido á Manila por auxilio. En unas 4 semanas tendrán aquí cuatro buques de guerra; bombardearán á todo Metalanim.

(Nota)

Nanpey és natural de Ponapé, un maestro que vive en las tierras de la escuela de la misión.

Carlos Bowker és un Carpintero [de] Massachusetts, residente en Ponapé, contratado para ir á Ruk á levantar algunos edificios para la misión allí.

*El Reverendo Mr. Rand y familia salieron de Honolulu en el **Morning Star** el 11 de Julio y probablemente habrán desembarcado en Ponapé hacia el 1 de Setiembre.*

El 25 de Junio fueron asesinados un Teniente, dos cabos y unos 30 hombres de Manila.

Está conforme—Es copia—El Subsecretario: Muñoz.

Original text in English.

Source: For a full copy of this letter, see Doc. 1890M2 in Vol. 25. Note that the parts of the letter that said things favorable to the Spanish were not reproduced.

Exhibit A: Copy of a letter from Mrs. Lucy M. Cole, Assistant of the Ponape Mission, School for girls, dated Ponape July 15th, 1890.

...
They (the Spanish) came to Oa May 17, and asked for a place to build. The hill close by our school was given them, and they started to clear the place, and two weeks after, two priests came and wanted a place to build on, and no other place but the Doane's place close by the church would suit them. They started to build their church about four yards from our church door. Of course, we complained to the Governor about it, but they said that that was the only healthy place. So the Governor wrote and told us that they could not have it moved as that was the only healthy place. We could not do or say anything more.

June 25th, early in the morning we were awakened with the noise of shouting and shooting. The Lieutenant and his men had just started to their work, and the natives rushed on them and killed them, a few escaping into the woods, and the natives hunting them down like pigs. They not having any arms could not do anything. They left all their arms in the house they were living in, and the natives took them all. When we first heard the noise, Nanpei ran down the hill just in time to save the two priests. He

brought them up to our house, and he and his wife saved five Manila men, and a chief saved another, and we kept them all in our house two days and two nights. Those were nights of anxiety for us. We did not know what minute they would break in and kill them. Our own lives were in danger too, because they were angry with Nanpei for saving them. The second night Nanpei and Mr. Bowker took them quietly from the house down to the shore and out to the reef where the man-of-war was, and they got safely on board.

When the news reached the Governor, he sent four armed boats, but they were driven back by the natives, killing two and wounding nine. No Ponapeans got hurt. About five o'clock, the same day the man-of-war came, and as she was going in the passage, she got on the reef, and they did not get her off till Sunday night. (She got on Wednesday evening). The man-of-war getting on the reef saved a fight and the lives of the people we had in the house, and perhaps our own lives too. Now they are going to send to Manila for help. In about four weeks they will have four men-of-war down here. Then they will shell the whole of Metalanim.

...
(Note)¹

Nanpey is a native of Ponape, a teacher who lives on lands of the mission school.

Charles Bowker is a Carpenter from Massachusetts, residing in Ponape, contracted to go to Ruk to raise a few buildings for the mission there.

Reverend Mr. Rand and family left Honolulu aboard the **Morning Star** on July 11th and they will probably disembark at Ponape toward September 1st.

On June 25th, one Lieutenant and some 30 Manila men were assassinated.

V10. Comments made by Spanish government ministers, advising the Governor General

Original text in Spanish.

(Madrid 3 Dec. 1890)

Ministerio de Ultramar—No. 1129.

Excmo. Sor.

El Sor. Ministro de Estado en Real Orden de fecha 27 de Noviembre último, dice al de Ultramar lo que sigue:

“Excmo. Sor.

“Adjunta remito á V.E. copia de una nota del Sor. Encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos en esta Corte y de una carta que lo es aneja dirigida al Departamento de Estado de Washington por el Secretario de la Corporación Americana de Misiones Extranjeras, relativas ambas á asuntos de Ponapé (Carolinas Orientales).

¹ Ed. note: Added by ABFCM upon forwarding the above letter to Washington.

“Como V.E. observará el Sor. Encargado de Negocios mencionado, hace referencia á las instrucciones que dice haberle transmitido el Gobierno Americano al Consul que recientemente han nombrado para Ponapé pero como quiera que el referido Consul no entrará en funciones hasta que reciba el indispensable exequatur de S.M. estimo conveniente exponer á V.E. sobre el particular las siguientes observaciones rogándole se sirva manifestarme el juicio que las mismas le merezcan.

“La tirantez de relaciones entre los misioneros metodistas americanos de antigua residencia en las Carolinas Orientales y los frailes capuchinos españoles, que solo llevan allí tres años de permanencia, ha contribuido indudablemente á la presente agitación de aquellos indigenas y á los actos vandálicos y salvajes que han cometido contra nuestras Autoridades. Pero si hasta aquí los rozamientos y diferencias solo tenían un caracter privado por tratarse de corporaciones particulares, podrían adquirir mayor importancia si los metodistas Americanos se escudasen tras la autoridad legal del Consul de su Nación.

“Por esta razón estimo que conviene estudiar con detenimiento el asunto antes de acceder al establecimiento de un Consul Norte Americano en Ponapé y llamo sobre esto muy especialmente la elevada atención de V.E. en previsión de futuros conflictos.”

Lo que de R. O. comunicada por el Sor. Ministro traslado á V.E. con copia de las que se citan, á fin de que la tenga á la vista al evacuar el informe que se pidió á V.E. sobre el asunto con fecha 6 de Noviembre último.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 3 de Diciembre de 1890.

El subsecretario—Juan Muñoz.

[A] Sor. Gobor. Gral. de Filipinas.

Translation.

(Madrid, 3 Dec. 1890)

Ministry of Overseas—Nº 1129.

Your Excellency,

The Minister of State, in a Royal order dated 27 November last, says the following to the Minister of Overseas:

“Your Excellency,

“I remit to Y.E., enclosed, the copy of a note from the Chargé d'affaires of the United States in this City and of a letter that attached to it, that was sent to the Department of State in Washington by the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, both related to the events of Ponape (Eastern Carolines).

“As Y.E. will note, the said Chargé d'affaires makes a reference to instructions which he says the American Government sent to the Consul who has recently been appointed for Ponape, but inasmuch as said Consul will not begin to serve unless he receives the indispensable *exequatur* from H.M., I think it convenient to express to Y.E. regarding

the case the following remarks, begging you to please let me know what you think about them.

“The strained relations between the American Methodist missionaries who have resided in the Eastern Carolines for a long time and the Spanish Capuchin friars who have been living there for only three years, have no doubt contributed to the present rebellion of those natives and to the acts of vandalism that they have carried out against our Authorities. But, if so far the clashes and disputes had only a private character, since private corporations were involved, they could acquire greater importance if the American Methodists should shield themselves behind the legal authority of the Consul of their nation.

“For this reason, I think it is convenient to study the matter thoroughly before agreeing to the establishment of a North American Consul in Ponape and I call the high attention of Y.E. to this matter very specially, to prevent future conflicts.”

This is what by Royal order communicated by the Minister I transmit to Y.E. with copy of those that are referred to, so that you may have them in view upon transacting the report that was asked of Y.E. regarding the matter, dated 6 November last.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 3 December 1890.

The Subsecretary,

Juan Muñoz.

[To] the Governor General of the Philippines.

V11. Confidential letter to General Weyler, dated Madrid 29 January 1891

Original text in Spanish.

(Jan-Apr 1891)

Ministerio de Ultramar—Reservado.

Excmo. Sor.

El Sor. Ministro de Estado me dice con fecha 22 del actual lo siguiente:

“Exmo. Sor.

“Con motivo del envío por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos del barco Alliance á las aguas de las Islas Carolinas, de que ya tiene V.E. conocimiento, el Representante de S.M. en Washington recibió instrucciones para que inquirese la causa á que obedecía aquella medida, siendo el resultado de sus averiguaciones, la declaración del Secretario de Estado Mr. Blaine, de que había ido á relevar al buque que anteriormente se hallaba allí de estación.

“Para comprobar esta manifestación, convendría, en mi entender que V.E. se sirviese pedir informes reservados al Sor. Gobernador General de Filipinas a fin de que indicase, después de practicadas las correspondientes averiguaciones, cuanto tiempo

hace que existe en las Carolinas estación naval americana y el juicio que la merezca esta disposición del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos."

Lo que de Real orden tengo el honor de transcribir á V.E. á los efectos expresados.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 29 de Enero de 1891.

Fabié(?)

[A] *Sor. Gobernador General de Filipinas.*

[Minute:]

Manila 12 Marzo 1891.

Cúmplase y evacúese el informe pedido—Weyler.

Translation.

(Jan.-Apr. 1891)

Ministry of Overseas—Confidential.

Your Excellency,

The Minister of State on the 22nd instant tells me the following:

"Your Excellency,

"In connection with the despatch by the Government of the United States of the ship **Alliance** to the waters of the Caroline Islands, about which Y.E. has knowledge, the REpresentative of H.M. in Washington has received instructions to make inquiries into the cause for such a measure, and the results of his investigations, in a declaration of the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, that she had gone there to relieve one that had been stationed there previously.

"To check the truth of this assertion, it would be convenient, in my opinion, for Y.E. to please ask for confidential reports from the Governor General of the Philippines so that he may state, after making the proper investigations, how long has such an American naval station existed in the Carolines and the judgment that this measure on the part of the Government of the United States deserves."

This is what by Royal order I have the honor to transcribe to Y.E. for the mentioned effects.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 29 January 1891.

Fabié(?)

[To] the Governor General of the Philippines.

[Minute:]

Manila, 12 March 1891.

Please comply and transact the requested report.

Weyler.

V12. Answer of General Weyler, dated Manila 1 April 1891

Original text in Spanish.

Al Ministerio de Ultramar.

1 Abril 1891.

Excmo. Sor.

*Contestando [su instancia] reservada de 29 de Enero último sobre la presencia del barco Americano **Alliance** en aguas de las Islas Carolinas, tengo la honra de manifestar á V.E. que según expresaba el Sr. Gobernador P.M. de Ponapé en su oficio de 28 de Nov. de 1890, del cual, así como de los anexos al mismo se remitieron copia literales á ese Ministerio del digno cargo de V.E., en carta oficial de fecha 15 de Dic. siguiente, el barco **Alliance** de los Estados Unidos se presentó efectivamente en el puerto de la Ascensión manifestando que no le llevaba allí proposito que el de proteger los intereses de los súbditos de su nación y que las entrevistas celebradas con su Comandante fueron por extremo cordiales, no pudiendo el referido barco haber ido á relevar á ningún otro de su nación por que en aquellas aguas no és donde los Estados Unidos tienen establecida su estación naval sino que la tienen en el Japón.*

Dios, etc.

Translation.

To the Minister of Overseas.

1 April 1891.

Your Excellency,

In answer to your confidential letter of 29 January last regarding the presence of the American ship **Alliance** in the waters of the Caroline Islands, I have the honor to tell Y.E. that, according to an official letter from the P.M. Governor of Ponape, dated 28 November 1890, copies of which, as well as of its attachments, having been remitted to that Minister under the worthy command of Y.E., in an official letter dated 15 December last, the U.S. ship **Alliance** did in fact appear in the port of Ascensiín, declaring that her only purpose was to protect the interests of the citizens of her nationality and that the conferences held with her Commander were extremely cordial; said ship cannot possibly have gone there to relieve another one of her nationality because in those waters it is not where the United States have established their naval station, but they have it in Japan.

May God, etc.

V13. Briefing note passed to General Weyler

Note: There are on file an original letter from Governor Cadarso, as well as the letters of Commander Paredes and Major, Acting LCol Díaz.

Manila, 2 February 1891.

Your Excellency,

The P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines, in a letter dated 12 December of last year, forwards to Y.E. the account of values that Mr. Rand, American Missionary, has calculated as indemnification for the houses, church, school and furniture and effects burned on 20 September as a consequence of the attack against the natives of Oua. This was the cause that the said buildings had to be burned; they were not identified with flags or anything else and inside the church and houses all of those intimately linked with Mr. Rand were fighting. The leader of the trenches built very close to those buildings, was the Protestant teacher and the one charged with collecting taxes on behalf of Mr. Doane. When the attack on Oua was planned, this native marched alongside Mr. Rand installed in Kiti, returning with the rebels when the fire stopped. The summary investigation report shows that Mr. Rand and all of his dependents were not fond of our cause; that the only signal displayed by the rebels was a flag with an inscription: "Long Live the Morning Star," which demonstrates the sympathies that linked the rebels with the Mission. It appears in the summary report upon the causes that motivated the events, that Mr. Rand, when he arrived at Oua last August, preached in a Meeting that he saw with displeasure our domination in that tribe, and he can then be supposed to be responsible for the consequences of the burning of their properties. He considers unjust the claim and lacking a legal basis when it was not presented through the Commander of the American warship that remained in those waters from the 20 of October to 3 November and that it was presented by a foreigner 6 days after the departure of the said Rand from Ponape.

He sends, along with the above communication, two others from the Chief of Operations and Commander of the column that corroborate what the Governor of the Carolines says.

The above-mentioned account, without any documentary evidence, amounts to \$11,114.

Manila, 2 February 1891.

Mariano Ruiz(?) de Fresno(?)

Editor's note.

As a result of the formal protest presented by the United States, the Spanish Government issued Royal Order N° 1201 on 23 December 1890. On 9 March 1891, the Governor General in Manila ordered the Governor in Pohnpei to open an investigation. On the same date, he informed the Overseas Ministry that, based on the various despatches and communications from the local authorities and military commanders, he could already foresee the results of the investigation: "The American citizens in Pohnpei did not present themselves before the operations nor did they give any indications to the Governor nor to the Chiefs of the expedition nor did they place flags nor signs to make known the nationality of their houses and buildings; and not having made those signs stipulated in case of war nor given any manifestation of neutrality except that to

the contrary the houses and buldings of the Americans were the bulwarks from which they resisted the most to our troops and the fire that from there the insurgents were making..."

On 10 June 1891, the Governor of Pohnpei, Navy Commander Julio Merás y Urias, had concluded his investigation report, written on 80 manuscript pages, whose conclusion is the following.

V14. Conclusion of the investigative report by Governor Merás, dated Pohnpei 10 June 1891

Original text in Spanish.

Examinadas atentamente las declaraciones que anteceden se nota solo en las del súbdito alemán Friedrich Narruhn y Carolino Edgar, que el uno dice haber visto en casa del Carolino Nanpei una bandera blanca y el otro que la vió en la Iglesia de los metodistas, pero nada importa esto para las deducciones que resultan puesto que hubiera ó nó bandera en la Iglesia no sería más que un trapo sin significación desde el momento en que aquel edificio estaba convertido en Fuerte, desde cuyo interior se hacía nutrido fuego á nuestras tropas por los insurrectos; y en esto concuerdan ambas declaraciones y todos las demás que obran en esta información; de ellas se deduce pues:

1) *Que el establecimiento de nuestra Iglesia y casa Misión en Oua se consideró conveniente por tener ya allí un destacamento militar; que el sitio para la construcción fué elegido por los carolinos naturales de Metalanim; que resultó muy próximo á la Iglesia de los Americanos por no haber obra que reuniera condiciones de salubridad y otras a proposito; que los misioneros Americanos no se quejaron de ello sino después de algunos días de empezada la construcción y al hacerlo no fué alegando ni derecho de propiedad del terreno, ni inconveniencia para ellos sino por que no la tuvieramos nosotros y no molestarnos con sus cantos protestantes; que los días anteriores se habían mostrado muy atentos con nuestros misioneros y aún posteriormente á la determinación de continuar las obras le manifestaron á nuestro padre Agustín [de Ariñez] que por ellos no había inconveniente, que solo habían expuestos sus quejas para no perjudicarnos á nosotros, (véanse las declaraciones del padre Saturnino y sobre todo del padre Agustín que trata el asunto con más detalle como testigo presencial de todo).*

2) *Que los terrenos en que estaban tanto las construcciones Americanas como las que nosotros hacíamos no pertenecían á los metodistas, sino á naturales, y que aquellos habían sido autorizados por el Rey de Metalanim para construir allí sin que se les cediera la propiedad del terreno (declaraciones del padre Agustín y del natural Edgar).*

3) *Que los insurrectos en la acción de Oua se hicieron fuertes en los edificios de los Americanos; principalmente en la Iglesia, convertida en verdadero fuerte haciendo desde allí nutrido fuego á nuestras tropas, y que en dichos edificios no ondaba ningún pabellón ni la menor señal que denotase nacionalidad extranjera, ni aún las inscripciones que había dado el Gobernador á los misioneros para que sus casas fueran conocidas.*

Hechas estas principales deducciones sin meternos en otras que podrían resultar, por creerlos suficientes para establecer una comparación entre nuestro derecho y el de las misiones metodistas Americanas, veamos con entera imparcialidad á que consideraciones se prestan y cual ha sido la conducta de los Americanos en estas tierras. Teniendo un destacamento militar en Oua determinamos el establecimiento de una misión por considerarlo asi conveniente á nuestra política; los canacos eligieron el sitio apropiado que resultó muy próximo á la Iglesia metodista, desde luego empezaron á acopiar materiales y colocarlos allí; si los metodistas consideraban inconveniente la construcción de nuestra Iglesia en aquel sitio y procedían de buena fé, debieron desde luego hacerlo presente al Gobernador, pero no, esperaron á que los materiales se reunieran, á que la construcción empezara, y no habiendo puesto el menos inconveniente antes, cuando las obras estaban ya un tanto adelantadas, és cuando se les ocurrió decir al Gobernador que veían con desagrado aquellas construcciones tan próximas á las suyas, pero no por lo que á ellos pudiera perjudicarles sino por evitarnos á nosotros posteriores disgustos; como no alegaban ningún derecho, ni razón sólida, el Gobernador decidió continuar las obras, diciéndoles que suponía no tubieran inconveniente en que se llevasen á cabo; esto fué por escrito, y entoncés los maestros metodistas repitieron al padre Agustín (declaración de este) que ellos no pretendían poner inconveniente al establecimiento de nuestra misión pero que sentirían molestar con sus cantos y demás ...

Tales son las consideraciones lógicas que resultan de la anterior información; en ellas se ve cuan poco razón hay para protestar contra la conducta de los Españoles en los desventurados hechos ocurridos en Ponapé, pero por si no fueran bastante aún me queda algo que decir y que no debo pasar por alto como resultado de una entrevista habida entre Mr. Rand, Gefe de la Misión Americana que aquí había y yo, y la relato con más gusto porque habiendo sido tenida conmigo no me cae duda para comentarla; empiezo por hacer historia de dicha entrevista.

*A principio de Mayo [1891], fondeó á la entrada de este Puerto el Vapor de las Misiones metodistas Americanas **Morning Star** procedente de Ualan [Kosrae]. Traía abordado á Mr. Rand y algunos otros de sus compañeros y compañeras de Misión que antes estaban en esta isla. A la entrada del Vapor solo vino á presentarse en este Gobierno y Capitania del Puerto un Piloto con una carta del Capitan en que me pedía Autorización para ir á Kiti con objeto de recoger algunos efectos de propiedad de las Misiones que allí habían dejado, contestandole concediendole el permiso que me pidía y manifestándole que deseaba hablar con él y con Mr. Rand y que si en ello no tenían inconveniente les agradecería vinieran á verme, ya fuera antes ya después del viaje á Kiti; á la mañana siguiente vino Mr. Rand; me manifestó que por serles el viento contrario no habían salido y que él iría á Kiti en un bote, á lo que accedí, y aún le dí el Auxilio de algún carbón que me manifestó necesitar, después entrando en materia sobre el objeto de mi llamada, le dije que yo debía informar á mi Gobierno acerca de los últimos sucesos acaecidos en la Tribu de Metalanim, propiedades de los Misioneros Americanos, causa de haberlos destruido, etc. etc., y que deseoso de ser justo en mis apreciaciones y no teniendo otras noticias que las que me daban los españoles y algunos naturales de-*

*seaba oirle á él sobre tan delicado asunto á fin de proceder con verdadera imparcialidad y llevado del deseo de que las cuestiones entre nosotros y sus Misiones se arreglaran, á ser posible, amistosamente como conviene entre naciones amigas y me estaba repetidamente recomendado por mi Gobierno me contestó que deseaba tomar algunas noticias en Kiti y que á su regreso hablaría conmigo del asunto, y caso de no volver, me contestaría por escrito; volvió de Kiti; se hizo á la mar en el **Morning Star**, según tengo entendido con dirección á Sandwich y ni vino á verme ni me escribió una sola letra; el Capitan del Vapor se presentó en la tarde del mismo día que lo hizo Mr. Rand, pero tampoco vino á despedirse faltando así á las Leyes establecidas; ¿ razón ha habido para que Mr. Rand no viniera á despedirse y hablar conmigo de las diferencias que puedan separarnos, cuando yo le hago una cortés invitación para ello y manifiesto el deseo de mi Gobierno de que aquellas diferencias se arreglen amistosamente y de un modo satisfactorio para todos? Cosas son estas que á la verdad parecen indicar una inquina de los Misioneros Americanos hacia nosotros no justificada por cierto cuando yo les invité con mi apoyo para que la luz de la verdad se abra paso, y ellos con su conducta me cierran el camino para ello...*

Quedáme solo tratar de la reclamación hecha por el encargado de Negocios de los Estados Unidos para que se cumplan los compromisos contraidos en Kenan, de esto nada sé, si nuestro Gobierno ofreció como dicen cinco mil duros justo encuentro que se abonen, estos se refieren á los desgraciados sucesos ocurridos aquí al poco tiempo de nuestra ocupación [1887]. En cuanto á la devolución de propiedades ocupadas por nosotros á los Americanos, como dejo dicho no existe ninguna, las únicas que había eran las de Oua y ya se ha visto bien claro por que fueron destruidas.

Considero conveniente que se vean las sumarias que se formaron respecto á los sucesos de Kenan siendo Gobernador el Teniente de Navio Señor Concha y en cuanto á los últimos siendolo el Capitan de Fragata Señor Cadarso, que ambos fueron á Manila, que se diga para completar esta información á los Gefes de las últimas expediciones que vinieron y al mismo Señor Cadarso que se halló presente en todo lo ocurrido, pero con lo expuesto por mi, creo que hay suficiente para que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, al que no puedo menos de suponer inspirado en el mejor deseo de que impere la razón y la justicia, vea que ha sido mal informado, que España obró obligada por las circunstancias que se la presentaron haciendo uso de perfectos derechos, y que los Misioneros Americanos, ni tienen razón de su queja, ni obraron con nosotros con la lealdad que de ellos debía esperarse, por lo tanto creo que aquel Gobierno no insiste en su reclamación.

Ponapé á 10 de Junio de 1891.

Julio Merás.

Translation.

Having carefully examined the declarations that precede, one notes only in those of the German subject Friedrich Narruhn and of the Carolinian Edgar, where one says having seen a white flag in the house of the Carolinian Nanpei and the other says that

he saw it in the church of the Methodists, but this is of no importance for the deductions that result, given that whether or not there be a flag in the church, it would not be more than a rag whose meaning from the moment that building was converted into a Fort, from inside which a steady fire was made by the rebels against our soldiers; and in this both declarations agree and all the others that appear in this report; from them, therefore, one can deduct the following:

1) That the establishment of our church and mission house in Oua was considered convenient, given the presence of a military detachment there; that the site for the construction was selected by the Carolinian natives of Metalanim; that it turned out to be very near the American church, given that there was no other appropriate site with salubrious conditions; that the American missionaries did not complaint about it except a few days after the construction had started and, when they did so, it was not to allege any right of land ownership, nor any inconvenience for them, but because they did not want to cause us any bother with their Protestant chants; that on previous days they had shown themselves to be very courteous with our missionaries and even later on, after it had been decided to continue with the works, they told our Father Agustín [de Ariñez] that, as far as they were concerned, there was no inconvenient, that they had made complaints only so as not to create problems for us (see the declarations of Father Saturnino and above all that of Father Agustín which goes into the matter with greater details, since he was an eyewitness to everything).

2) That the lands where the American buildings, as well as those we were erecting, are located, did not belong to the Methodists, but to natives, and that the latter had been authorized by the King of Metalanim to build there without the land ownership having been given to them (declarations of Father Agustín and of the native Edgar).

3) That the rebels during the engagement of Oua had fortified themselves in the American buildings, mainly in the church, which they had converted into a real fort, from which they kept a steady fire upon our soldiers, and that no flag whatever waved on top of said buildings nor was there the least sign that might denote foreign ownership, not even the inscriptions that the Governor had given to the missionaries to make their buildings known.

Having come to these main deductions without touching on others that might result, given that we believe them sufficient to establish a comparison between our right and that of the American Methodist missions, let us see with complete impartiality to what considerations they invoke and what has been the conduct of the Americans in these lands. As there was a military detachment in Oua, we decided to establish a mission station there, because it was considered convenient to our policy; the kanakas selected the appropriate site that turned out to be very close to the Methodist church, then the building materials were collected and placed there; if the Methodists considered the construction of our church at that site to be inconvenient, and they acted in good faith, they should have, of course, make it known to the Governor, but no, they waited until the materials had been gathered, until the construction had begun, and not having put up any objection before, when the works had already progressed somewhat, only then

did it occur to them to tell the Governor that they saw with displeasure that those buildings were so close to their own, but not because they might be prejudicial to them, but to cause us any future displeasures; as they did not allege any right, nor solid reason, the Governor decided to continue with the works, telling them, in writing, that he supposed that they would not mind if they were completed; then the Methodist teachers repeated to Father Agustín (see his declaration) that they did not pretend to make a fuss against the establishment of our mission but that they felt sorry that their chants and other...

These are theological considerations that result from the above information; in them, it can be seen how little reason there was for them to protest against the conduct of the Spanish during the unfortunate events that occurred in Ponape, but, in case they might be enough, I still have something else to say and that I must not be silent about, that resulted from an interview I had here with Mr. Rand, the Head of the American Mission; I narrate it with more pleasure because, as it took place with me, there is no doubt about it. I begin by narrating the history of said interview.

At the beginning of May [1891], the steamer belonging to the American Methodist Missions, the **Morning Star**, anchored in this Port, coming from Ualan [Kosrae]. She brought Mr. Rand and a few others of his mission companions, male and female, who lived on this island before. Upon the arrival of the steamer, the only person who came to present himself to this Government and the Port Captain was a Pilot, carrying a letter from the Captain in which he asked permission to go to Kiti for the purpose of picking up a few effects belonging to the Missions that had been left there. I answered him, granting him the requested permission and telling him that I wished to talk with him and with Mr. Rand and that if he did not have any objection to come and see me, either before or after his trip to Kiti. The next morning, Mr Rand came and told me that, on account of contrary winds, they had not left for Kiti, and that he would go there in a boat, to which I agreed, and even gave him the assistance of some coal which he said he needed, after which I broached the subject matter for which I had invited him, telling him that I had to inform my Government regarding the last events occurred in the Metalanim tribe, the properties of the American Missionaries, the cause of their destruction, etc. etc. and that I was desirous of being just in my appreciations but since I had only reports made by Spanish and a few natives, I wished to hear him regarding such a delicate matter so as to proceed with a true impartiality and I wished the disputes between ourselves and his Missions to be arranged in a friendly manner, if possible, as this was the best way to deal among friendly nations, and as it had been recommended to me by my Government. He answered that he wished to get some information in Kiti and that upon his return he would speak with me about the matter, and in case he did not return, he would write me a letter. He returned from Kiti, went off to sea aboard the **Morning Star**, as I understand, bound to the Sandwich Islands, but he did not come to see me nor wrote to me one single word. The Captain of the steamer came in the afternoon of the same day that Mr. Rand did, but he did not come back to say goodbye either, thus not respecting the established Laws. What reason could

have made Mr. Rand refuse to come and say goodbye and to talk with me about the differences that may separate us, when I made him a polite invitation for it and told him about the desire of my Government to arrange those differences in a friendly manner, one that would be satisfactory to all? Such behavior seems to indicate some ill-will on the part of the American Missionaries toward ourselves, which is certainly not justified, when I invited them with my assistance so that the light of truth could open the way, but they by their conduct closed the way to it...

There only remains for me to deal with the claim made by the Chargé d'affaires of the United States, to comply with the compromises made in Kenan; I know nothing about this, whether or not our Government offered 5,000 pesos or not, as they claim, as this took place during the unfortunate events that have occurred here soon after our occupation [1887]. As far as the return of properties that have been occupied by us to the Americans, as I have said, there are none; the only ones that had existed were at Oua and we have seen very clearly why they were destroyed.

I consider that it would be convenient to consult the reports of the summary investigations carried out regarding the events of Kenan, when Navy Lieutenant Concha was Governor, and as far as the later events, when Commander Cadarso was Governor; both went returned to Manila. They, as well as the Heads of the last expeditions that came here and also Mr. Cadarso who was an eyewitness to everything, could be consulted if any further information be required, but I find that what I have reported myself is sufficient so that the Government of the United States, which I suppose to be inspired by the greater desire to make use of reason and justice, will see that it has been badly informed, that Spain acted as she did on account of circumstances that simply happened, making use of her perfect rights, and that the American Missionaries have neither a reason for a claim, nor did they act with us with the loyalty that was expected of them; therefore, I believe that that Government should not press their claim.

Ponape, 10 June 1891.

Julio Merás.¹

1 Ed. note: Be that as it may, the Spanish Government later agreed to pay a compensation of 17,000 pesos to the ABCFM. However, the return of the Protestant missionaries to Pohnpei was refused every time the Morning Star appeared.

Documents 1890W

Second Pohnpei rebellion—News published in London, England

W1. Published in the *St. James's Gazette*, January 6, 1891

SPAIN AND THE CAROLINE ISLANDS

Threatened massacre by the natives

Letter despatches received at San Francisco confirm the accounts of various troubles between the Spanish authorities and the natives in the Caroline Islands, caused, it is said, by increased taxation, which the natives opposed and refused to pay. The Spanish troops, which are said to be little better than drunken mobs, precipitated the fighting by their depredations and much animosity has been aroused against the whites, irrespective of nationality. Admiral Belknap has despatched the United States cruiser **Alliance** to protect the missionaries. The trade of the islands is reported to be at a standstill. Advices further state that the islanders threaten to massacre all the Spanish and American inhabitants. A large body of natives attacked the Spanish troops, but were mowed down by the Gatling guns and retreated to the bush, leaving many killed.

W2. Contrary opinion published in the *St. James's Gazette*, January 9, 1891

The Caroline Islands

To the Editor of the *St. James's Gazette*.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to a paragraph in the *St. James's Gazette* referring to the recent troubles in the Caroline Islands. As I have only just returned from the Island of Ponapi, where the outbreak took place, and where I shall be glad if you will allow me to make a few remarks on the subject.

As regards "increased taxation," the Spanish Government has never imposed taxes of any description on the natives, who have all along, in spite of this being their second outbreak, been treated with the greatest forbearance and indulgence by the authorities. As regards the statement that the troops are little better than drunken mobs, I can only

say that the European soldiers who were sent to Ponapi from Manila were, in my opinion, a well-disciplined fine body of men, and that I never saw a single case of drunkenness either amongst them or amongst the Manila troops.

The American missionaries on the island have been the sole cause of this outbreak, as they have all along been most hostile to the Spanish; and in my opinion, they and they alone are morally responsible for the massacre of thirty-three soldiers last July by the natives [emphasis mine]—as it would appear that the missionaries, or some of them, were cognizant of the intended massacre twenty-four hours previously, and yet they withheld their information from the authorities. Knowing as well as I do the majority of the Spanish officers at the Caroline Islands, and having received much kindness from them I trust you will allow me the opportunity of repelling, in your valuable paper, such a foul libel on the soldiers of a gallant nation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

James Cumming Dewar,

Late Capt. 11th (Prince Albert) Hussards.

January 7.¹

¹ Ed. note: The Spanish governor in Pohnpei, who somehow got hold of copies of the St. James's Gazette, sent copies to the Governor General in Manila with the comments that the libellous news of January 7th probably came from two sources: (1) the American missionaries in Pohnpei, and/or (2) the Captain of U.S.S. Alliance. In Manila, the Governor General had the documents translated to Spanish and the translations were placed on file.

Documents 1890Z

Spanish schools in the Carolines

Source: PNA.

Four schools to be financed in Yap and Pohnpei

The file dated Manila 16 October 1890

Directorate General of Civil Administration, Manila. File regarding the credit for the materials and personnel of the four schools in the Western and Eastern Carolines, 1890.

Your Excellency,

The Reverend Father Procurator General of the Capuchin Fathers in this Capital, in a letter dated 26th of last month [September 1890] brings to the attention of this Directorate, for resolution by Y.E., that in accordance with the Royal Decree of 20 December 1863 he be credited with the monthly payments corresponding to the materials and personnel of the four schools in the Carolines, those of Santa Cristina and of San Francisco of Goror, in the Western Carolines, those of Santiago de la Ascensión (Pohnpei) and of Kiti, in the Eastern Carolines, each one directed by a Father and a lay brother.

The first two are effective as of 21 June 1886 and the others since 14 March 1887.

Note: The Bureau believes the request of the Rev. Father Procurator of the Capuchins very just and consequently the request must be granted, conceding the credit of the sums that accrue since the effective dates of the said schools being open, as well as the necessary materials for their service which must be delivered, but before the opinion of the Accounting Centers of this Directorate General must be heard with respect to the credits in question.

Y.E. will decide.

Manila, 16 October 1890.

Juan de Bulecés(?)

Certification of Governor Montes de Oca

(On official paper)

I, José Montes de Oca y Aceñero, Politico-military Governor of the Western Region of the Carolines and Palau, **Do certify:**

That the two schools that exist in this island in charge of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers for teaching Spanish, Christian religion and other basic notions of primary instruction, were established as follows: that of Santa Cristina, undertaken by Fr. Daniel de Arbácegui on the 15th of January 1887, and that of San Francisco of Guror, where Fr. José María de Valencia is in charge, on the 25th of December of the same year.

In witness whereof, in compliance with the wishes of His Excellency the Governor General of 13 February last, communicated to this Government by the Paymaster General of Civil Administration on 30 March, I issue the present document which I sign in Yap, on the 16th of August 1891.

José Montes de Oca.

Certification for Pohnpei

(On official paper)

I, Carlos de Larroder, Secretary of the P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines **Do certify:**

That the Rev. Capuchin Fathers created two schools for children in these islands, for the teaching of the Christian religion, Spanish, reading, writing and other notions that correspond to primary instruction. The said schools were established, one at Santiago de la Ascensión, in charge of Rev. Fr. Saturnino Ma. de Artajona, created on the 1st of January 1888, and the other at Aleniang (Kiti), in charge of Rev. Fr. Agustín Ma. de Ariñez, created on the 1st of July 1889.

In witness whereof and so that the said Fathers may claim the credits that correspond to them, I issue the present document approved by the P.M. Governor and stamped with this Government's stamp in Santiago de la Ascensión on the 26th of February 1891.

Carlos Larroder.

Approved,

The P.M. Governor,

Julio Merás.

Documents 1890AA

Second Pohnpei rebellion—Second military expedition

Source: PNA.

AA1. Instructions for the Metalanim Campaign, dated 18 November 1890

The officer in charge of the military operations against the rebels of the Metalanim tribe, Infantry Colonel Manuel Serrano, in agreement with the board of officers assembled to that effect [which] left this port on the 20th instant, it was decided that the cruisers **Velasco** and **Ulloa**, and the transport **Manila** would go out to the port of Metalanim carrying a column, commanded by the said Colonel, ammunition, food, medicine, and whatever is necessary to attack the enemy; and simultaneously another column, commanded by the second-in-command, Artillery Major Antonio Díaz de Rivera.

The boats will be commanded by First Lieutenant (Navy) Arturo Fernandez de la Puente having at his orders Navy Ensign José María Sumyer; they will carry rations for 2 days and will return to the Colony when their mission is over, calling at the Island of Tacayu¹ where the forces will remain until the 21st, when they will embark again to go to Oua where the said Column will begin its operations to unite with that which simultaneously will disembark from the ships in Metalanim, and ought to go along the shore of the Letao (Chapalap) River, the main objective of the first phase of the expedition.

The duty of the ship of this Division is to follow and obey the orders given there by the Commander of the **Velasco** who will consult with the Officer in charge of the Column of Operations in order to provide all kinds of help; in addition, the officers of the Division will reach an agreement with him to see if it would be appropriate to shoot a few grenades on the villages where the rebels are at night. The Commander of the **Velasco** will designate, in agreement with the Colonel, the moment in which all the available boats, manned, ought to follow the river protecting the column and the other

¹ Ed. note: Not the 'sugarloaf' islet in Metalanim Harbor, but another of the same name situated north of Aru Point.

assistance that it may need; and given the skill of the Colonel and the unanimity of opinions and the patriotism that I am pleased to have noticed among the officers of this Board, I hope there will be a sure success in the operations that ought to take place simultaneously by sea and land as of the 20th.

For their realization, now that everything is ready, there remains only to designate the boats which at 9 a.m. on the 19th must be at the pier; they are as follows: Cruiser **Ulloa**, the steam boat; **Manila**, one steam boat and N^o 1 row boat with skippers and 4 sailors; **Cebu**, one boat and 14 sailors to man those from the Hulk **Molina**, 3 boats, skippers and 4 sailors, boilerman and stoker; **Uranus**, 2 boats with 4 men.

The embarkation of the Column commanded by the Second-in-command will take place on the 18th at 4:30 p.m. aboard the available boats that the Commanders of the Division will command in agreement with the Commander of the **Velasco**.

May God, etc.

Santiago de la Ascension, 18 November 1890.

The Governor,
Luis Cadarso.¹

[Figure (next page): **Sketch of the area operations in the Metalanim area of Pohnpei in November 1890.** Drawn by Colonel Serrano (From his memoirs).] Note that the positions of Ketam and Hatilong have been interchanged.

AA2. Colonel Serrano's report of 28 November 1890

Source: The original maps and sketches of the Metalanim Campaign were later sent to Spain by General Weyler, and copies were not retained in the Manila archives, unfortunately.

Report to General Weyler, Governor General of the Philippines.

[To] the Governor General of the Philippines.

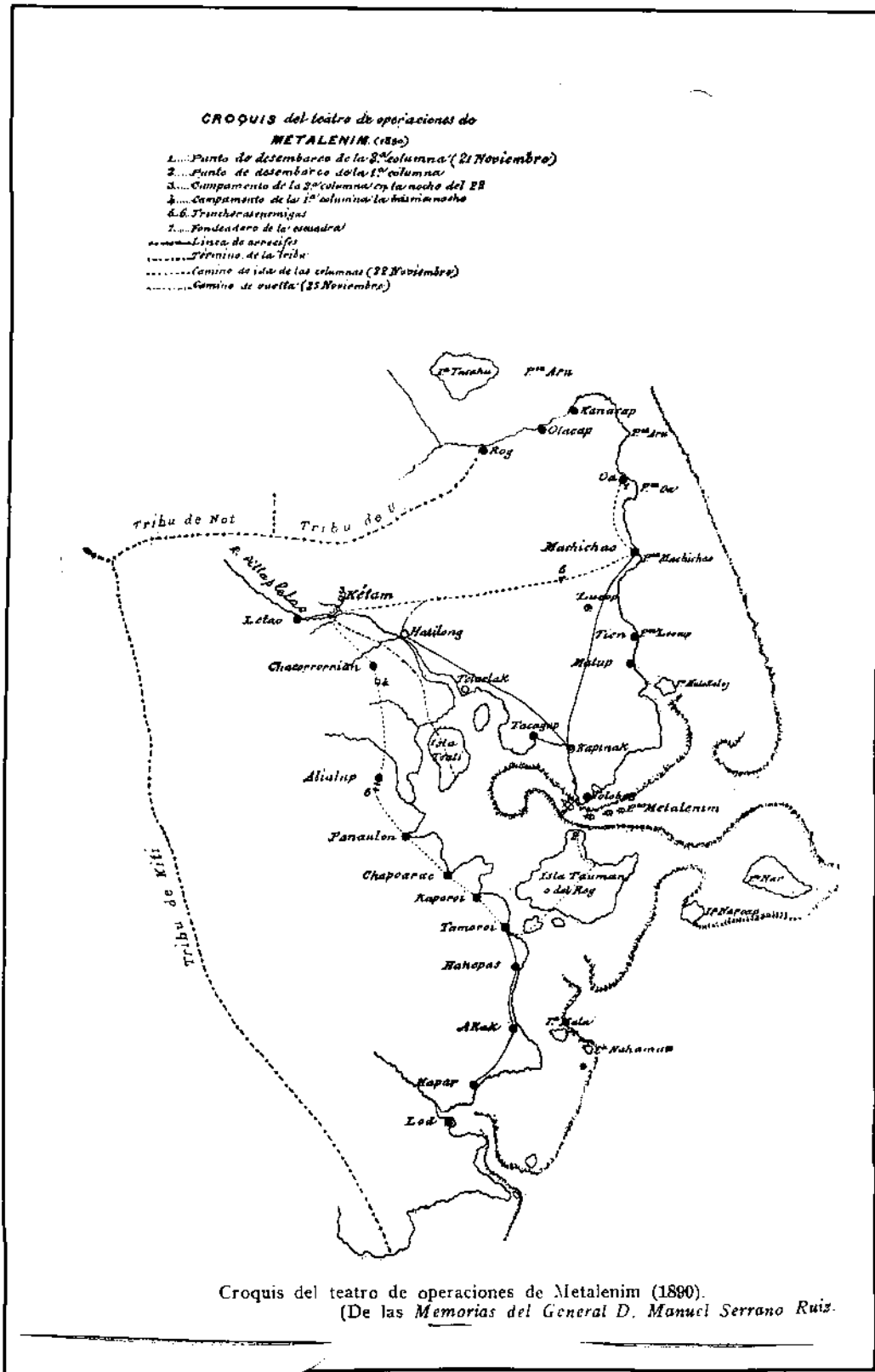
[From] the Expeditionary Column to the Carolines—N^o 15.

Your Excellency,

Without any incident of navigation and the troop on board being in complete health, the steamer **Uranus** arrived at this island on the 14th of this month at 5 p.m.

The health of the column lodged in the colony since the month of September was not generally satisfactory, 10% of its personnel being in the hospital and another 10% in the dormitories as a result of the battle of Oua and the local bad weather, suffered either during the work of fortification undertaken here, or in the military march from the Colony to Kiti, effected by Artillery Captain José Monasterio with three companies and about which I limit myself for now to call the attention of Y.E. upon the descriptive report that the Governor is transmitting to Y.E.

¹ Ed. note: Similar instructions had been issued to the Commander of the Velasco on 24 October 1890.



On the 15th, I took over command and found out that this march and the departure of the American missionaries (who were taken off the Island by the very ship of their Nation sent to find out and protect them) were the two events of relative importance that occurred since the battle of Oua.

In agreement with the Navy, I directed that the unloading of materiel and food supplies from the **Uranus** take place directly to the warship that had to carry them with another directive that eased the transfer so that on the 18th it was completed and the column ready.

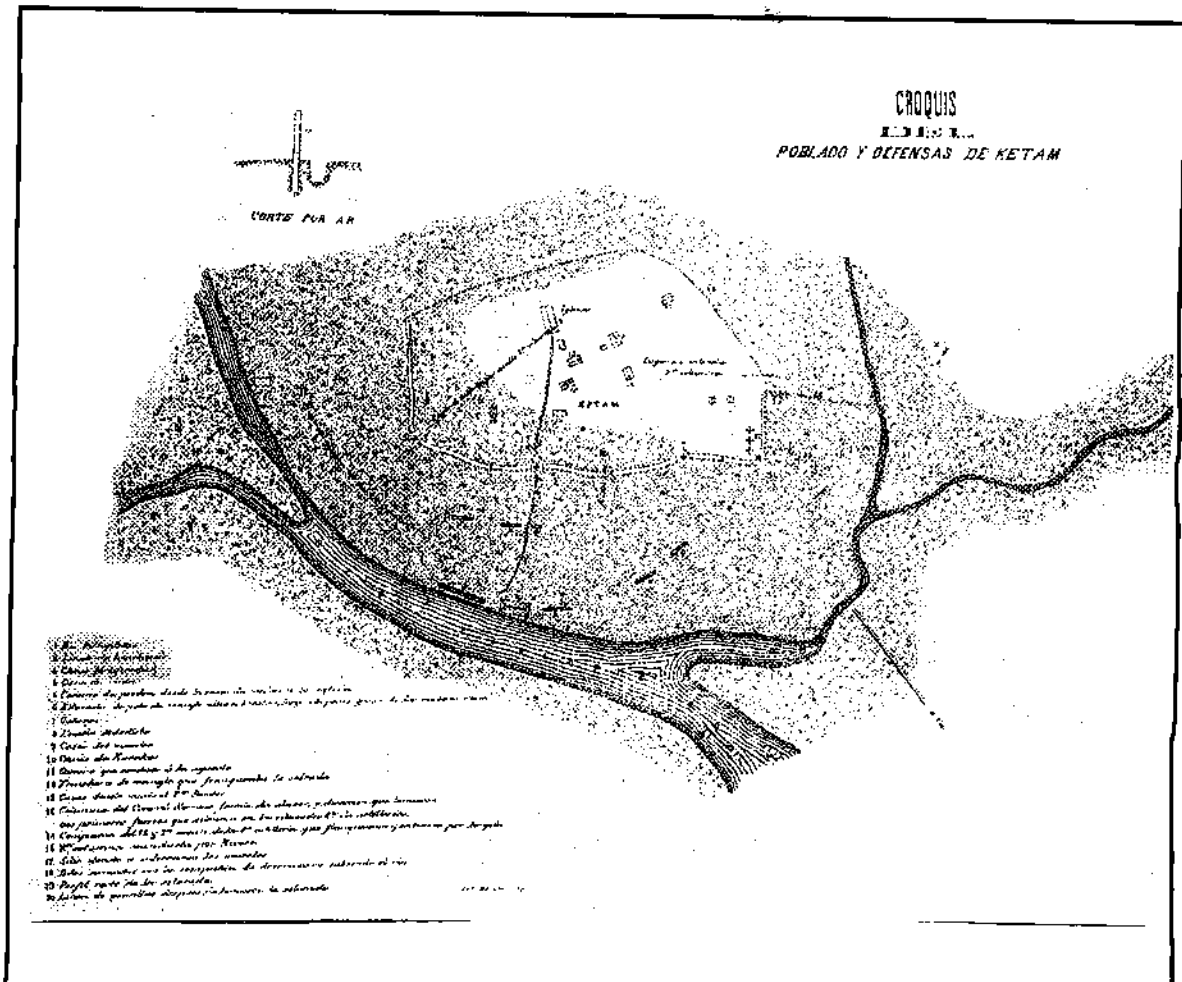
On the 16th, I arranged for its Second-in-command, Mr. Antonio Díaz de Rivera, to march to reconnoiter the rebel coast, accompanied by the Captain of his corps, Mr. José Monasterio. This was carried out aboard a steam launch provided by the Navy and in which there also embarked Navy Lieutenant Saturnino Muñoz and Navy Ensign José María Sumyer, and they covered the whole front from Aru Point to the mouth of the Pillapletao.¹ In Oua, they visited the vicinity of the past landing operation and saw that everything was as our troops had left it; the trench was still in a crumbled state and the aspect was desolate and looked completely abandoned. Neither at this site nor along the coast which they followed upon going and coming back, sometimes at less than 100 meters, were they harassed. They took the profile of the mountains that show more or less the orographic position of the small region and they noted the location of the small settlements that were visible; they also became convinced that the coral shoals that exist are so numerous and their direction and form so unknown and unpredictable that it is not proper to try any naval operation at night; such a circumstance is deplorable, because it might be convenient in many cases to make night landings by surprise.

Later on, and gathering bits and pieces of news and interrogating the Kanaka Edgar held as a suspect, the said Second-in-command was able to make the sketch which I remit to Y.E. to clarify graphically the operation being planned and the later ones that I carried out.

The reports received through various channels and particularly those that the Governor of this Archipelago could provide me, made me learn as of the 17th that the rebels, numbering 500 men, were occupying both shores of the Pillapletao, their point of concentration being the land of Chapalap, the name given in the country to the basin of the said river, a relatively flat and open area whose main villages, astride the river, are Letao, Ketan and Hatilón.² The two roads marked on the sketch lead to Chapalap; one in the North that begins at Oua and was widened by our soldiers as Y.E. already knows and the other in the South marked as well which follows the whole right-hand margin of the wide bay of Metalanim and the river which is navigable along the length of its lower course, where the tide reaches. I learned as well that the natives calculated as two hours the time necessary to go from Oua to Ketan, and as the distance is shor-

1 Ed. note: The Pilap en Latwa, i.e. the Retau or Chapalap River.

2 Ed. note: In Bryan's Place Names, these appear as Car. 4: C-18, C-16 and C-17 respectively; Letao = Lehdau or Retau; Ketan = Kitan; Hatilón = Edieleng or Etailang.



ter, I supposed the same time to cover from this point to Punaulan¹ that, in exchange for its smaller length, would offer a narrower path and the natural obstacle of the Chaconarian River that it crosses. Both roads, I am told, are cut by trenches four or five meters long, and there are also fortified houses in Chapalap and loose [enemy] bands in Mokap and Hanepas, the ends of the enemy line.

Consequently, I decided to attack the position by both sides and I organized the column forming two similar forces (Appendix N° 1), one of which to enter by Oua at the orders of the Second-in-command and the other at my immediate orders and, according to the reconnaissance that the Navy would determine to be more convenient, to land in Ponaulan or Chapoarac.²

This way the enemy would see itself attacked on his whole front, the possibilities of surrounding it and confusing it were the best and the communications of the columns with the ships were kept up by the intermediary river which would also be used in the attack by having the armed boats come up it and contribute to disorientating and pestering the enemy. I decided upon the embarkation for the afternoon of the 29th, the first day that the Squadron could sail and I ordered that the second column aboard the war transport **Cebu** go to locate itself before Oua, which would be found abandoned or where little resistance would be found, to land immediately to spend the night there and, after hearing a signal of three guns that would indicate that a column had disembarked to follow the Machichao-Hatilon road until joining hands with the column under my command at the latter point or in Ketan or Letao which are located farther along the same road. On my part, I proposed to anchor in the bay of Metalanim with the squadron, jump ashore on the right bank of the river and to go up its course until reaching Chapalap, pull the enemy from it, so as to link up with the column from Oua, given that this line was their escape route, if I found it before they did, but in case they pressured me to meet them and beat them, to receive and punish them myself.

As the interior is not populated and completely lacks food plants, no resource would be left to the enemy as long as we would have at our disposal, as of the first night, the houses in Chapalap which I ordered to save, examine and fortify properly and all the materiel that Y.E. put at my disposal and that the ships would send me by the river in a sufficient quantity, receiving in turn the wounded, and the prisoners that would result.

The operations of embarkation took place without problem in the afternoon of the 20th and at daybreak of the 21st the ships sailed. At the end of the afternoon, the forces were at the agreed positions: aboard and ready to jump ashore, those of my column; ashore, and occupying the site of Oua, those of the right column.

By the report of operations that its officer is giving me and which I enclose (Appendix N° 2), Y.E. will be able to get information about its march upon Ketan and attempted assault during the 21st.

1 Ed. note: Ponaulang, Id., C-22.

2 Ed. note: Sapwerek, id., C-24.

While the second column carried out the deeds narrated there, that of my command was landing at 10 a.m. at the end (marked on the sketch) of the island of Tamuan (also called King's Island because he resides there) and where we had to jump as the condition of the sea did not allow anything else, against the forecasts of the Navy officers who had scrupulously reconnoitered various preferable spots, in the afternoon of the 21st and to touch at them, we had to desist on the 22nd after having lost two hours in fruitless attempts. This delay plus that resulting from the greater distance which I had to cover made me lose no time and give no rest whatever to the force which without interruption crossed the Island, the small islet between it and the coast and the part of the coast that Y.E. will be able to follow on the sketch map. In spite of my efforts, it was impossible to reach Ketan in the afternoon of that day; at 5 p.m., I met with a Kana-ka group entrenched in two lines that cut the road and which I obliterated after a light exchange of fire, experiencing the loss of one soldier of Marine Infantry, wounded, and the Captain of his company was also wounded, although lightly.

In view of the time of day and presuming that the obstacles ought to be spread, I resolved to camp on the conquered spot, not being harassed during the night.

The following morning, I broke march through the bush, crossing various streams and the enemy being met at 7 a.m. by the vanguard company from Regiment N^o 74 commanded by Captain Manuel Romerales.

The position of Ketan appeared to our view, consisting of a fort behind a palisade, half hidden by the trees that grew between it and us, and extending a fair distance to our left, whose extremity we could not see on account of the bush, caused to the right no doubt, to form another front.

I then ordered Captain Romerales to deploy his company on the left and I had the Captain in charge of the 5th Company of the 1st Standing Artillery Battalion, Mr. Bernardino Aguado, attack with his following the main front.

The intrepidity and vigor with which these orders were executed in the middle of a deadly fire were such, Y.E., that the enemy was incapable of resisting us, feeling as it were the bugles and the march of the second column at their backs, beaten by the guns from the boats of the squadron that assisted us by coming up the river most appropriately; he abandoned everything to the point that the brave artillerymen were firing inside through holes in the stockade, the [tree] trunks were tumbling down and the whole column rushed in like an avalanche.

Inside this stronghold, numerous fruit trees intercepted the passage and the view, and allowed the enemy to escape to the bush without our being able to make prisoners but the numerous blood puddles and the soaked rags clearly showed that their casualties had been numerous.

It is necessary, Your Excellency, to see this terrain and the vegetation that covers it and its roughness and difficulties are worse than those we saw in Cuba, to see these native mountaineers, fat but agile, in order to understand what I cannot succeed in explaining to you and I am sorry to attribute to the little vigor in pursuing them. They all escaped and have carried away their dead and wounded.

However, if Y.E. wishes to take into account and admit the above considerations at full value, you will not then reduce the merit of these forcers that with bare chests have conquered in equal or superior number of adversaries protected by parapet, armed with modern and well-designed rifles and whose fire was supplemented by the five pieces that were captured and which I remit to Y.E. with the rest of the materiel taken from the enemy (See Appendix N° 3).

The fort or "cotta", open at its gullet, was made inaccessible by obstacles of mangrove and swamps to opeople other than its own residents; it presented a front of 320 paces, protected by a palisade bordered by a ditch that had been made into a trench, as shown int he profile view with dimensions enclosed,¹ and it defended an extensive agricultural zone and the most important village of the tribe, called Ketan. In it, there were the church-school, a wooden building 20 paces long by 15 wide and the houses of some of the chiefs who have no shelter today. I ordered some sorties and acoutings and they got their hands on pigs and some weapons and they burned the houses over an extensive surrounding area, while the most broken troop kept watch over the camp and we were unable to find out what happened to the natives. I maintained myself in Ketan until midday on the 25th when I decided to abandon it as there was nothing else to destroy and to give a rest and relative comfort to the force that could not be supplied properly except through excessive efforts on the part of the Navy that had manned its boats for 36 hours with the same crews.

To evacuate the region, I directed that the companies from N° 68 and 71 embark in the little river fleet as they lacked many officers and NCOs, as well as the whole equipment of the column, whereas the Second-in-command was to go out with the rest of the force (3 European and 2 native companies) and follow in part the road which I had followed on the way in, then deviate to the left, gain the island of Tiati² and wait there for the boats to effect the re-embarkation, devastating whatever they would find on their passage.

This double march was carried out without being harassed by the enemy nor encountering him. The district covered, one of the most cultivated and fertile, was entirely deserted. In abandoned houses, the troop encountered three corpses with bullet wounds, no doubt fugitives from the last struggle and which gives an idea of the customs of this people and of so many others who would have spread over the country and in the same case.

With the above facts, Y.E. will understand the military situation of the country. Ketan, the nucleus of resistance, the place where they had been concentrating their efforts from months and at our arrival they counted on resisting us, has been assaulted and destroyed; our troops have camped in the country and covered it all during three days without finding resistance. I know that they have not sought refuge in any other

1 Ed. note: Not available in the Manila files. See Cabeza's book, and its reproduction in HSSE's book on Pohnpei.

2 Ed. note: Actually a peninsula near the village of Metalanim.

place in numbers or that would deserve a special march to overtake them. With the combined effect of the Army and the Squadron, the whole coast has been burned, all the villages destroyed.

With this scene in mind and lamenting the fact that the punishment in personnel is not greater or more tangible, I have believed that the national interests would be better served by evacuating the invaded region than to commit my troop indefinitely to the bush, exposing it to encounter no enemy except isolated and invisible sharpshooters who would reduce its number every day and exposing it to terrible diseases that, Y.E. knows, decimate the forces that operate in such climates.

The Metalanim tribe has no more villages, its casualties which I cannot compare to mine would be felt more because they fall back on neighbors and friends all known to one another. I believe that we must limit the bloody punishment to this.

However, the Spanish flag surely needs for its total reparation and a political arrangement over the acquired triumphs that cannot be concluded with the old Chiefs, hidden in the bosom of their mountains or refugees away from the Island. I have thought about declaring their authority to be forever discredited, lost because of the past treachery and dividing their territory among the kinglets bordering on it. I have therefore called those of Kiti and U; the former has always passed for the friendliest toward us and the latter is one who has recently gained our good-will by advancing ahead of the troop movements and attacking and burning by himself the villages of Kanakak [Kinakap] and Atokak [Alokap] belonging to Metalanim. The territory of that tribe would be divided with the new border being the shores of the Pillapletao.

In order to guarantee the concession and to leave upon the rebel land the mark of our passage, as well as to have an easy and permanent instrument of action and vigilance in the bay of Metalanim, I also have in mind to build a fort on Tamuan or King's Island, capable of accommodating 60 men whose communications with ships would be easy and which I would supply with all the elements necessary to make it respectable and where I will move the garrison that resides today in Kiti and is not needed there.¹

The **casualties** suffered by the expedition in the operations related above are deplorable as always and numerous but in relation with the high deed of arms that took place and the intense resistance and good weaponry of the enemy. They consist in: one dead officer, three wounded and three with contusions; 25 dead, 46 wounded and 5 soldiers with contusions; details with names are enclosed (See Appendix N° 4).

I will not conclude, Your Excellency, without mentioning not only my agreement for their cooperation but also my deep gratitude toward the Navy, which has imposed upon itself in these operations worries and sacrifices that can only be compared to those of the Army. They always have had their ships, their boats, their officers and crews at hand whenever necessary or convenient, and they have contributed in an effective way to the good outcome which we all celebrate.

1 Ed. note: See the 1891 proposal to move the whole colony instead to Metalanim but which was never carried out.

With respect to the Army, I will be short in praises, given that the graphical and statistical facts that I enclose for Y.E., along with the knowledge you gained from this report and that which Y.E. has about this type of warfare, relieve me from having to do so. Y.E. will appreciate how much has been done and at what cost it has been gained. I will only add that I have never seen any troop work with a greater will and I cannot conceive that the will displayed can be exceeded.

I recommend to Y.E. the services rendered by the Captain in command of the Artillery, Mr. Bernardino Aguado and the officer of the same rank and corps, Mr. José Monasterio, as well as the Infantry officers, Mr. Manuel Romerales and Mr. Juan Cebrian.

At the same time, I take the liberty of calling the attention of Y.E. on the heroic deeds consigned in the report of the Second-in-command of this column (See Appendix N° 2), the corresponding documents being enclosed (See Appendix N° 5) in case you may think it proper to order the formatino of the files in the contradictory cases, as required by Law, for the granting of the Medal of San Fernando.

Today, I have given to the column the general order enclosed (See Appendix N° 6) and I give copies of it to His Excellencies the Sub-Inspectors of General Arms and Artillery, as due testimonial to the military virtues displayed by the troop.

All of which I have the honor to bring to the attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 28 November 1890.

The Colonel in charge,

Manuel Serrano.

AA3. Appendix N° 1 to Colonel Serrano's report

General Order of the Column for 18 November 1890.

For the upcoming operations, the column shall be divided in two. The first at my immediate orders shall consist of the 5th Company of the 1st Battalion of Standing Artillery, the company of Marine Infantry and the Infantry Companies of Regiments N° 73 and the 6th of N° 74.

The second under the command of the Second-in-command shall be formed with the 1st Company of the 2nd Battalion of Standing Artillery 1st Class and 10 men to be provided by the 5th Company of Regiments N° 68 and 71.

The 5th Company of Regiment N° 74 with all the individuals lightly sick, weak or posted, as reported by the Companies on the 15th, shall constitute the garrison of the Colony.

First Lieutenant Rafael Lago shall remain attached to the 5th Company of N° 74; First Lieutenant Castorino Ramirez shall take the post vacated by Lieutenant Lago in N° 71.

All the companies shall prepare to march, observing the following precautions:

1) They shall deliver to the Captain of the 5th Company of N° 74 all the sick, weak or posted men. These men shall remain with their weapons, equipment and ammunition at the immediate charge of the highest ranked person from their corps, who shall take care of the effects of all sorts that the companies have and do not wish to transport, as well as those that the officers shall entrust to them, without being diverted from this custody in cases of alert.

They shall deliver to the store of the Colony at 3 p.m. (against a receipt to be issued by the agent), all the cartridges left over after issuing 150 to each European and 100 to each armed native [Filipino].

The company of Regiment N° 68 shall likewise deliver the 10,000 cartridges issued in 1887 in their possession.

2) This Company, like the others who lack cartridges to distribute in the prescribed proportion, shall get their ammunition in full aboard the ship that they are assigned to and from the stocks established in it.

3) The companies shall embark all their kitchen implements that they own, leaving aboard ship upon jumping ashore the large pots and other not portable items. Aboard the **Manila**, there are large tin plates in stock that the captains may solicit if necessary.

4) The 5th Company of N° 74 shall deliver to that of N° 71 its medical knapsack.

5) They shall also embark the axes and big *bolos* [machetes], taking ashore only the latter.

6) The gentlemen officers must prepare their camps for fifteen days, and they may embark them aboard the ship that carries them.

7) As soon as they have complied with these directives, the Captains shall report to the Second-in-command whom they shall consult in case of doubt.

The Colonel First-in-command,
Manuel Serrano.

AA4. Appendix N° 2 to Colonel Serrano's report

Lt-Col. Díaz' report about the second column.

[To] Colonel First-in-command of the Expeditionary Column to the Carolines.

[From] Carolines Expedition—2nd Column.

In compliance with your order, the column under my command embarked aboard the transport **Cebu** in the afternoon of the 20th, and arrived at the port of Oua at 11:30 in the morning of the 21st.

In agreement with the ship commander, I ordered an immediate landing and for this, the said Commander made his boats available that I ordered in two lines of three each; in the ends of the first line, the first sections of the two Infantry companies, natives; the ends of the second line were occupied by the second sections of the same units. I myself embarked in the middle boat in front, accompanied by the second commander of the **Cebu** and the pilot Mr. Narruhn and in the other boat, I had H.M.'s Physician at-

tached to this column, Don Anacleto Cabezas [sic],¹ go down with the practitioners who were to collect the wounded who would result.

When the boats grounded, the force jumped ashore, deployed in guerrilla form and covered on foot (upon the shoals) the 500 meters approximately that separated us from land, without the kanakas presenting any resistance whatever. I occupied with the Company of N° 71 the hill where the battle of 20 September was decided and with that of N° 68 a suitable point so that when linked with the first it would form a safe landing point for the second echelon of the column. One hour later, the 1st Company of the 2nd Battalion of the Standing Artillery Regiment arrived and I had them cover the front of the positions and lightly fortify the hill and the ruins of the Methodist church, sites that I selected for bivouacking.

The night passed without incident and having heard at 8 a.m. the three guns that were to give me news of your forces landing in the bay of Metalanim, I set out on the march towards Ketan. The extreme vanguard was a Section of N° 71, under the command of Lieutenant Saturnino Serrano, re-inforced by one platoon of artillerymen, then the rest of N° 71, then the Artillery Company and as rearguard, that of N° 68.

When we arrived at Machichao [Majijo], we fired upon the houses, approaching them without resistance and, finding in them one *lantaca*² which I did not care to carry because of its insignificance and weight, and I had the village burned down. We were about to leave here, up the hill below which Machichao is located, and at about 10, when the extreme vanguard started firing and continued firing intensely and without being able to advance on account of the certainty of the returned fire, when I arrived at the site of the commotion. We had two or three wounded already in sight and within a few minutes, five or six others fell and the efforts made by the troop of N° 71 were futile in attempting an assault upon the place where the enemy was hidden among thickets and bushes.

The Captain of this Regiment, Mr. José Vilches, fell wounded by bullets at the front of his troop. I ordered the Artillery company to advance running and its Captain, Mr. José Monasterio (the one who had distinguished himself in the capture of Oua), to charge with bayonets upon the enemy. The movement, executed without hesitation and with enthusiastic shouts, so terrified the Kanakas that they did not know anymore what to do except take a few pot shots and flee. Upon arriving at the site from which they had been dislodged, we saw that an immense trench of stone and earth covered them; it formed an angle with the road that we had to follow, bisecting it, with battlement along its whole length that was 80 meters on its longest side and 30 to 40 meters on the other.

1 Ed. note: His proper name was Cabeza (see his own writings).

2 Ed. note: Filipino word for a small, portable, gun, usually of bronze in modern times.

The result of this engagement was that we found ourselves at the beginning of the march with one Captain and eleven soldiers wounded plus one of the scouts, a negro of Portuguese origin as I understand,¹ >s, but John dos Santos. and three dead soldiers.

The necessity of bringing the dead and to care for and improvise stretchers for the wounded took me two hours. I took advantage of the time to re-organize the column. I gave as before the vanguard to a section from N° 71 but I arranged to have the other distributed in platoons mixed with the artillery and, thus increased, that company was divided into three sections, with Lieutenant Castorino Ramirez of N° 68 taking charge of the third section and taking the center of the column. The Company of N° 68 took care of the rearguard and carried the wounded.

With these marching orders, I renewed the march, frequently interrupted by the delays of the rearguard and the need to come to the help of three new wounded caused by shots from flanking positions.

The terrain was a slight descending slope and we slid down it one man at a time. Vegetation was thick and so intertwined that although we felt the appropriateness of establishing flanks, I did not even try to. We continued this way until 4:30 when we arrived at Ketan, and along the way, we found various trenches made with tree trunks, abandoned.

At that time, the intense fire by the vanguard made me understand that the enemy was in sight. Indeed, I found that a palisade of white trunks, stripped of their bark, was blocking our way. In the cracks between the trunks, the Kanakas were firing and we could hear them shouting in a disorderly manner inside. The palisade surrounded some houses whose roofs provided shade from above and it appeared like a tight enclosure. The palisade was surrounded by a small terraplain about 20 meters in width that ended in a cut already occupied by the vanguard that thus avoided the fire.

From this cut, the works could be surveyed. It would be almost two meters in height, and even though it could be assaulted directly with blood, what had happened in the morning in Machichao made me believe also that the enemy would not sustain a resolved push here either. I then assembled in the cut the artillery company and that from N° 68 and while the vanguard with their heads sticking out of the edge of the terraplain made a live fire, I launched the rest of the force into an assault, after having exhorted them to conduct themselves properly. Unfortunately, the enemies were numerous and well armed; its fire when they appeared before the works became so deadly that the troop milled around. The efforts of the very valiant officers (most of whom spilled their blood) were futile and seeing that without advancing one step, the men were falling in an unsustainable proportion, I ordered the retreat before disorder ensued. This was done by falling back to the cut, dragging as could be, dead and wounded, and their abandoned weapons. The enemy did not try to go out and pursue because they would have been repulsed with a very brisk fire that would have caused them casualties, even their shouting died down for a while.

1 Ed. note: This was not Cristian Barb

The situation for my column was critical. We found ourselves before defended and unassailable works, loaded with wounded and the troop broken by an arduous march and by the lack of so many companions, besides, it was night-time.

I directed First Lieutenant Castorino Ramirez from N° 68 to march with one platoon to reconnoiter and occupy a hill less than 200 meters to our right rearguard flank, that I had seen in passing. When I heard that it was occupied and that it met the necessary conditions, I ordered that the wounded and the effects be taken there and I finally moved there with the whole force without letting the movement be seen. The silence and the speed with which the retreat was effected must have confused the Kanakas who, like suspicious savages, could not decide to personally reconnoiter the terrain, no doubt for fear of some ambush and, wishing to know our position, they fired rifles and guns in all directions during the night.

When morning came and with the troop already rested for a few hours, I heard the bugles of your column sounding *réveillé* in your camp and later the march and attack, signals to which I answered and having reconnoitered from the top of a tree the respective positions of yourself and the enemy, I made my troop march through the bush so as to reach the side opposite the one you were attacking. When this movement was concluded and having one wounded as a result of a small exchange of shots, sustained no doubt with the fugitives from the fort of Ketan whom you had just evicted so brilliantly, the two columns were re-united inside the enemy stronghold.

Colonel, the list of the casualties of my column is attached; they made up one quarter of its personnel. Out of eleven officers, four of us are safe. As I witnessed at all times, even at critical times, good morale, determination of all and everyone, and the obedience of the soldiers, suffering without complaint, I can neither make ordinary praises to you of these cases nor any collective one. However, I consider that I would fail in my duty of justice as officer-in-charge if I did not praise the elements which you entrusted me with, specially in emphasizing once more the merits of the Artillery Captain, Mr. José Monasterio, whose *futrole* intelligence I have found a constant resource and whose bravery has been the saving instrument of all the difficult crises, as well as the special qualities of complete and serene character and cold courage, displayed by the Captain of N° 68, Mr. Juan Cebrian, who during six hours was able to carry those wounded in Machichao, and to face the exchange of fire that made more wounded without flinching for one moment.

I beg you to cite the name of these Captains in the general order of the column.

I must also give you an account of a concrete act of extraordinary valor and abnegation carried out in front of my eyes by Artilleryman Gerónimo Gándara. At the moment the column fell back, after the frustrated attack of Ketan and when we were occupying the cut that was mentioned, the complaint of an Indian [Filipino] soldier was heard asking for help upon the terraplain beaten a few paces by enemy fire. It was impossible to liberate him not even to expose someone to keep him company. Artilleryman Gándara, moved by his beautiful feelings, asked me permission, left his rifle

behind, covered the distance that separated him from the wounded man and grabbing him in his arms and, miraculously escaping the shots directed at him, saved him.

Even though it happened out of my sight, I also report to you the same case of abnegation and courage that repeated itself but with a sadder result for Sergeant Manuel Muñoz, of N° 68, wounded in the left leg and who is now an amputee in the blood hospital; he was saved, under conditions similar to those narrated above, by Artilleryman of the 1st Company of the 2nd Standing Artillery Battalion, Casimiro Rodriguez. This unfortunate did not sacrifice himself unduly; he was wounded in one arm and he also suffered from its amputation. I enclose for you the letter requesting for the former lieutenant of the 1st Company of the 2nd Artillery Battalion, Mr. Ceferino Fandos, who died gloriously at the foot of the fort of Ketan, the Medal of San Fernando with aourels, begging you, for this case as well as those of Artillerymen Gándara and Rodriguez, whose high deeds I have narrated and whose requests are enclosed, to please request from His Excellency the Captain General to form the proper investigation by opening a case file, if he should admit them to the reward that in my opinion they deserve.

May God save you for many years.

Ketan, 23 November 1890.

The commanding officer,

Antonio Díaz de Rivera.

AA5. Appendix N° 3 to Colonel Serrano's report

Cruiser **Velasco**—The Mate.

List of the effects that are remitted to the arsenal of artillery of Manila, aboard the merchant steamer **Uranus** and which had been stored on this ship as souvenirs belonging to the Column of operations:

Two guns, old (one small and another, bigger, one); three old muzzle-loading rifles with metal clamps; another similar with an iron clamp; one hunting shotgun, one Remington rifle; one *caracol* [type of mortar] with various grapeshots inside it.

Aboard, Santiago de la Ascension, 27 November 1890.

José García.

Steamer **Uranus**.

The effects listed on the previous sheet have been received aboard, without any discrepancy.

J. Goitosolo.

Note: Three *lantakas* that were found loaded, a certain quantity of powder and other war articles of little military value and dangerous to transport were destroyed by throwing them into the sea.

The Second-in-command,

Antonio Díaz de Rivera.

AA6. Appendix N° 4 to Colonel Serrano's report

Lists of the dead, the wounded and of those who suffered contusions

Appendix N° 4 contains a list of the dead, a list of the wounded and another of those who suffered contusions in the action and capture of Ketan and the rest of the operations against the Metalanim tribe.—The Colonel, Serrano.

Column of operations in the Eastern Carolines—Military Medical Service.

List of the names of the officers and individuals of the troop who died in action on the 22nd and 23rd of November in Metalanim:¹

- Lieutenant Ceferino Fandos
 - Sergeant Luís Rodriguez
 - Corporal Evaristo Vega Aterozado
 - Corporal José Zarza Dusan
 - Corporal Mariano Barcarra
 - Artilleryman Francisco Gomez Fernandez
 - Artilleryman José Milla
 - Artilleryman Bartolomé Monton
 - Artilleryman José García Lopez
 - Infantryman Mariano de Robles²
 - Infantryman Agapito Arbelon
 - Infantryman Antonio Cilage
 - Infantryman Bernardino Majar
 - Infantryman Ciriaco Santos
 - Infantryman Genero Vila [or Vela]
 - Infantryman Hilario Banio [or Dador Vissaldo]
 - Infantryman Toribio Benicarló
 - Infantryman José Mediano [or Medrano]
 - Infantryman Magno de Guzmán
 - Infantryman Emeterio Melise [or Vilangel Buesa]
 - Infantryman Regino Castro
 - Infantryman Apolonio Terola
 - Infantryman Victor Montecarlo
 - Infantryman Alejo Padilla
 - Infantryman Nicolas Bajumma
- Santiago de la Ascension, 20 November 1890.

1 Ed. note: This list is herein reproduced without the details of the actual medical causes of death, the diagnosis, etc. Only one man died from a shot fired from a cannon. The names are given here by order of rank.

2 Ed. note: All infantrymen were Filipino soldiers.

The Senior Medical Officer, Felipe Ruiz.

Column of operations in the Eastern Carolines—Military Medical Service.

List of the officers and individuals of the troop who were wounded or suffered contusions that occurred in the action of the 22nd of this month in Metalanim:

- Captain José Buitrago Gallego¹
- Captain José Vilches y Molina
- Lieutenant Emilio Sergio Castro
- Lieutenant Castorino Ramirez y Salomon
- Lieutenant Saturnino Serrano
- Sergeant Manuel Muñoz García
- Sergeant Antonio Losada Castro
- Corporal Miguel Monclus García
- Corporal Crescencio Rebullido Esposito
- Corporal Fernando Josue Pimentel
- Corporal Cecilio Vasquez Tezon
- Marine infantryman Serafin Piñeiro Barreiro
- Artilleryman Lino Esposito y Pozo
- Artilleryman Cándido Fuente Maure
- Artilleryman Ildefonso Torres Luque
- Artilleryman Antonio Marza Badia [or Marral Badia]
- Artilleryman Antonio Doban [or Dubao] Capon
- Artilleryman Hermenegildo Pazos Cruz
- Artilleryman Pablo Benesenes Benesenes
- Artilleryman Casimiro Rodriguez Pinazo
- Artilleryman Pedro Irareta [or Inreta] Albaiza
- Artilleryman Pedro Rodriguez Flores
- Artilleryman Domingo Vergel Pellicer
- Infantryman Nemesio Valdez Estrero
- Infantryman Ceferino Palomo Cabecera [or Serafin Palomo Cabrera]
- Infantryman Manuel Fernandez y García
- Infantryman Serapio Camargo [or Serafin Camargo]
- Infantryman Marciano [or Mariano] Pangan
- Infantryman Sixto Suario
- Infantryman Juan de la Cueva Candelario
- Infantryman Valentín del Angel Hueso
- Infantryman Justo Quian Tiay
- Infantryman Pedro Balison Iloc
- Infantryman Matías Padilla Humbria

¹ Ed. note: Dr. Cabeza says that he was wounded the next day, 23rd.

- Infantryman Juan Sumange Panciania [or Sumanae Punciana]
 - Medical Officer 1st Class: Dr. Anacleto Cabezas y Pereyra [sic]¹
 - Civilian scout (foreigner): John dos Santos
 - Civilian scout (Carolinian woman): Lrconnak [or Licarok]²
- Santiago de la Ascension, 25 November 1890.
The Senior Medical Officer, Felipe Ruiz.

Column of operations in the Eastern Carolines—Military Medical Service.

List of the officers and individuals of the troop who were wounded or suffered contusions that occurred in the action of the 23rd of this month in the capture of Ketan (Metalanim):

- Corporal Valentín Rodríguez Mora
- Corporal Manuel Peña
- Corporal Antonio Madera Salgado
- Artilleryman Diman Villalba Masis
- Artilleryman Isidro Saitigui Barabe [or Sariteigue Barnabe]
- Artilleryman Pablo Mertet [or Mercado] Estrada
- Artilleryman Aquilino Alvide [or Alvite] García
- Artilleryman Francisco Prieto Campillo
- Infantryman Mariano Pinea [or Pinoa]
- Infantryman Segundo Sulfuit [or Sulput]
- Infantryman Marcelino Delector Alegria
- Infantryman Domingo Bagandi Praraguer [or Cagandi Baraguer]
- Infantryman Juan Sumanguy [or Sumanguy] Ponciano
- Infantryman Gregorio Salinas
- Infantryman Petronilo Ondonero
- Infantryman Celedonio Alcazar Oreses [or Orreses]
- Infantryman Gerónimo Tanumdan [or Teaumdan] Beluan
- Infantryman Claudio N. Sabagace [or Labagon]
- Infantryman Eugenio Seatoseg [or Siatong]
- Infantryman Isidoro Dongo [or Dongco]
- Exile Marcelo Tao³

Santiago de la Ascension, 25 November 1890.
The Senior Medical Officer, Felipe Ruiz.

1 Ed. note: His true name, as given by himself, was Cabeza Pereiro.
2 Ed. note: A typographical error for Leconnot. This woman from the U tribe was later recommended for a pension; see hereunder.
3 Ed. note: Or Yac, or Riac (see Doc. 1890AE).

AA7. Appendix N° 5 to Colonel Serrano's report

Appendix N° 5 contains:¹

- 1) Letter requesting the creation of a case file for the granting of the Medal of the Royal and Military Order of San Fernando, with laurels, for the late Lieutenant of Artillery, Mr. Ceferino Fandos;
- 2) Identical request for Artilleryman Gerónimo Gándara;
- 3) Idem, for Artilleryman Casimiro Rodriguez;
- 4) Declaration of Sergeant of N° 68, Manuel Muñoz, as a witness of the heroic deed of Casimiro Rodriguez.

The Colonel in charge,
Serrano.

AA8. Appendix N° 6 to Colonel Serrano's report

Column order for 28 November, in Santiago de la Ascension.

"Soldiers!

"In five days of arduous and very tiring marches and bloody efforts and glorious combats, you have succeeded to cross from one end of the rebellious Metalanim tribe to the other, assaulted and destroyed the formidable fort of Ketan, burned and laid waste everywhere, and have at last succeeded in having not one single enemy who would dare come close to harass you, neither during your stay in the positions taken over nor during your retreat from them.

"In the type of war that this is, with the adversary that confront us, it is not possible to hope for triumphs of another type. You have shed your blood, and you have not seen that of the enemy. The nation will take it into account in order to evaluate your aims.

"The flag is now indemnified; there remains for us to secure the future by fortifying specific posts, so that when your friends return, there will only be one month of work left.

"You have behaved yourselves like Spaniards, valorous and long-suffering. Always behave the same. Keep a respectful memory of Lieutenant Fandos, and of your companions who died gloriously. Imitate the valour and follow the example that as in the last few days your second-in-command, the brave ARmy Major, Artillery Captain, Mr. Antonio Díaz de Rivera, will always give you, as well as Captains Aguado and Romerales, who distinguished themselves in the first column, Monasterio and Cebrian, distinguished in the 2nd, and all your officers who have suffered everywhere and if necessary would again contribute their intelligence and their persons.

1 Ed. note: The actual justifications are not reproduced here, just the names and proposed decorations.

“Imitate also the very noble conduct of Artillerymen Gerónimo Gándara and Casimiro Rodriguez, who have not hesitated to risk their lives to save those of their comrades, and like them, make yourselves worthy of the Medal of San Fernando.

“Also have faith in me, who will try and reduce your fatigues and provide you with all possible comfort and go on being worthy of the admiration that you will receive when you return to your barracks, and they will say about you: ‘He was in the Carolines!’”

The Colonel in charge,
Manuel Serrano.

Document 1890AB

Second Pohnpei rebellion—Letter of General Weyler to the Minister of War

Source: PNA. Note: Another, similar, letter was sent by General Weyler to the Ministry of Overseas on 26 January 1891.

Letter of Governor General Weyler summarizing the operations of the Expeditionary Column to the Eastern Carolines

[To] His Excellency the Minister of War.

[From] the Captaincy General of the Philippines—Headquarters.

Your Excellency,

In the letter of the 10th of November last, I reported to Y.E. about the departure from this capital of Colonel Manuel Serrano aboard the steamer **Uranus** at sunset on the 4th of the said month, with re-inforcements for the Eastern Carolines as officer-in-charge of the expeditionary troops that were to operate in those islands; as well, I mentioned the instructions that I had given him for the purpose.

The said steamer **Uranus** has returned today bringing the report of the operations newly carried out that the said Colonel Serrano sent me (see attachment n° 1),¹ as well as that sent to him by the Second-in-command (attachement n° 2),² and the report of the P.M. Governor (attachment n° 3) with their enclosures.³

According to the said reports, during the period since the events of September, about which Y.E. has been informed, until the arrival of the reinforcements on the said 14th of November, the troops were kept busy fortifying the Colony and Captain José Monasterio had carried out an expedition to Kiti with three companies for the purpose of practicing a reconnaissance in order to know the state of affairs in that place; the result was that the road, that leads from the Colony to Kiti, is extremely difficult and that the location of the fort is not in the best conditions that could be hoped for.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1890AA.

2 Ed. note: Idem.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1890V.

During the said period there had arrived in those waters also, a North American war schooner coming from Japan that anchored on the 15th of October in SANTIAGO de la Ascension, the purpose being apparently the protection of American interests, with the result that it embarked the Methodist missionaries and transported them to the island of Kusaie; for details, I refer to the letters of the P.M. Governor, whose copies he sent me and that I in turn remit to Y.E.

As I indicate above, Colonel Serrano arrived on the 14th at Santiago de la Ascension. On the 16th, he directed the second-in-command of the Column of operations to reconnoiter the rebel coast, from Aru Point to the mouth of the Pillapletao River and he did as ordered without observing anywhere any sign of new preparations for defence and confirming the existence of coral shoals; for this reason, and because their true location was unknown, no night landing was to be tried, although it would have been appropriate.

According to reports received by Colonel Serrano, the rebels numbering 500 men occupied both banks of the Pillapletao, and their concentration point was the zone of Chapalap, the name used in the country to designate the basin of the said river, and astride which can be found the villages of Letao, Ketan and Hatilan.

A road goes from Oua through Machichao to Ketan and another from Ponaulan to the same place through the left bank of the above-mentioned river; although the latter road is somewhat shorter than the previous one, in turn the path is narrower and crosses the Chacorrarian River. Both were cut by trenches 4 to 5 meters in length. Also, they had a few fortified houses and separate bands that occupied the ends of the enemy line.

In view of all this the said Colonel decided to attack the position on both banks of the Pillapletao, and to this purpose, divided his column in two, the first at his immediate command composed of one company of artillery, one of marine infantry, another from Regiment N° 73 and another from N° 74, he would disembark at Polaulan or Chapoarak, the second at the orders of the Second-in-command, Antonio Díaz de Rivera, composed of one company of artillery, another from Regiment N° 68 and another from N° 71 would disembark in Oua. Both were to advance simultaneously with the armed boats, that would go up the river, that would serve as liaison between them, the enemy in this manner attacked on its whole front. The forces that would carry out the march on the left bank would wait for the signal of three guns from the opposite bank before setting out, for the purpose of synchronizing the arrival of the two columns at the point of resistance.

In the afternoon of the 20th of November, the embarkation of the second column aboard the transport **Cebu** took place without incident and also that of the first aboard the rest of the squadron. At daybreak on the 21st, the ships left Santiago de la Ascension, leaving behind as a garrison, one company from Regiment N° 74 and all the sick individuals in convalescence and the weak ones.

In the afternoon of this day the troops were to be found before the points previously marked aboard and ready to step ashore, i.e. those of the first column, while those of the 2nd were ashore and occupying Oua; they did so without resistance, occupying the

height on which occurred the battle of the 20th of September and the ruins of the Methodist church, sites selected to bivouac, fortifying lightly the front of the position.

The night passed without incident and Major Rivera having heard the agreed signal of 3 guns at 8 a.m., he undertook the advance towards Ketan, carrying as extreme vanguard a section of Regiment N° 71 re-inforced with a platoon of artillerymen, followed by the rest from N° 71, the company of Artillery and that from N° 68. When these forces got to Machichao, there was some fire but in a short time they took possession of this village, which was burned down. Immediately, they continued the advance trying to go over the hill at whose base Machichao is located and at 10 the vanguard was already under a live fire from the enemy ready to make serious resistance which gave rise to a temporary detention in the movement of the column, and the falling at that moment with a serious wound from 2 bullets of Captain José Vilches of Regiment N° 71 at the head of his troop. However, Captain Monasterio advanced with the artillery company and the kanaks fled. From the conquered position, it could be seen that the point of resistance was in a plain in front of it, and it consisted of an enormous stone trench in its lower part and tree trunks in the upper part, forming three faces with embrasures along its whole length that was some 180 meters approximately with one ditch and a palisade protecting these defences of the village of Ketan.

After a rest of two hours, the troops continued their advance along a narrow path wide enough for only one man at a time, with thick vegetation right and left, and after crossing various trenches abandoned by the enemy they found themselves at 4:30 p.m. before the said point, with the passage blocked by the above-mentioned palisade from which the rebels started shooting while making outrageous shouts.

The column advanced with determination and bravery but the Kanakas were many; they were well armed and well entrenched and they succeeded in repulsing it; in view of the obstacles and difficulties that were offered to them they had to retreat but in the best order and without losing its morale, given that if the others had tried to pursue, they would immediately have returned to their positions.

In such a state of affairs and taking into account the rendez- vous that the two columns had planned, Díaz de Rivera made camp with his troops located in an appropriate position.

Meantime, the troops led directly by Colonel Serrano disembarked at 10 a.m. on the 22nd at the tip of Tamoan Island, shown on the sketch with the letter A, as the condition of the sea did not allow anything else, against the intentions of the Navy officers who had recommoitered other preferable points, where fruitless attempts at landing had taken place and two hours had been lost. This delay and the necessary time spent in crossing the said island from one end to the other and the small islet between it and the coast, plus the distance from the point of landing to that designated as such earlier made it impossible for the column to arrive at Ketan in the afternoon of the 22nd, and therefore, it encamped in a position from which it dislodged the enemy after slight resistance.

At daybreak on the 23rd the march was resumed and at 7 a.m. it was already in Ketan before the enemy who occupied the position about which we had talked about earlier.

The said Serrano immediately deployed one company from N° 74 on the left and another of artillery to secure the principal of the two faces and advancing with the rest of the forces, at the same time as the 2nd column that had agreed with the 1st through horn signals, soon our soldiers were masters of the fort as well as of the 5 cannon that defended it.

The troops spent the night at the said point. The next day, they carried out various reconnaissances and they made a few sorties without encountering the enemy again and after having burned some houses that were in the vicinity and which they found in their way, and laid waste to the fields and destroyed whatever resources that could be used by the enemy, they abandoned that region, the companies from N° 68 and 71 embarking aboard the river fleet, along with all the equipment of the column, and the rest returning by the road followed in part by the 1st column in its advance and continuing afterwards to reach the island of Tiati where it waited for the boats to reembark them, and cutting down whatever they found along the way. Both of these marches were carried out without any resistance being encountered, leaving the region that they had covered, considered the most fertile on the island of Ponape, completely deserted and the houses abandoned.

The result is that Ketan, the nucleus of resistance where their efforts had been concentrated and the point which the rebels had fortified and believed themselves invincible, has been conquered with human force by our soldiers who have later on as victors have covered during three days the territory of the tribe before them without finding the least resistance and without any man opposing their passage, thus showing in an obvious manner that victory was complete.

Thus the national flag has been revenged and a new glorious deed can be boasted about today: that of the assault upon Ketan. However, the Head of the expedition judging that in order to cap the brilliant operations that had been carried out, it was necessary for the Metalanim tribe to disappear forever, he called upon the Kinglets of Kiti and U; the former has always been on our side and the latter has lately gained our goodwill by going ahead of the troop movements and attacking and burning the villages of Kanako and Atocak belonging to the rebel tribe. He told them that the territory of the rebel tribe was divided among their respective tribes, with the new boundary being the banks of the Pillapletao.

In order to guarantee this concession and to leave in the rebel tribe a trace of our passage, and to facilitate easy and permanent action and vigilance in the bay of Metalanim the said officer intends to erect a fort on TAmuan or King's Island, big enough for 60 men with easy communications with the ships and which will be provided with all the elements necessary for its defence, transferring there the Kiti garrison that he does not judge necessary to keep, no doubt on account of the conclusions drawn from the expedition carried out by Captain Monasterio, mentioned at the beginning of this letter.

Our soldiers have behaved admirably by showing great valor in the battles and suffering stoically the hardships and fatigue inherent to such difficult operations as that to the Eastern Carolines.

They all deserve something from the nation, but some having very specially distinguished themselves, I will recommend them to Y.E. on the strength of the authorization by telegram that I was honored to receive, in case they be judged worthy of a reward; I am not doing so now because the mail leaves tomorrow.

The services rendered by the Navy have been brilliant as usual and I must report to Y.E./ here how grateful I am for their care and sacrifices and for the zeal and activity that they have displayed, thus contributing very efficiently towards the happy result that was obtained.

The casualties suffered by the expeditionary forces have consisted in one dead officer, 4 of them wounded and 3 slightly wounded, 25 dead soldiers, 47 of them wounded and 5 slightly wounded; their nominal roll is attached.

On my part, I conceive that the operations in the Eastern Carolines have come to an end and according to my directives, the expeditionary troops will return, leaving in the said islands a sufficient garrison, as I had the honor to mention to Y.E. in previous letters.

Before concluding, I must tell Y.E. that I have been very satisfied about the zeal, hard work, great intelligence and activity that the Colonel in charge of the expeditionary forces, Manuel Serrano, has demonstrated. He has shown once more his excellent military skills, his knowledge and great experience in this sort of warfare, and meriting by his brilliant conduct a distinguished reward.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 9 December 1890.

Valeriano Weyler.

Documents 1890AC

Partition of the territory of the Metalanim tribe, Pohnpei

Sources: PNA; Dr. Cabeza's book entitled "La isla de Ponapé" (Manila, 1895).

Introductory note.

At the beginning of December 1890, Colonel Serrano called the kinglets of Kiti and U tribes, neighboring on the Metalanim tribe, and together they decided to divide the territory of the latter in two parts, and the new boundary was determined among them. These arrangements were written up as legal documents reproduced below.

AC1. Act N° 1—Part adjudged to the Kiti tribe, dated 9 December 1890

Original text in Spanish.

Habiéndose reunido en el día de hoy, llamados por el Sr. Coronel D. Manuel Serrano Ruiz, Jefe de la columna expedicionaria á las Carolinas y con asistencia del Sr. D. Luisd Cadarso, Capitan de Fragata Gobernador P. M. de este Archipeélago, D. José de paredes y Chacón y D. José Ferrer Perez de las Cuevas, Capitanes de Fragata Comandantes de los Cruceros de guerra Velasco y Ulloa, respectivamente, D. Antonio Díaz de Rivera, Comandante de Ejército Capitán de Artillería, Segundo Jefe de esta columna; Nanamaraqui (Jefe) Rocha de la Tribu de Kiti y los individuos que en ella ejercen cargos ó dignidades, con los nombres de Uachay, Naneken, Nancro-pontake, Toch, Noch, Chatiene, Nanchao, Ririn y Namoto en Palang:

El Sr. Coronel Serrano, les manifestó que, disuelta la Tribu de Metalanim, por efecto de la pasada guerra, quemados sus pueblos y dispersos sus habitantes, se proponía conceder á los de Kiti el dominio de una parte del territorio de aquellos, en atención á que por su fidelidad constante á la bandera española se habían hecho acreedores á esta gracia. Les manifestó igualmente que la parte del territorio del antiguo Metalanim, que se les concede es la comprendida entre sus fronteras de antes al Sur y la ribera izquierda del citado río Pillapletao al Norte; debiendo entenderse que la ribera izquierda del citado río, se prolonga siguiendo los arrecifes de la izquierda también de la bocana del Puerto y que por ello, todas las Islas de bahía, quedan comprendidas en la parte que se

concede. Les manifestó en fin que este dominio ha de entenderse con las mismas limitaciones respecto á los extranjeros, con que tienen los suyos propios y manteniendo el Gobierno iguales derechos en ellos que en las demás tierras de la isla y á reserva de la aprobación superior.

El Nanamaraki y dignidades enumeradas anteriormente, contestaron unánimes que aceptaban con reconocimiento la concesión que se les hacía y que con este motivo reiteraban sus ofrecimientos de constante adhesión, “la vez que el llamado Nanchao solicitó la concesión de propiedad personal de la isla de Nakap que le fué concedida por el Sr. Gobernador Político Militar en uso de sus atribuciones, con arreglo á la ley y contenido del título que se le expide.

Y para que conste dispuso el Sr. Coronel se levantase este acta, que firmaron los presentes en Santiago de la Ascensión á nueve de Diciembre de mil ochocientos noventa.

12° Por no saber escribir: X Nalik

11° Por no saber escribir: X Noj en Kiti

10° Por no saber escribir: X Nomoto

9° Nan kirau en pontake

8° Por no saber escribir: X Chonkiti

7° Nanjao Ririn

6° Por no saber escribir: X Chuene

5° Por no saber escribir: X Naneken

4° Por no saber escribir: X Toch

3° Por no saber escribir: X Uajay

2° Nanpei en Kiti

1° Por no saber escribir: X Nanamaraki

Antonio Díez de Rivera

José Ferrer

Luis Cadarso

José de Paredes y Chacon

Manuel Serrano

Nota.—El original está en Español y Kanaka.

Original text in Ponapean [and modern version]

Editor's note: Thank you to Resio S. Moses for having provided me with the modern version in Pohnpeian.

English translation.

Having assembled this day at the invitation of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano Ruiz, Head of the expeditionary column to the Carolines and in the presence of Don Luís Cadorso, Navy Commander and P.M. Governor of this Archipelago, Don José de Paredes y Chacón, and Don José Ferrer Perez de las Cuevas, Navy Commanders and Commanders respectively of the war Cruisers **Velasco** and **Ulloa**, Don Antonio Díez de Rivera, Army Commander and Artillery Captain, Second-in-command of this column; Nanamaraki (Chief) Rocha of the Kiti Tribe and the individuals who occupy positions or dignities in it, under the titles of Uachay, Naneken, Nancro pontake, Toch, Noch, Chaxune, Ririn and Namoto en Palang:

Colonel Serrano told them that, since the Metalanim tribe has been abolished, its villages burned and its inhabitants dispersed, it was proposed to grant to those of Kiti sovereignty over a part of the territory of the former, given that their constant loyalty to the Spanish flag had made them deserving of this favor. He also told them that the part of the territory of the old Metalanim which is being granted to them is that which is comprised between their former boundary in the South and the left bank of the above-mentioned Pillaptetao [Letau River] to the North; it must be understood that the left bank of said river, extends along the reefs on the left also of the mouth of the Port and, therefore, all the islands in the bay remain included in the part that is being granted. Finally, he told them that this ownership must be understood with the same limitations with respect to foreigners, as did their own, and that the Government keeps equal rights in them than in the other lands on the island, and it is subject to superior approval.

The Nanamaraki and the other above-mentioned dignitaries answered unanimously that they accepted with gratitude the concession that was being made them and for this reason they reiterated their offers of constant adherence, shile the man named Nanchao solicited the concession as private property of the island of Nakap which was granted him by the Politico-Military Governor making use of his attributes, in accordance with law and as stated in the title [of ownership] being issued to him.

And, in faith whereof, Colonel Serrano decided to draw this act, which was signed by those present in Santiago de la Ascensión, on the 9th of December 1890.

- 12° Nalik his X mark
- 11° Noj en Kiti his X mark
- 10° Nomoto his X mark
- 9° Nan kirau en pontake
- 8° Chonkiti his X mark
- 7° Nanjao Ririn
- 6° Chuene his X mark
- 5° Naneken his X mark
- 4° Toch his X mark
- 3° Uajay his X mark
- 2° Nanpei en Kiti
- 1° Nanamaraki his X mark

Antonio Díez de Rivera
 José Ferrer
 Luís Cadarso
 José de Paredes y Chacón
 Manuel Serrano
 Note—The original is in Spanish and Kanaka.

AC2. Act N° 2—Part adjudged to the U tribe, dated 13 December 1890

Original text in Spanish.

Habiéndose reunido en el día de hoy, llamados por el Sr. Coronel D. Manuel Serrano y Ruiz, Jefe de la columna expedicionaria á las Carolinas y con asistencia del Sr. D. Luís Cadarso, Capitan de Fragata, Gobernador P. M. de este Archipeélago, D. José de Paredes y Chacón y D. José de Ferrer y Perez de las Cuevas, Capitanes de Fragata, Comandantes de los cruceros de guerra Velasco y Ulloa respectivamente, D. Antonio Díez de Rivera, Comandante de Ejército, Capitan de Artillería, Segundo Jefe de la columna, el Nanamaraki (Jefe) de la Tribu de U. y los individuos que en ellas ejercen cargos ó dignidades con los nombres de Uachay, Nancro en U., Naneken, Tok, Nanlen Noch, Nanana y Nanepey.

El Sr. Coronel Serrano les manifestó que, disuelta la Tribu de Metalanim, por efecto de la pasada guerra, quemados sus pueblos y dispersos sus habitantes, se proponía conceder á los de U. el dominio de una parte del territorio de aquellos, en atención á que por su fidelidad constante á la bandera española se habían hecho acreedores á esta gracia. Les manifestó igualmente que la parte del territorio del antiguo Metalanim, que se les concede es la comprendida entre sus fronteras de antes del Norte y la ribera izquierda del citado río Pillapletao [al Sur]; entendiéndose que esta ribera se prolonga siguiendo los arrecifes de la izquierda también de la bocana del puerto y que por ello, todas las Islas de bahía, quedan comprendidas en la parte que se concede á Kiti. Les manifestó en fin que este dominio ha de entenderse con las mismas limitaciones respecto á los extranjeros, con que tienen los suyos propios y manteniendo el Gobierno iguales derechos en ellos que en las demás tierras de la isla y á reserva de la aprobación superior.

El Nanamaraki y dignidades enumeradas anteriormente, contestaron [unánimes que] aceptaban con reconocimiento la concesión que se les hacía y que con este motivo reiteraban sus ofrecimientos de constante adhesión y lealdad.

Y para que conste dispuso el Sr. Coronel se levantase este acta, que firmaron los presentes en Santiago de la Ascensión á trece de Diciembre de mil ochocientos noventa.

Nanamaraki X
 Uachay X
 Naneken X

Nancro en U. X

Toch X

Nanlen X

Noch X

Nanaua X

Nanepey X

Antonio Díez de Rivera

José Ferrer

Luis Cadarso

José de Paredes y Chacón

Manuel Serrano

Nota.—El original está en Castellano é Inglés.

Original English version, made by the Spanish themselves.

Having been assembled today, called by Colonel Mr. Manuel Serrano Ruiz, Chief of the expeditionary Spanish troops to the Carolines islands and with the assistance of Mr. Luis Cadarso, Captain of frigate, Polite[sic] and Military Governor of this Archipelago; Mr. José de Paredes Chacon; and Mr. José Ferrer Perez de las Cuevas, Captains of frigates, and Captains of the Spanish me of war "Velasco" and "Ulloa" respectively, and Mr. Antonio Díez de Rivera, Captain of Artillery 2nd chief of the expeditionary troops, the Nanmake (Chief) of U tribe, and the fellows who exercise employments or dignities with the names of Uajai [Uachay], Nangco [Nanco] en U, Naneken, Tog [Tok], Nalem [Naulen], Nox [Noch], Nanwa [Nanaua], and Nanpey [Nanepey].

The Colonel Serrano told them that having been loosened by effect of the last war the tribe of Metalanim, burnt their villagtes, and dispersed its inhabitants, he proposed themselves to grant them the dominion of a part of the territory of the former in consideration to their constant loyalty to the Spanish flag that had done them creditors of this grace.

He equally told them that the part of the territory of old Metalanim which he grant them is the embraced between its frontiers of before to the North {East} and the left shore of Pillapletau river to the South being understand that the left shore of the said river follow also the left reefs of the port mouth and that for it, every island in the harbour, are granted in the Kiti portion.

He told them at last, that this portion which he grant them, has the same limitations [with] respect to the foreigners, with which they have theirs and maintaining the Spanish Government the same rights in them that in the other lands of the perfect value of these [sic] at the Superior approbation.

The Nanmarke and said before dignities, answered unanimous that they accept with pleasure the concession granted to them, and with this motif [sic] they reiterated their offers of constant adhesion and loyalty.

In faith hereof, Colonel disposed to write this paper which signed all the presents in Santiago de la Ascension 13th December 1890.

X Nanamaraqui [Nahnmwarki]

X Uachai [Wasahi]

X Nankiro [Nahn Kiroun Uh]

X Naneken [Nahnken]

X Tauk [Dauk]

X Noulaim [?]

X Noj [Noahs]

X Nanaua [Nahnawa]

X Nampey [Nahnpei]

It is a copy.

The Colonel, acting Chief of Staff.

Pedro de Bascaran(?)

Modern English translation.

Having assembled this day at the invitation of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano Ruiz, Head of the expeditionary column to the Carolines and in the presence of Don Luis Cadarso, Navy Commander and P.M. Governor of this Archipelago, Don José de Paredes y Chacón, and Don José Ferrer Perez de las Cuevas, Navy Commanders and Commanders respectively of the war Cruisers **Velasco** and **Ulloa**, Don Antonio Díez de Rivera, Army Commander and Artillery Captain, Second-in-command of this column; Nanamaraki (Chief) of the U. Tribe and the individuals who hold positions and dignities therein under the titles of Uachay, Nancro en U., Naneken, Tok, Nanlen Noch, Nanana and Nanepey.

Colonel Serrano told them that, since the Metalanim tribe has been abolished, its villages burned and its inhabitants dispersed, it was proposed to grant to those of Kiti sovereignty over a part of the territory of the former, given that their constant loyalty to the Spanish flag had made them deserving of this favor. He also told them that the part of the territory of the old Metalanim which is being granted to them is that which is comprised between their former boundary in the North and the left bank of the above-mentioned Pillaptetao [Letau River] [to the South]; with the understanding that the left bank of said river, extends along the reefs on the left also of the mouth of the port and, therefore, all the islands in the bay remain included in the part is being granted to Kiti. Finally, he told them that this ownership must be understood with the same limitations with respect to foreigners, as did their own, and that the Government keeps equal rights in them than in the other lands on the island, and it is subject to superior approval.

The Nanamaraki and the other above-mentioned dignitaries answered that they accepted with gratitude the concession that was being made them and for this reason they reiterated their offers of constant adherence and loyalty.

And, in faith whereof, Colonel Serrano decided to draw this act, which was signed by those present in Santiago de la Ascensión, on the 13th of December 1890.

Nanamaraki X [Nahnmwarki]

Uachay X [Wasahi]

Naneken X [Nahnken]
Nancro en U. X [Nahn Kiroun Uh]
Toch X [Dauk]
Nanlen X [?]
Noch X [Noahs]
Nanaua X [Nahnawa]
Nanepey X [Nahnpei]
Antonio Díez de Rivera
José Ferrer
Luis Cadarso
José de Paredes y Chacón
Manuel Serrano
Note.—The original is in Spanish and English.

Documents 1890AE

Return of the expeditionary column to Manila

Source: PNA.

AE1. Telegram sent to Madrid on 16 January 1891

16 January 1891.

The Governor Captain General to the Ministers of Overseas and War.

Cruiser **Ulloa** and transport **Manila** have returned from Carolines (Ponape) with part expeditionary forces with satisfactory news that confirm the results obtained and the hope that tranquillity will not be disturbed.

AE2. The naval report to the Governor General, dated Manila 19 January

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[From] General Navy Headquarters in the Philippines.

Your Excellency,

The Captain of the cruiser **Don Antonio de Ulloa**, in a letter dated 10th instant reports to me that on the 26th of December last, he left Ponape with his ship and in company with the transport **Manila**, carrying on board the former Companies 1 and 5 of the Regiments of the Line N° 68 and 71 respectively, and aboard the **Manila** the Commander-in-chief and Second-in-command of the expeditionary forces, 11 officers from different branches of the Army, 185 soldiers from a Peninsular Regiment of Artillery, plus 35 wounded or sick soldiers and also some food supplies, equipment and war ammunition of the expeditionary force.

At Zamboanga, the Head of the expeditionary forces presented to the said Captain of the **Ulloa** an order from Y.E. in which it was stipulated that the two Companies of the Line were to disembark and the artillery force was to return to Manila as soon as possible. Therefore, with the agreement of both officers, the said Captain effected the disembarkation, and the artillery force aboard the **Manila** was embarked and then he headed for this capital where he anchored the day before yesterday.

The wounded and sick were then left aboard the transport **Manila** which arrived yesterday. Her captain tells me in his field report that, following indications from the

Head of the expeditionary force, he had disembarked the sick and wounded in Zamboanga. He also tells me, among other things, what follows:

“In charge of the 11,000 Army rations, ammunition and part of the materiel belonging to the ewar branch, there was aboard the Senior Official of Military Administration, Mr. Ernesto Martinez Gonzalez, to turn them over in this capital. Among the individuals whom we carry aboard, according to the united list, there comes a foreigner as a prisoner to be turned over to the Government General, and the exile Marcelo Riac,¹ wounded during the attack on the trenches of Ketan, who was embarked by order of the Commander of the Division and he arrived cured at this port, and about his disposal I beg Y.E. to please give me instructions.”

Which I have the honor to pass on to Y.E. for your informatin and whatever purpose may suit you.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 19 January 1891.

[Rear-Admiral] Gabriel Pita da Veiga.

Editor's notes.

The cruiser **Don Juan de Austria** was dispatched to the Carolines to relieve the **Velasco**. On 26 January, the Governor General sent to the Minister of Overseas copies of all the war reports, including the latest memorandum by Colonel Serrano.

A first Navy accounting report on the costs of the expedition was prepared in Cavite on 23 December 1890. The final Navy accounting report, not ready until 25 April 1891, was as follows:

AE3. Navy accounting report on the expenditures of the expedition to the Carolines

Auditing Office of the Naval Squadron of the Philippines—Bookkeeping Branch.

Note about the sums paid until now and payables, for the expenditures of all costs in the war operations carried out in Ponape in the Eastern Carolines, and which are as follows:²

Expenditures made until this date	Pesos
—Total transport cost aboard the merchantman Antonio Muñoz and handling of the passengers: Officers in charge, officers and other Navy and Army personnel ...	25,072.00
.....	
—Part of the total for chartering the Spanish merchant bark N. S. del Carmen [alias Nervión] to transport war materiel to the port of operations ...	17,190.00

1 Ed. note: His family name is given differently in the list of the wounded. Riac is a Filipino name, possibly Pampagueño. He must have been previously sentenced to exile in Pohnpei, but his volunteering may have earned him a pardon. The name of the foreign prisoner is not given.

2 Ed. note: The marginal notes indicating the cross-references to the accounting books are not reproduced here.

—Total spent for the purchase of coal destined to the same operations ...	
.....	49,996.64
—Total spent for the purchase of food for the ships destined to id.	25,768.95
—Total for labor invested in works carried out on the ships destined to id. ...	
.....	508.49
—Total for purchase of 100,000 filled cartridges destined to id. ...	2,500.00
—Total cost of insurance of the war materiel and other naval effects transported by the merchantmen Salvadora and Antonio Muñoz to id. mmm ...	588.30
—Total rental cost of 3 barges to unload the coal brought by the English steamer Choy Sang to Cañacao, for use in the said operations	256.50
Total cost of marine insurance for the food supplies, naval effects, war materiel and medicines carried aboard the Spanish merchant steamer Uranus from Manila to the point of operations	481.56
—Total for food supplies purchased for the ships assigned to the operations	18,720.39
—Total for pay corresponding to various officers and individuals of the Marine Infantry troop destined to the said operations, for the months of October, November and December 1890	3,714.34
—Total for war materiel that must be purchased in the Peninsula to replace that consumed in the Ponape operations	38,570.95
—Rest of the total for chartering the merchant bark N. S. del Carmen to carry coal and other materiel to the port of the said operations	6,050.00
—Total pay of various officers and individuals of the Marine Infantry troop occupied in the said operations, for the months of January to March 1891	2,425.53
—Total paid for the coal delivered to the coal stores of the naval station in Isabela by the steamer Iser	53,380.88
—Total campaign emoluments paid to officers and individuals of the Marine Infantry troop that was part of the military expedition operating in the Eastern Carolines, from 14 August 1890 to 12 March 1891	5,360.23
—Total paid for coal delivered in December last to the Cañacao stores in accordance with the contract with Mr. Luis Aguilar	57,156.09
—Total for handling by steamer Uranus of Navy personnel carried from Manila to Ponape, Eastern Carolines	294.00
Payables	
—Total estimated loss that could be suffered on the draft of \$38,470.05 drawn on Madrid for the purchase of war materiel in replacement of that consumed in the Ponape operations, calculated at 10%	7,694.00

	\$315,628.91
	=====

Cavite, 25 April 1891.
Santiago Soriano

AE4. First telegram about the costs of the operation

Governor General to the Minister Overseas. 14 May 1891.

Liquidation expenses expedition Carolines results spent Navy 307,934; War 94,513; and payables 7,694; and 10,000. I remit details next mail.

AE5. Second telegram about the costs of the operation

Governor General to Minister Overseas, Madrid.

Costs expedition Carolines total pesos 396,178 for 1890 and pesos 24,073 for 1891.

Manila 26 June 1891.¹

1 Ed. note: So, the final audited accounts showed a total expenditure of 420,251 pesos for the military operations involved in the second Pohnpei rebellion.

Documents 1890AF

Honors given to some personnel who served in the Pohnpei operations

AF1. Decorations and pensions given to Army personnel wounded in the Pohnpei operations

Source: Commander, Captain of the Corps of Artillery Francisco J. de Moya. Memorial de Artillería. Nuestro ejército en las Carolinas (Madrid, 1891).

...

The men wounded at Oua and Ketan were under provisional care for twenty-some days, for lack of means and personnel, in spite of the sacrifice of his health made by the Physician of the Expedition, Dr. Anacleto Cabeza, who was seriously wounded in one hand when his services were most required.

The Government has rewarded such sufferings with the following favors:

Cross of María Cristina, 2nd grade.¹

- Army Commander, Captain of Artillery, Don Victor Díaz Martinez.
- Army Commander, Captain of Artillery, Don Antonio Díez de Rivera.
- Senior Physician, effective 2nd Class, Don Anacleto Cagbeza y Pereiro.

Cross of María Cristina, 1st grade.

- Captain of Artillery, Don José Monasterio y Olivier.
- First Lieutenant of Artillery, Don Emilio Sergio y Castro.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Luís Beltrán de Lis y España.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Saturnino Serrano y Navarro.
- Physician 1st Class, Don Felipe Ruiz y Castrillo.

Red cross, 1st grade, with a pension at half normal pay.

- Captain of Artillery, Don Bernardino Aguado y Muñoz.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Juan Cebrián y Souza.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Miguel Aluet y Martinez.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Castorino Ramirez Salomón.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Victor García Olalla.

¹ FEd. note: María Cristina was then Queen Regent of Spain.

- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Prudencio Becerril y Maracos.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don José García y García.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don José Panfil y Muñoz.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Valentín Melgar y Casado.
- Senior Military Administrator, Don Ernesto Martín Sanchez.
- Captain of Marine Infantry, Don José Buitrago y Gallego.

Red cross of Military Merit, 1st grade.

- Captain of Infantry, Don Antonio Rivera y Caiñas.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Manuel Romeral.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Luís Martínez y Perez.
- Captain of Infantry, Don Antonio Sastre y Ramirez.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Antonio Sequera.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan Francisco y Dionisio.
- First Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Julián Rojo y Echenique.
- First Lieutenant of Artillery, Don Tomás Terraza y Azpeitia.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, plus a reward of 25 pesetas per month, for life.

- Sergeant of Artillery, Manuel Muñoz y García.
- Sergeant of Artillery, Crescencio Rebullida y Esposito.
- Sergeant of Artillery, Antonio Losada y Castro.
- Sergeant of Artillery, José Vega y Torre.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, plus a reward of 25 pesetas per month, while serving.

- Sergeant of Artillery, Juan Aparicio y Miró.
- Sergeant of Marine Infantry, Francisco Lopez Gallego.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, with a pension of 7.50 pesetas per month, for life.

- In Artillery: one corporal and five artillerymen.
- In Infantry: one corporal and three native soldiers.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, with a pension of 7.50 pesetas per month, while serving.

- In Artillery: six Sergeants, one Corporal and five artillerymen.
- In Infantry: six Sergeants, one Corporal and one native soldier.
- In Marine Infantry: one Sergeant.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, with a pension of 2.50 pesetas per month, for life.

- In Artillery: one Corporal.

In Infantry: three native soldiers.

Red cross of Military Merit, silver, with a pension of 2.50 pesetas per month, while serving.

In Artillery: three Corporals, two buglers and three artillerymen.

In Infantry: three Corporals, one bugler and nine native soldiers.

In Marine Infantry: one Corporal and eight soldiers.

In Medical Service: one Corporal.

Red cross of Military Merit, simple.

In Artillery: nine Corporals, six buglers, 94 artillerymen and 10 natives.

In Infantry: nine Sergeants, seven European and one native Corporals, four buglers and 104 native soldiers.

In Marine Infantry: three Corporals, 20 European and four native soldiers.

Honorific mention.

In Artillery: one bugler, 12 artillerymen and one native.

In Infantry: one Corporal and 83 native soldiers.

In Marine Infantry: 10 European and three native soldiers.

AF2. A pension granted to Leconnot, a Pohnpeian woman of the U tribe

Note: This woman had been wounded while serving as a volunteer scout during the Ketan operation.

[To the Governor General of the Philippines.]

[From] the Ministry of Overseas—N° 190.

Your Excellency,

The proposal of Y.E. regarding a pension to a woman of the U tribe, named Leconnot, in the Eastern Carolines has been presented to the Council of the Philippines and of the Possessions in the Gulf of Guinea. The said Council has been happy to issue the following decision:

“Your Excellency: This Council has examined at length the official letter, N° 302, dated 28 April last [1892], in which the Governor General of the Philippine Islands supports the letter dated 20 January [1892] of the Politico-Military [Governor] of the Eastern Carolines recommending that a pension of six pesos per month be allotted to a woman named Leconnot, a native of the U tribe, as a reward for the services rendered by her to our troops during the Metalanim Campaign.”

“It appears, indeed, and the said letter of the Governor of the Carolines says so, that the said Leconnot served as a guide to the column of Colonel Serrano in his adventurous expedition as she was knowledgeable about the very rough terrain that he had to cover, the terrain was known to be covered with very thick bushes. In that journey, the valorous Indian woman was wounded in a leg when the column began its attack. In addition to such recommendable services, must be added the no less important service of

having denounced some foreigners who, as a consequence, were sent as prisoners to Manila because they effectively were accomplices of the enemies of Spain in those events.”

“For this reason, the previous Governor, Mr. Cadarso, had promised to reward her with a prize, not with the pension now proposed but one of ten pesos per month [...]”¹

“For this reason, the Council believes that a pension must be granted to the Indian woman Leconnot, not that proposed by the actual Politico-Military Governor of the Carolines, but that of ten pesos that had been offered to her by his predecessor.”

[...]

“It would be appropriate, in any case, to the Governors of the Carolines that in similar cases they limit themselves to let those who render services worthy of a reward that they are or have been proposed for it to the Government General, and this because a long time must pass before getting it, but without telling them what that reward will be, meanwhile they do not receive the respective approval or the decision which is considered as just in the case.”

And having been agreed by H.M. the King (God save the King) and in his name the Queen Regent of the Realm with the inserted decision, it has been decided to carry it out as proposed, with the proviso that the grant in question is to take effect from the date in which the interested party has rendered the service. By Royal Order I forward this to Y.E. for the effects indicated.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 24 January 1892.

Maura.

[Minute:]

Manila, 8 March 1893.

Please execute and issue the corresponding orders.

[Governor General by interim, Federico] Ochando.

1 Ed. note: A long analysis of the pros and cons, in very patriotic language, is here omitted, to retain the conclusion.

ISBN 978-0-920201-32-9