

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

VOLUME 21

FREYCINET (CONT'D)

AND

THE DUPERREY EXPEDITION

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VOLUME 21

THE FREYCINET EXPEDITION (CONT'D)

AND

THE DUPERREY EXPEDITION,

1819-1826

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by

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Contents of Volume 21

	Page
List of illustrations	8
Doc N°	
1819G The Freycinet Expedition—Logbook by Lieutenant Lamarche	11
1819H The Freycinet Expedition—Official logbook	15
1819I The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Jean Dubos	32
1819J The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Théodore Fabr�	46
1819K The Freycinet Expedition—Journal of Mr. Gagnes	51
1819L The Freycinet Expedition—Journal of Mr. Raillard	67
1819M The Freycinet Expedition—Other unpublished journals	70
1819N The Freycinet Expedition—Navigation and Hydrographic matters	73
1819O The Freycinet Expedition—The zoological collections	121
1819P The ship Paz , Captain Rocha, bound to Acapulco but turned back	124
1819Q The ships Carmen and Santa Rita returned to the Philippines	128
1819R The voyage of the San Ruperto , alias Aventurero , Captain Varela	136
1820A Captain Samuel Hill in the Packet returned to Micronesia	140
1820B The visit of the whaler Syren , Captain Coffin	141
1820C The story of a Frenchman aboard the Santa Rita	144
1820D The arrival of Carolinian immigrants from Lamotrek in 1819	159
1820E A short history of U.S. whaling in the Pacific	162
1820F The schooner San Juan , alias Espina	165
1821A Changes in the Mariana Island garrison	167
1821B The frigate Mar�a , Captain Morgado, from San Blas to Manila	173
1821C The brig Feliz Emprendedor , Captain Jos� Ramirez	186
1821D The second visit of the brig Osprey at Tinian	188
1821E The hurricane of 1821—Damages to schooner, etc.	191
1821F The arrival of more Carolinian immigrants from Lamotrek, in 1821	195
1821G Ship arrivals and departures from San Blas	198
1821H The English ship Magnet , Captain Brown, visited Guam in October	200
1821I Census of the Marianas, for 1820 and 1821	202
1821J Mystery ship reported in trouble off Guam	204
1822A The last letters of Governor Medinilla's first term of office	207
1822B The official appointment & record books of Gov. Montilla, 1822-23	223
1822C Appointment of new municipal officials in the Marianas	229
1822D Visits of the ship Arab , Captain Sinclair	231

1822E	Visit of the Santa Rita in September 1822	233
1822F	The English whaling ship Sir George Osborne	236
1822G	Visit of an unidentified ship	238
1822H	The English whaler Reynard brought Carolinians to Guam	240
1822I	The ship General Hamilton , Captain William Martin	242
1822J	The story of the pirate treasure buried in the northern Marianas	243
1822K	The Robertson treasure (cont'd)—Narrative of Captain Lafond	247
1822L	German-made chart of the Central Pacific Ocean, 1823-1839	263
1822M	The ship Paragon , Captain Thomas Brown, from Kauai to Canton	266
1823A	The English whaler Syren attacked at Angaur, <i>Palau or Pelilieu</i>	267
1823B	A battle between two ships reported off Tinian in March 1823	271
1823C	English whaler Copernicus , Captain Charles McGregor	274
1823D	Military situation in Guam in 1823	276
1823E	The English whaler Rebecca brought Governor Ganga to Guam, and arrival of the brig Alerta	280
1823F	The Phoenix of New Bedford, Captain Benjamin Worth	282
1823G	Typical trip to the northern islands with the Guam-based schooner Señor San José	284
1823H	First visit of the whaler Transit , Captain John Coffin	296
1824A	List of English ships that visited Guam, February-October 1824	298
1824B	Some proclamations issued by Governor Ganga Herrero, 1823-1826	303
1824C	English sailors commit depredations in the Marianas	310
1824D	The bizarre murder of the English Captain John Stavers by Governor Ganga of Guam on 17 October 1824	325
1824E	Logbook of the ship China for 1824	328
1824F	The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of Captain Duperrey	331
1824G	The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of R. P. Lesson Idem—French-Kosraean Vocabulary	380 424
1824H	The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of Dumont d'Urville	441
1824I	The Duperrey Expedition—Narrative of Lieut. Jacquinet	454
1824J	The logbook of the Lady Blackwood , Captain John Hall— Re-discovery of the Hall Islands	484
1824K	The Kotzebue Expedition [See HM18]	
1824L	The Globe Mutiny—First reports from newspapers	487
1824M	The Globe Mutiny—Narrative of William Lay Idem—Narrative of Cyrus Hussey Idem—Mili atoll [Marshallese] Vocabulary Idem—Biography of Samuel Comstock, by his brother	495 530 541 547
1824N	The Manila brig revisited—The brig Concepción cut off at Fiji	576
1825A	The ship Caroline did not visit her islands	581
1825B	The logbook of the Leonidas , Captain Bartlett, via Ngulu	582
1825C	"Mad John" Percival came in search of the Globe mutineers	585

1825C	"Mad John" Percival came in search of the <i>Globe</i> mutineers	585
1825D	The crews of a Spanish fleet mutinied at Guam	623
1825E	The Spanish ship <i>Flor de Mar</i> suspected of being an insurgent ship	625
1825F	The French whaler <i>Triton</i> , Capt. Upham, perhaps visited Micronesia	627
1825G	Guam port fees, dated 19 July 1825	629
1825H	Whalers reported by ship <i>Ontario</i> in 1825-1826	630
1826A	Ships that visited Guam, August-December 1826	631
1826B	Official record book for Governor Medinilla's second term of office, 1826-1831	633
1826C	The beginning of reform in the government of the Matianas	647
1826D	The French ship <i>Péruvien</i> of Bordeaux, Capt. Saliz	650
1826E	The whaler <i>Stanton</i> , Captain Josiah Howland	656
1826F	The ship <i>Spartan</i> , Capt. Mooers, sighted Kapingamarangi & Nauru	664
1826G	Ship <i>Atlantic</i> visited Faraulep and Guam	665
1826H	The ship <i>Independence II</i> , Captain William Plaskett	666
	Appendix 1—The Duperrey Papers	671
	Appendix 2—Governor Medinilla's 30-year service record	677
	Appendix 3—Life aboard European ships, circa 1840	689
	Index	695

List of illustrations

	Page
Plate n° 7.—Chart of part of the Caroline Islands	96
Plate n° 8.—General chart of the Mariana Islands	106
Plate n° 9.—General chart of the Island of Guam	111
Plate n° 10.—Detailed chart of the Island of Guam, incl. Rota	113
Plate n° 11.—Idem, cont'd	112
Plate n° 12.—Chart of the Bay of Umata	114
Plate n° 13.—Chart of Port San Luís de Apra	116
Plate n° 14.—Chart of Tarofoto Harbor	117
Plate n° 15.—Charts of some of the northern Mariana Islands	120
Juan Donojú, last Viceroy of New Spain	172
Chart of the Mary-Anna [sic] Islands, Postdam Oct. 1841	264-265
Captain Frederick Coffin, of whaler Syren	269
Ship Castor whaling off Buru Island in the Moluccas	312
Captain Louis-Isidore Duperrey	329
French navy ship Coquille	330
Track of the ship Coquille through Micronesia	335
Chart of the Bishop Islands	337
Chart of Hall Island	339
Chart of Woodle and Henderville Islands	339
Chart of the Mulgrave Islands	341
Chart of the Charlotte Islands	341
Chart of the Gilbert Island Archipelago	343
Chart of the Bonham Islands	345
Map of Ualan Island	347
View of Ualan Island from Coquille Harbor	349
Chart of Coquille Harbor (Ualan Island)	351
Chart of Chabrol Harbor	353
Chart of Port Lottin	353
Kosrae (or Kusaie, Ualan, Strong's) Island, showing the inland trail	355
Chart of the Duperrey Islands	360
Chart of the MacAskill Islands	360
Chart of the Hogoleu Islands	363
Chart of Bigali Island	367
Chart of Satawal Island	367
Chart of Tamatam, Fanadik and Ollap Islands	367

Chart of Tamatam, Fanadik and Ollap Islands	367
Inhabitants of Ualan Island	371
Men of Ualan Island	372
Women of Ualan Island	373
Houses of Ualan Island	374
Artifacts, Ualan Island	375
Weaving apparatus, Ualan Island	376
Inhabitants of Pingelap, Mokil and Chuuk Islands	377
Fabrics made in the Caroline Islands	378
Products of the Caroline Islands	379
Canoe of Tuvalu, the former Ellice Islands	385
Oceanic dove (<i>Columba oceanica</i>)	396
Tiger-spotted moray eel, Kosrae (<i>Ichthyophis pantherinus</i>)	398
Moray eels of the Caroline Islands (<i>Murænophus</i>)	399
Inhabitants of Ualan, or Kosrae, Island in 1824	402
Inhabitants of Lele Island, Kosrae, in 1824	410
Carolinian canoe seen by Lesson in 1824	433
Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville	440
Following the inland trail, Kosrae, 1824	453
Model of a Kosraean canoe	479
The Hall Islands and the track of the Lady Blackwood	485
The whale ship Globe , of Nantucket	488
Title page of the Narrative of the Mutiny, by William Lay	494
The Globe Mutiny—Murder of the captain	500
The Globe Munity—Execution of Humphries	503
The Globe Mutiny—Death of Samuel Comstock	508
Title page of the Life of Samuel Comstock, the terrible mutineer	546
Map of the Mulgraves, otherwise known as Mili Atoll	584
Bow of a frigate while in port	689
Seamen measuring the length of a frigate	689
A frigate under sail	690
Seamen reefing a sail	691
Seamendurling a topsail	691
Battery gun in harbor position	692
View of the after-deck on board a war brig	692
Upper gun deck with guns in harbor position	693
Lower gun deck with seamen sleeping in their hammocks	693

Document 1819G

**The Freycinet Expedition—Logbook by
Lieutenant Lamarche**

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ63.

Note: The French visited the same islands that had been re-discovered and identified by the Spanish in 1800 (see Doc. 1800F).

Original text in French

Table de Loch. N° 7.

...

Journée du 12 Mars 1819. Evènements historiques & observations.

...

De 8h à midi: A 11h30' la vigie a annoncé la terre que nous avons vue au nord, la terre aperçue est une ile basse, uniforme et couverte d'une végétation précieuse.

De midi à 4 heures: On a peint le Caval de commandement. A 3h on a vu se détacher plusieurs pirogues de la pointe O de l'île Bartholome. A 4h soir par le travers de cette ile, nous avons onze de ces embarcations le long du bord, chacune montée de 4 à 5 hommes. Elles ressemblent aux prohs des îles Mariannes sans avoir de faux côté. A 4h la pointe SE de l'île E 15° N à environ le milieu, la pte NO, N 47° E.

De 4h à 8h: Les pirogues sont toujours à notre remorque. A 5h40' on voit le fond. Aussitot cargué les basses voiles, et l'on sonde. On trouve d'abord 10 brasses fond de corail et sable puis fond augmente et l'on continue de sonder. On trouve fond par 30 brasses. A 6h a peu pres les pirogues nous quittent apres nous avoir vendu un grand poisson.

...

Lat. observé 6°29'01" N.

Id. estimée 6°33'37"

Long. observé 17.53.15

Id. estimée 17.34.59

Declinaison de la boussole 6° NE.

Journée du 13 Mars 1819.

...

De 1h à 8h: Le tems assez beau, mais couvert. A 5h30' nous avons aperçu la terre. La pointe Sud à l'Ouest, et la pointe Nord au O 30° N. A 6h la vigie a annoncé une nouvelle terre sous le vent. La direction dans laquelle elle paraissait être, était le NNE 1/2 N. A 6h 1/2 nous avons reconnu distinctement que la terre la première aperçue formait deux îles très rapprochées, l'une d'une mageure grandeur et l'autre fort petite. L'extrémité N de la plus grande nous restait alors à l'Ouest 27° N. La pointe Sud de cette même île à l'O 17°30' N, la pointe N de la petite à l'O 27° N et la pte Sud à l'O 16° N. Ces deux îles étaient peu élevées et couvertes d'arbres. A 6h un grain a fait changer la route nous avons marqué puis[s] les amurres à babord. Peu après un proh venant de l'île dont je viens regarder en avant à bord. Il était monté de 4 hommes, une douzaine d'autres prohs se dirigeaient sur nous. A 7h le vent ayant repassé à l'E 18 N, nous avons fait chapelle, repris les amurres à tribord. Le premier nous a vendu du poisson, A 8h on a aperçu le fond, sondé avec 25 et 28 brasses de ligne sans trouver de fond. A la même heure relevé à l'extrémité Sud de l'île la plus près de nous sous le vent, à l'O 6° S, et la partie la terre N, au O 6° N. La grande et la petite formait plus qu'une et la pointe Sud de la petite sautait alors a la pointe sud de la grande; le milieu de l'île aperçue devant nous restait à cet instant au N 22° E.

De 8h à midi: Quelques grains à l'horizon. De 8h à 10h les vents nous cessent de jouer. On avons plusieurs fois manoeuvré pour s'approcher le plus au NE. A 10h repris les amurres à babord. Pendant le quart le nombre de pirogues a augmenté, il y a eu plusieurs échanges. Quelques naturels sont montés à bord, une de leur embarcations que nous avions à la remorque s'étant engagé avec une autre, a chaviré. A midi, elles avaient disparu. A 8h42' sondé et trouvé 24 B. A midi Poulou outto S 30° O. Tamatam au N 34° E.

De midi à 4h: Les pirogues nous quittent et quelques amis reconnaissants on fait avec nous divers échanges, entre autres du poisson, et des Cocos mais en très petite quantité... A 4h pte N de Fanandik nous reste à l'E 17° S, la pte Sud de Tamatam fau S 46° E.

De 4h à 8h: Vu plusieurs îles avec beaucoup de palmiers. Relevé à 6h le milieu de Fanandik au S 45° E.

De 8h à minuit: Rien.

...

Translation.

Log Line Table N° 7.

...

12 March 1819. Historical events and observations.

...

From 8 a.m. to noon: At 11:30 the lookout descried land, bearing North. That land that was seen is a low-lying island, flat and covered with a precious vegetation.

From noon to 4 p.m.: The command post was painted. At 3 p.m. many canoes were seen leaving the west point of Bartolomé [sic = Pulusuk] Island. At 4 p.m., as we came

abreast of this island, we had eleven of these craft alongside. Each of them carried 4 to 5 men. They resemble the proas of the Mariana Islands without having a flat side.¹ At 4 p.m., the SE point of the island bore E15°N at about the middle, the NW point N47°E.

From 4 to 8 p.m.: The canoes are always in tow. At 5:40 the bottom was seen. The lower sails were immediately hoisted, and we sounded. At first, it was 10 fathoms, coral and sand, then the depth increased while sounding continued. Bottom was found at 30 fathoms. At about 6 p.m., the canoes left us after they sold us a large fish.

...

Lat. observed 6°29'01" N.

Lat. estimated 6°33'37"

Long. observed 17°53'15"

Long. estimated 17°34'59"

Magnetic variation 6° NE.

13 March 1819.

From 1 to 8 a.m.: The weather was rather beautiful, but overcast. At 5:30 we have seen the land. The south point bore W and the north point bore W30°N. At 6, the lookout descried another island downwind. It appeared to bear NNE1/2N. At 6:30, we recognized quite clearly that the first land seen was in fact two islands very close together; one was rather larger, and the other very small. The north point of the larger one then bore W27°N. The south point of the same island bore W17°30'N. The north point of the small island bore W27°N and its south point W16°N. These two islands were low-lying and covered with trees. At 6 a.m., a squall made us change our heading; we took our bearings then tacked to port. A short time later, a proa coming from the island just ahead came alongside. It carried 4 men. A dozen more proas are heading toward us. At 7 a.m., the wind having shifted back to E18°N, we pointed into it, then tacked to starboard. The first canoe sold us some fish. At 8 a.m., we saw the bottom, sounded with 25 and 28 fathoms of line but did not find bottom. At the same time, the south point of the island closer to us downwind bore W6°S and part of the land north of it bore W6°N. The large and the small islands then appeared like one island and the south point of the smaller one was then in line with the south point of the larger one. The center of the island seen ahead of us then bore N22°E.

From 8 a.m. to noon: A few squalls on the horizon. From 8 to 10 a.m., the winds keep shifting. We have made many maneuvers to get further toward the NE. At 10 a.m., we tacked back to port. During this watch, the number of canoes has increased, and there was much bartering. A few natives came on board. One of their canoes that we had in tow collided with another and was capsized. At noon, they had disappeared. At 8:42, we sounded and found 24 fathoms. At noon, Pulu Uto [sic] [bore] S30°W. Tamatan bore N34°E.

1 Ed. note: It seems unclear which canoes had a flat, or vertical, side. However, the next document state that some Carolinian canoes had this "false", or flat, side very pronounced.

From noon to 4 p.m.: The canoes left us and a few grateful friends bartered with us, for fish and coconuts, but in very small quantity... At 4 p.m., the north point of Fanadik bore E17°S, the south point of Tamatam bore S46°E.

From 4 to 8 p.m.: Seen many islands with many palm trees. At 6 p.m., the center of Fanadik bore S45°E.

From 8 p.m. to midnight: Nothing.

...

[While in port at the Island of Guam, the only remarks are those concerning the handling of the ship and life on board, as recorded by various cadet officers, such as Bérard, Pellion, Raillard. As for Lieutenant Lamarche, he unfortunately left no narrative of life ashore.]

 Document 1819H

The Freycinet Expedition—Official logbook

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ69B.

Note: This logbook was kept on board by the officer in charge of the watch. It was, in turn, consulted and imitated, if not copied in parts, by those who kept private journals.

Original text in French.

...

Journée du vendredi 12 mars 1819.

*Temps beau, vent faible. Au jour on a rempli une caisse en fer d'eau de mer. A 11h on a aperçu la terre droit devant nous. Avant midi elle a été reconnue pour l'île **St. Bartholome**, Dans la journée les calfats et les voiliers ont continué leur travail ordinaire. A 3h on a vu plusieurs pirogues se détacher de la pointe O. de l'île. A 4h étant par le travers, nous avions onze de ces embarcations le long du bord. Elles ressemblent au pros des Mariannes sans avoir de faux côté... Après le coucher du soleil toutes les embarcations ont disparu. De 8h a minuit, on a sondé de dix en dix minutes.*

Journée du 13 mars 1819.

*Très beau temps. On a sondé toutes les heures pour trouver fond. A quatre heures sondé par 125 brasses pas de fond. Au jour aperçu la terre. Nous avons a nous la pte. Sud à l'Ouest et la pte N à l'O. 30° N. A 6h cette ile s'est divisé en deux réunies par un canal étroit. De 6h à 8h les récifs ont varié beaucoup, on a aperçu plusieurs faible fond par 25 et 28 brasses. Nous avons alors plusieurs îles en vue. De 8h à midi nous avons découvert les noms de ces îles, la première se nommant **Poulou otti**, les autres **Tamatatan** et **Fanadik**. Les naturels sont venus dans des proas semblables à ceux de la veille, leurs faux côté étant très prononcé. On a échangé des cordages, des poissons, des lignes, des hameçons en nacre et plusieurs toiles. A 4h du soir elles nous avaient abandonné, l'île Tamatan nous restait au Sud, on ne voyait plus l'île Poulou otti. A 5h il ne restait en vue que l'île Fanadik au S. 45° E. La nuit a été belle. On a sondé tous les quarts.*

...

Journée du mercredi 17 mars 1819.

Très beau temps, ciel nuageux. A 5h40' aperçu la terre à tribord à nous. A 6h on la découvrait du NNO au SO 1/4 O. On a forcé le vent pour l'approcher de la pointe Nord qu'on relevait à 8h au N. 5° O. C'est alors qu'on a laissé arriver pour prolonger la côte

Est de cette ile qui a été reconnue pour Guam. On a distingué plusieurs habitations parmi les cocotiers. A 11h nous approchions de la pointe Sud. On a vu la mer briser au large, ce qui nous a fait écarter la terre. A midi plusieurs iles s'étaient détaché de la pointe Sud[.] On voyait toute l'étendue des brisans. On a vue un gros navire au mouillage dans la baie d'Umata. On a pris le vent pour doubler la pointe la plus Sud et arrondir les brisans. A 1 h un canot est venu à bord. L'intendant est monté à bord pour donner des renseignements au Commandant. On a aussitôt louvoyé pour gagner le mouillage; à 3h un second canot a apporté divers rafraichissemens. Nous avons eu des risées assez fortes qui nous ont fait veiller au[x] perroquets, on sondait à tous les virements de bord. A 5h42' cargué toutes les voiles et mouillé par 17 brasses fond de sable fin. On a mis de nuit le petit canot à la mer et le Lieutenant est parti pour aller chez le Gouverneur. Il est revenu à 6h. L'ancre de détroit que nous avons mouillé est éloignée par un petit(?) grelin.

A l'ancre dans la baie d'Umatac. Journée du 18.

Très beau temps, ciel toujours parsemé de gros nuages. Toute la journée les vents se sont tenus à la partie de l'E.N.E. petite brise. Au jour lavé les gaillards. A 7h du matin on a fait une salve de 21 coups de canon. Les bateries Espagnols ont répondu par 22. A 9h du matin le gouverneur des Mariannes est venu rendre visite au gouverneur [sic]. Lorsqu'il est parti, à 11h on l'a salué de sept coups de canon. Aussitot après le Commandant et l'état-major sont descendus à terre pour aller chez le gouverneur. Dans la matinée on a mis toutes les embarcations et l'on s'est occupé à espalmer le navire. A 6h du matin un canot nous avait apporté de la viande fraiche. Le soir le Commandant et tous les officiers sont arrivés sur les 8h.

Bar. 759 Th. m. 28

Ther. 28.2 Hyg. 92

Journée du 19 mars.

Très beau temps, calme plat. La brise a commencé après le lever du soleil. Lavé et nettoyé les gaillards. La chaloupe a été expédiée avec 16 tierçaux d'eau, 12 barils de galère¹ et tous les effets des malades; ils sont partis du bord par les 7h avec la baleinière qui portait aussi une partie des malades. Les chirurgiens sont descendus à terre pour établir l'hospital. Dans la journée on a détalingué la grande chaine de dessus l'ancre de babord, elle a été logée dans la cale et on a étalingué un cable à la place. La higue a été déverguée et remis entre les mains des voiliers. La chaloupe a fait deux voyages d'eau. On a dégagé l'emplacement de l'alambic pour prendre 8 pierres d'ance(?). A 8h du soir le Commandant est revenue. A 9h on a fait coucher l'équipage.

Latitude observée 13°17'39"

Bar. 760 Th. m. 28

Ther. 28.7 Hyg. 89

¹ Ed. note: Small barrels that one man could carry when full, according to a French nautical lexicon.

Journée du 20 mars.

Temps nuageux quelques gouttes de pluie. A 7h on a aperçu un arc en ciel[,] lumière dont l'éclat s'est maintenue pendant plus de 20 minutes. Dans la journée les vents ont soufflé de l'ENE, et NE avec quelques raffales. Au jour la chaloupe est partie pour faire de l'eau, elle a apporté à terre quatre pierres pour monter un poêle. A midi on a fait une salve en l'honneur de la fête du gouverneur. Tout l'état-major a été invité à dîner chez lui. Dans l'après midi, on a démoli l'alambic et l'on a dégager la place pour y mettre la cuisine. Dans la nuit le vent a soufflé par fortes raffales[,] on a fait ramener(?) de l'ancre de tribord. Dans les vingt quatre heures la chaloupe a fait deux voyages.

Bar. 761 Th. m. 28

Ther. 28.5 Hyg. 90

Journée du 21 mars.

Temps nuageux, quelques grenasses de pluies et de vent venant des montagnes. A 6h le grand canot est parti sous les ordres de Mr. Duperey pour aller à l'île des Cocos, faire la géographie de la côte. On a laissé la cuisine du faux pont dans la batterie. A 10h l'ancre de détroit ayant chassé on a mouillé l'ancre de porte de tribord. Différentes pirogues sont venues à bord porter des vivres, les charpentiers et les calfats ont préparé l'emplacement de la cuisine sous le gaillard d'avant en arrière des bittes. Dans la p.m. la chaloupe a fait un grand voyage d'eau. On a mis aussi la cuisine en poste. A 4h du soir le grand canot était de retour.

Bar. 760 Th. m. 28,5

Ther. 28.8 Hyg. 88,5

Journée du 22 mars lundi.

Temps nuageux mais beau. Dans la matinée il y a eu un peu de brume par la crête des montagnes. Au jour lavé les gaillards. A 7h on a fait habiller l'équipage pour assister à la messe qui a été dite par le curé de la paroisse, envoyé à bord par le gouverneur. Après le déjeuner de l'équipage on a mis les engins de l'alambic dans la cale et l'on a plus travaillé du reste de la journée. Après le coucher du soleil[,] quelques raffales. A 8h nous avons vu un grand feu par les montagnes.

Lat. observée 13°17'38" N.

Bar. 59.5 Th. m. 28.4

Therm. 29 Hyg. 86

Journée du 23 mars.

Temps nuageux et pluvieux, la brise au NE et à l'ENE. Petite pluie presque pendant toute la journée. La chaloupe a fait deux voyages d'eau. A 8h du soir le navire Espagnol qui était mouillé a mis sous voile et fait route vers le Nord.

Bar. 761 Th. m. 27.9

Therm. 25.8 Hyg. 100

Journée du 24.

Temps nuageux. Houle de OSO. Les vents à l'Est, ESE faibles, de temps à autres calme. A 7h reçu un grain de pluie. La chaloupe a fait deux voyages d'eau, mais comme on a trouvé l'eau un peu saumâtre, elle n'a point été embarquée. On a commencé à débarasser la cale au vin des pièces qui contenaient de l'eau, pour loger toutes les pieces de l'alambic.

Bar. 760 Th. m. 27.2

Ther. 28 Hyg. 95

[Log N° 3]

Mouillage d'Humata.

Le 25 mars. Les vents à l'E et ENE quelques gouttes de pluie dans la journée. A 11h du matin Mr. Duperrey est parti avec la chaloupe pour aller visiter la baie de St. Louis où nous devons aller mouiller. La chaloupe Espagnol a fait plusieurs voyages d'eau.

Le 26. Les vents à l'E et ESE. Le grand canot est parti pour aller donner un coup de filet dans le fond du port. Il est revenu avec le filet déchiré. On a rempli les pièces a l'avant, et arrimé dans la cale au vin toutes les douches et le fer qui restait dans la batterie. On a dressé les vergues et la mature.

Le 27. La chaloupe a fait plusieurs voyages d'eau. Mr. Duperey est revenu de St. Louis avec des rapports très favorable pour le mouillage de cette baie. Le tirant d'eau a donné 1 pi. 6 p. 5 lignes de l'arrière.

Le 28. Les vents à l'Est et ESE. Dès la pointe du jour on a viré par l'ancre de tribord, des qu'elle a été décappée on a fait toutes les dispositions pour l'appareillage. Les malades sont revenus à bord avec toutes les personnes et les ustensiles qui étaient à terre. A 2h décappé l'ancre de détroit et appareillé par les huniers. A 7h du soir après avoir louvoyé pour rien gagner nous avons mouillé au nord de la pte Oroté.

Le 29. On a embarqué dans les deux chaloupes une touée de 700 brasses pour l'ancre de détroit, qui a été mouillé au vent par le pilote Espagnol. A midi on a desemparé(?) l'ancre et viré pour la touée, Un ajust a manqué et nous avons été obligé de mettre sous voiles et de louvoyer. A 8h du soir nous avons mouillé au même endroit que la veille.

Le 30. A la pointe du jour nous avons commencé à nous touer, ayant toujours deux ancres à la mer.

Nous continuames ainsi toute la journée du 31, ayant parfois des raffales et peu de pluie. Les Espagnols ont été pour nous des plus grands secours.

Avril.

Le 1er avril on a encore élongé des touées et viré au cabestan pour gagner le mouillage de St. Louis. Au point du jour nous avons reçu un renfort de 20 hommes avec deux canots. Au coucher du soleil nous nous sommes enfin trouvé à l'ancrage du fort St. Cruz par 27 brasses fond de vol [=boue?] grise et molle. On a mouillé l'ancre de boprés de tribord. Sur les quatre heures de l'après [midi] on a envoyé un operateur mouiller avec la baleinière faire un peu de bois par la côte. A la même heure on a vu un navire à la

*pointe de l'île aux chèvres. Il est venu mouillé à la pointe Orote et a été reconnu pour le navire Espagnol **La Paz**.*

Le 2 à la pointe du jour on a élongé l'ancre de boprés de babord qui a été mouillé dans le NE par 26 brasses. On a mis toutes les embarcations à la mer. Noter la chaloupe a été chargée de tous les instruments et est partie de bord avec le Commandant, Mr. l'aumônier et un officier, un petit canot est parti avec plusieurs personnes de l'état-major, la grande chaloupe Espagnole a été chargée de tous les malades et les ustensiles et objets nécessaires pour établir un hopital à terre. Certaines embarcations ont débuté à 8h du matin. Le reste de la journée a été employé à bord à déblayer le navire laver nos amarres et les renfermer dans la cale.

Le 3 Mr. Duperrey est parti avec le grand canot pour commencer le plan de la baie. Le navire a été lavé et peint en dedans et dehors. Les calfats ont travaillé par le gaillard d'avant. On a dévergué les misaines pour le mettre entre les mains des voiliers. On a fini de mettre à quatre les ancres qui avaient servi à nous touer.

Le 4. Mr. Duperrey a débuté plusieurs fois du bord pour continuer les travaux. Le Commissaire est venu à bord avec un canot Espagnol pour prendre divers objets. Le vent s'est tenu à l'ENE joli frais. Nous avons reçu un grain assez fort.

*Le 5. On a envoyé le petit canot faire des balais. La baleinière a été embarquée et les charpentiers ont commencé à travailler les caissons en fer blanc. Les calfats ont travaillé à la batterie. Une petite pirogue a apporté comme à l'ordinaire de la viande de cerf. Les mats de perroquets ont été calés et dégrées, on a aussi calés les deux mats de hune pour soulager les coquillages [accostillages?]. On a mis des coins entre les jostemeys(?) et les élongis du mat de misaine pour enlever ceux-ci qui tombaient par l'avant. Une embarcation Espagnole est venu prendre par ordre du Commandant deux grelins pour touer le navire **La Paz**.*

Le 6. Les vents toujours à l'Est, ENE, ESE jolie brise[,] de temps en temps des grains. On a travailler au grément. Les voiliers, les charpentiers, les calfats et les forgerons occupés à leurs ouvrages respectifs. Le soir on a guindé le petit mat de hune.

Le 7 avril deux timoniers ont été envoyé au fort St. Cruz pour faire des observations de marine. Mr. Duperrey a continué son travail géographique. On a guindé le petit mat de hune, ridé les haubans de misaine et mis la vergue de misaine en poste. Nous les avions vouagé(?) comme à l'ordinaire.

Le 8. On a décroté(?) les grands coffres de l'équipage qui étaient dans le faux-pont. On a démarqué la grande voile pour la réparer, les grands haubans et les haubans d'antenne ont été ridés. Les charpentiers ont continué de réparer l'insubmergible et les calfats à calfater le navire.

*Le 9 avril on a ridé les haubans et les cal-haubans de hune, et guindé les mats de perroquets. Dans la journée le navire **La Paz** a mouillé auprès de nous. Les vents comme à l'ordinaire à l'ENE jolie brise pendant le jour et quelque[s] calmes pendant la nuit. De temps à autre avons pagués de 9 crampes(?).*

Le 10 avril, premier jour de calme, un temps très beau. On a tous mêlé dans la cale et à déblayer le faux-pont. On a commencé à grater les endroits calfatés. Le grément

a été repeigné et puis a été peint. On a reçu une chaloupe de bois à bruler. Les voiliers ont achevé de réparer le grand hunier. Les voiles ont été mises au sec, le cabestan réparé. A 9h du soir avons observé le commencement d'une éclipse totale de lune qui a fini à 11h à peu près.

Le 11 on a terminé le travail de la cale et du faux pont. Le grand canot armé de 4 [h=4?] hommes et un poteau(?) a été porter 7 hommes de la maistrance à terre, il n'est pas revenu. Les misaines a été mis au fer [sec?]. Dans l'après midi on a reçu plusieurs grains de pluie très forts, mais de peu de durée.

Le 12 le grand canot était de retour, on a peint les vergues(?) et tous les mats; tous les mains constamment occupés. Les vents à l'ENE et Est, la mer calme.

Le 13. on a gratté en dehors. Les gabiers ont été occupés à les gaillards. Les vents à l'Est, ENE, NNE, ENE et ESE faibles.

Le 14. Les 7 hommes qui avaient été envoyés à terre le 11 sont revenus ce matin. On a graté les ancrs montés et l'on [a] commencé à peindre l'acostillage. Dans l'après midi le Commandant est venu à bord et s'en est retourné.

Le 15. Le grand canot est parté du bord pour porter un tonneau de vin à Toupoungan pour les malades qui étaient à terre. On a continué à gratter au dehors et à peindre les mats de la corvette. On a lavé le faux pont à l'eau chaude. Toujours les même vents et le ciel beau.

Le 16. On a fini de gratter au dehors, et peint le pavois de la batterie en jaune paille. Un canot du port a apporté de la chaux, et par la même occasion trois de nos matelots déjà rétablis sont revenus à bord. Le soir tout le navire a été entièrement peint au dedans, et l'on a commencé à blanchir le faux pont.

Le 17. Les vents à l'Est et ENE, le soir par raffales. On a continué à blanchir le faux pont, et on a lavé la batterie à l'eau chaude. Les meniers de bord toujours au après.(?)

Le 18. Les vents à l'ENE par grains et variables au NE Au jour lavé les gaillards. On a peint la batterie. A 5h du matin une pirogue a apporté comme à l'ordinaire la viande fraîche pour l'équipage. A 8h1/2 le Commandant est arrivé à bord avec un canot du Gouverneur, il a fait expédier la chaloupe pour la ville, il est reparti ensuite avec plusieurs instruments.

Le 19. Notre chaloupe est revenu de la ville avec 18 sacs de riz (de 60 Kilo), 3 tierçers d'eau de vie de coco, 1 baril de galère d'huile de coco, 1 baril de vinaigre de coco. Les vents ont virés à l'ESE et au NE.

Le 20 avril. Des le point du jour on a envergué toutes les voiles calées qui avaient été mises en réparation. On a envoyé au fort deux tierçers d'eau douce pour laver les effets de l'équipage. Le grand canot est arrivé de la ville avec plusieurs provisions. On a réparé la batterie avec une couche de peinture à l'huile.

Le 21. Ciel couvert et requoing(?), la brise à l'ENE variable. Le commissaire est venu à bord avec diverses provisions. A 10h on a embarqué dans le grand canot divers objets d'échange pour la ville. On a fait un fut avec caisse(?) pour les hardes de l'équipage. Le calfat a remplacé à la flotaison plusieurs feuilles de cuivre qui nous manquaient. On a fait aussi de la peinture au fort Sta. Cruz.

Le 22 presque calme. A 10h du matin la chaloupe est partie du bord avec des tiers et des barils pour faire de l'eau. Elle a fait un grand voyage dans la journée. Les voiliers ont travaillé à un petit hunier neuf.

Le 23. A 5h du matin la chaloupe est partie pour faire l'eau, on a posé une seconde couche sur les gaillards.

Le 24. La chaloupe a encore fait deux voyages d'eau. On a envoyé à la ville un tiers de vin pour l'hôpital. On a aussi envoyé plusieurs objets d'échange.

Le 25 appognée(?) la corvette, et mis dans la cale deux chaloupées d'eau. Les charpentiers ont continué à travailler à la baleinière et les voiliers au petit hunier.

Le 26. Dans la nuit du 25 au 26 cinq hommes du bord ont enlevé le petit canot qui était amarré le long du bord. Au jour on a envoyé le grand canot à la recherche, il est revenu sans le ramener. A 11h Mr. Raillard est parti dans la pirogue de l'Alcalde d'Agá [sic] pour aller chercher le petit canot qui était au débarcadère, dans le fond de la baie.

Le 27. La chaloupe a fait deux voyages d'eau; mis en croix les perroquets et les catois. Une embarcation du port a apporté des provisions.

Le 28. Au jour lavé les gaillards. A 10h la chaloupe du port a apporté environ 300 paquets de bois à brûler.

Le 29. Lavé le pont, gratté la batterie et le faux-pont. Envoyé au fort tous les hommes qui avaient du linge à laver.

Le 30. La chaloupe a fait de l'eau. Une embarcation du port a apporté diverses provisions de bouche.

Mai.

*Le 1er mai. Lavé les gaillards et appropriés(?) l'intérieur du navire. A 8h40' le navire Espagnol **La Paz**, faisant ses dispositions pour appareiller, aussi le grand canot qui a été expédié sous les ordres d'un élève, avec le Capitaine d'armes et quatre hommes de détachement pour faire à bord de ce navire une recherche exacte de nos déserteurs. On n'en a trouvé aucun.*

Le 2. Temps couvert et quelques éclairs. On a ridé les haubans et calé haubans de hunes.

Le 3. On a envoyé le grand canot à terre pour le faire nétoyer, il est revenu dans la matinée. On a envoyé au fort St. Cruz les hommes qui n'avaient pas encore lavé leurs hamacks.

Le 4. A 7h le grand canot est parti sous les ordres de Mr. Duperrey pour faire le tour et la géographie de l'île.

Le 5 mai. Expédié la chaloupe pour aller faire de l'eau; elle a fait deux voyages. Une embarcation Espagnole a apporté du riz, du maïs, de l'eau de vie, des volailles et du vinaigre pour l'équipage. Pendant la nuit beaucoup d'éclairs.

Le 6. On a pelé(?) les provisions apportés de la veille, on les a ensuite logées dans les soutes et dans la cale.

Le 7. La chaloupe a fait de l'eau. A 8h1/2 du soir un tremblement de terre a donné à la mer un mouvement qui l'ont fait sauter à bord d'une manière très violente, il a duré environ 3 minutes. Le soir quelques grains de pluie.

Du 8 au 12 mai on a fait quelques voyages d'eau, les matelots ont lavé leurs hardes au fort Sta Cruz, on a mis plusieurs fois les puits(?) au fer [sec?]. Le 9 Mr. Duperrey est arrivé à bord et reparti pour Agagna. Le 11 on a entendu quelques coups de tonnerre dans l'Ouest. Le 12 la chaloupe a pu mangé(?) nos cables.

Du 12 au 15 on a fait plusieurs chaloupées d'eau, les charpentiers ayant terminé la baleinière[.] les calfats ont calfaté et hoyé(?) le cuivre.

Le 16 on a mis la baleinière à la mer. La chaloupe Espagnole est arrivée avec le tierceaux de vinaigre, 1 d'eau de vie, 7 barils des Falaises(?), 1 baril de galère d'huile de coco, un baril de farine, un baril de tabac, 18 h Kil. de riz, 13 h Kil. de maïs, 1 h K. de sel.

Le 17 et le 18 on a envoyé à terre, du fer en barres et en feuilles, des clous, des barils de poudre, des sabres d'abordage et des scies.

Du 18 au 25 on a envoyé le grand canot à la ville chargé d'objets d'échanges, on a arrimé dans la cale les pièces de charbon; on a pris un requin de 9 pieds de long. La chaloupe a été plusieurs fois à l'eau. Les charpentiers ont été joués ou lavés au fort Sta Cruz; plusieurs malades sont revenus à bord, on a fait beaucoup de balais. Plusieurs pirogues sont venues à bord vendre des provisions à l'équipage.

Le 25 La grande chaloupe du port a transporté à bord tous les malades et deux midy(?) de plantes. Rien à mentionner pendant le 26 et le 27.

Le 28, la chaloupe Espagnole a apporté à bord tous les instruments de l'observatoire et diverses provisions.

Le 30 on a fait plusieurs observations de latitude au fort Sta Cruz. La chaloupe a fait un voyage d'eau.

Le 31 au lever du soleil on a appareillé et fait un salut de 21 coups de canon à l'honneur de la fête du Roi d'Espagne Ferdinand VII. Au coucher du soleil amarré les pavois.

Juin.

Le 1er juin le vent à l'ENE et NE. La chaloupe a apporté des provisions pour les malades et le reste des objets d'échange qui restaient à terre.

Le 2, nous avons allongé le cable de tribord. La chaloupe Espagnole a apporté cinq boeufs avec pieds de bananiers pour leur nourriture. On a fait un voyage d'eau avec notre chaloupe.

Le 3 notre chaloupe a fait de l'eau, on a apporté de la ville des provisions pour l'équipage et pour le Commandant. Le petit canot a été envoyé faire du tolle(?).

Le 4 au matin nous avons embarqué environ 20 brasses du cable de tribord. La grande chaloupe a apporté du bois à bruler. A 2h le Commandant est arrivé à bord avec Mr. le Gouverneur et plusieurs officiers Espagnols; ils ont passé la nuit à bord.

Journée du Samedi 5 juin 1819.*Therm. 29° Bar. 761**Th. m. 28 Variation 4° NE****Événement.***

Très beau temps, la brise fraîche de bonne heure. A 8h45' on a commencé à virer sur l'ancre de tribord. A 9h20' étant à long près, hissé les huniers et hallé(?) babord partout, on a envoyé en même temps la chaloupe espagnole mouiller un gros grapin par le travers de tribord pour faire croupia. A 9h38' on a décappé et abattu par babord en bordant les huniers. Des qu'on s'est trouvé dans des bancs on a mis à travers pour attendre la chaloupe qui nous a apporté notre croupia[.] on a fait servir aussitôt après et cinglé tribord ancores au plus près devant. Le temps nuageux et aux grains, nous ayant pu nous approcher d'Agagan. Le navire a manqué souvent à virer de bord parce qu'il avait deux canots à la remorque. A la nuit les vents ont varié beaucoup, il n'a pas été possible d'approcher la ville.

...

Translation.

...

Friday 12 March 1819.

Weather nice, wind weak. At daybreak we filled an iron box with seawater. At 11 we sighted land dead ahead. Before noon it was recognized as **San Bartalomé** [sic] Island. During the day the caulkers and sailmakers continued their regular duties. At 3 p.m., many canoes were seen leaving the west point of the island. At 4, we were abreast of it and had eleven of these craft alongside. They resemble the proas of the Marianas without having a false [i.e. flat] side... After sunset, all the canoes disappeared. From 8 to midnight, we sounded every 10 minutes.

13 March 1819.

Weather very nice. We sounded every hour to find bottom. At 4 a.m., we found bottom at 125 fathoms. At daybreak, land was seen. The south point is due west and the north point bears W30°N. At 6, this island revealed itself as two islands separated by a narrow channel. From 6 to 8, the layout of the reefs changed a lot. We have seen many shoals in 25 to 28 fathoms. We had many islands in sight. From 8 to noon, we discovered the names of these islands. The first one is called **Puluot**, the others **Tamatam** and **Fanadik**. The natives came in proas similar to those seen yesterday; their flat side was very pronounced. We have traded for some ropes, fish, lines, fishhooks made of mother-of-pearl and many woven things. At 4 p.m., they had left us. Tamatam Island bore south, and we no longer saw Puluot.¹ At 5, we could only see Fanadik [rather Pulap] Island bearing S45°E. The night was beautiful. We sounded every quarter of an hour...

¹ Ed. note: The other way around.

Wednesday 17 March 1819.

Weather very nice, sky cloudy. At 5:40 land was seen on the starboard side. At 6 we saw it clearly bearing from NNW to SW1/4W. We pressed the sails in order to reach its north point which, at 8, bore N5°W. It was then that we veered to coast along the east coast of this island which was recognized as Guam. Many houses could be seen among coconut trees. At 11, we came near the south point. We saw breakers extending out from the land; that is why we give them some leeway. At noon, many islands were seen separately from the south coast. The full extent of the breakers was recognized. A large ship was seen in the anchorage of the bay of Umatac. We tacked back into the wind to round the southernmost point and get around the breakers. At 1 p.m., a boat came alongside. The intendant climbed on board to give information to the Commander. We immediately tacked to reach the anchorage. At 3 p.m., a second boat brought us various refreshments. We have had some rather strong gusts that made us place a watch in the topsails. We were sounding at every tack. At 5:42, all sails were hauled aback and we anchored in 17 fathoms, fine sand bottom. The small boat was put down during the night and the Lieutenant left to go to the Governor's place. He came back at 6 a.m. The flood anchor that we have dropped is tied to a small hawser.

At anchor in the bay of Umatac, 18 [March 1819].

Weather very nice, sky always full of big clouds. All day the winds blew from ENE, light breeze. At daybreak, washed the quarter-decks. At 7 a.m., we fired a salute of 21 guns. The Spanish batteries answered with 22. At 9 a.m., the Governor of the Marianas came to pay a visit to the Commander. When he left, at 11, we saluted him with 7 guns. Soon afterwards, the Commander and the staff officers went ashore to visit the Governor. In the morning, all the boats were assigned to cleaning the ship. At 6 a.m., a boat had brought us some fresh meat. At about 8 in the evening the Commander and all the officers came back on board.

Barometer 759. Th. m. 28.

Thermometer 28.2 [°C]. Hygrometer 92.

19 March 1819.

Weather very nice, dead calm. The breeze began after sunrise. Washed and cleaned the quarter-decks. The launch was sent ashore with 16 barrels, 12 small barrels, and all the effects of the sick men; they left the ship at about 7 with the whale-boat that carried part of the sick. The surgeons went ashore to install the hospital. During the day, the big chain above the port anchor was unclined, it was placed in the hold and a cable was clinched in its place. The lower sail was unrigged and given to the sailmakers. The launch made two watering trips. The place where the still had been set up was cleared, to take in 8 stones from ashore.¹ At 8 in the evening the Commander came back. At 9, the crew was ordered to turn in.

Latitude observed 13°17'39"

¹ Ed. note: Unclear passage. The still was used to turn saltwater into fresh water at sea.

Bar. 760. Th. m. 28.
Ther. 28.7. Hyg. 89.

20 March.

Weather cloudy, a few drops of rain. At 7 we saw a rainbow, the light effect of which lasted for over 20 minutes. During the day the winds blew from ENE and NE with a few gusts. At daybreak the launch left to get water; it brought back four stones to build a stove. At noon we fired a salute in honor of the birthday of the Governor.¹ All the staff officers were invited to dinner at his place. In the afternoon, we demolished the still, the place was cleared to set up the kitchen there. During the night, the wind blew with strong gusts. The starboard anchor was checked. During these 24 hours the launch has made two trips.

Bar. 761. Th. m. 28.
Ther. 28.5. Hyg. 90.

21 March.

Weather cloudy, a few rain and wind squalls coming from the mountains. At 6 the long boat left under the command of Mr. Duperrey to go to Cocos Island, to study the geography of the island. The kitchen of the false deck was taken to the gun-room. At 10 the flood anchor having slipped, we dropped the porthole anchor to starboard. Various canoes came alongside to bring food supplies. The carpenters and the caulkers have prepared the place for the kitchens under the forward quarter-deck behind the bits. In the afternoon the long boat made a heavy water trip. The kitchen was set up. At 4 p.m., the long boat was back.

Bar. 760. Th. m. 28.5.
Ther. 28.8. Hyg. 88.5.

Monday 22 March.

Weather cloudy but nice. In the morning there was a little fog on the crest of the mountains. At daybreak washed the quarter-decks. At 7, the crew was asked to dress up to attend the mass that was said by the priest of the parish, sent on board by the Governor.² After the crew had breakfasted, the parts of the still were placed in the hold and there was no more work for the rest of the day. After sunset, a few gusts. At 8 we saw a big fire on the mountains.

Lat. observed 13°17'39" N.
Bar. 59.5. Th. m. 28.4.
Therm. 29. Hyg. 86.

1 Ed. note: The Spanish did not advance their clock upon crossing the Pacific; for them it was still the 19th of March, feast-day of St. Joseph.

2 Ed. note: For the Spanish there, it was Sunday.

23 March.

Weather cloudy and rainy, the breeze was NE and ENE. Small rain almost during the whole day. The launch made two water trips. At 8 in the evening, the Spanish ship that was anchored set sail and headed northward.

Bar. 761. Th. m. 27.9.

Therm. 25.8. Hyg. 100.

24 March.

Weather cloudy. Swell from WSW. The winds from E, ESE weak, from time to time, calm. At 7 received a rain squall. The launch made two water trips, but since the water was found to be a little brackish, it was not taken in. Work has begun to clear the wine storage-room of the casks that held water, to store all of the pieces of the still.

Bar. 760. Th. m. 27.2.

Ther. 28. Hyg. 95.

[Log N° 3]¹

Bay of Umatac.

25 March. Winds from E and ENE, a few rain drops during the day. At 11 a.m., Mr. Duperrey left with the launch to go and inspect the bay of St. Louis where we are to go and anchor. The Spanish launch has made many water trips.

26. Winds from E and ESE. The long boat left to do some net-fishing at the bottom of the bay. It came back with the net all torn up. The forward casks were filled, and all the showers(?) and the iron that was left were stowed in the wine storage room. The yards and the topmasts were rigged.

27. The long boat made many water trips. Mr. Duperrey came back from St. Louis with very favorable reports regarding the anchorage in that bay. The draught line, measured at the rear, has gone down by 1 foot 6 inches and 5 points.²

28. Winds from E and ESE. Right at daybreak we hauled on the starboard anchor and as soon as it was hove short, we got ready to set sail. The sick came back on board with all the persons and baggages that had been ashore. At 2 p.m., the flood anchor was hove short and the topsails raised. At 7 p.m., after tacking to gain nothing, we have anchored north of Orote Point.

29. Tow ropes measuring 700 fathoms were loaded aboard the two launches for the flood anchor that was dropped to windward by the Spanish pilot. At noon the anchor was weighed, we veered and began towing. A splice failed, and we were forced to set sail and to tack. At 8 in the evening, we dropped anchor in the same place as yesterday.

30. At daybreak we began towing again, still with two anchors out.

We continued this work all day 31st. We sometimes had gusts and a little rain. The Spanish have been a very great help to us.

1 Ed. note: It was kept by various duty officers, mostly the midshipmen.

2 Ed. note: Because of the added load taken on board.

April.

1 April. We have continued making progress by towing and using the capstan to reach the anchorage of St. Louis. At daybreak we received a reinforcement of 20 men with two boats. At sunset we have finally reached the anchorage of Fort Santa Cruz, and anchored in 27 fathoms, soft grey muddy bottom. We dropped the starboard bowsprit anchor. At about 4 p.m., we sent some men with the whale-boat to go and anchor along the coast to cut down some wood. At the same time, we saw a ship at the point of Cabras Island. It came to anchor at Orote Point and was recognized as the Spanish ship **La Paz**.¹

2. At daybreak the port bowsprit anchor was raised and dropped to the NE in 26 fathoms. All the boats were launched. Note: the launch was loaded with all the instruments and left with the Commander, the Chaplain and one officer. A small boat left with many persons belonging to the staff. The large Spanish launch was loaded with all the sick and the necessary baggages to set up a hospital ashore. Certain boats left at 8 a.m. The rest of the day was employed on board to clear the decks and wash our mooring cables before storing them in the hold.

3. Mr. Duperrey left with the long boat to begin the survey of the bay. The ship has been washed and painted in and out. The caulkers have worked on the fore-castle. The mizzen masts have been unrigged and the sails entrusted to the sailmakers. We have finished taking in the four anchors that had been used in towing us.

4. Mr. Duperrey has left the ship many times to continue his survey. The Supercargo came on board with a Spanish boat to get various articles. The wind has remained ENE, pretty fresh. We have received a rather strong squall.

5. We have sent the small boat to make some brooms. The whale boat was taken in and the carpenters have begun to cover the chests with tin. The caulkers have worked in the gun-room. A small canoe brought some deer meat, as usual. The topgallant masts were taken down and unrigged. The two topmasts were also taken down to relieve the stays(?). Some wedges have been fitted at the foot of the mizzen mast to make it fast, as the forward beam was worn. A Spanish boat came to get two hawsers, by order of the Commander, to tow the ship **La Paz**.

6. Winds always E, ENE, ESE, pretty breeze. From time to time some squalls. Some men employed with the rigging. The sailmakers, carpenters, caulkers, and blacksmiths busy with their respective chores. In the evening, the small topmast was hoisted.

7 April. Two steersmen were sent to Fort Santa Cruz to make some naval observations. Mr. Duperrey continued his geographic work. The small topmast was hoisted, the mizzen shrouds were tightened and the mizzen yard was replaced. We had .?. them as usual.

8. The large chests belonging to the crew that were on the false deck have been scraped. The main sail has been marked for repair, the main shrouds and the antenna shrouds have been tightened. The carpenters have continued repairing the insubmergible and the caulkers to caulk the ship.

¹ Ed. note: Their voyage to Acapulco was aborted for the time being.

9 April. The topmast shrouds and back-stays were tightened. The topgallant masts were hoisted. During the day the ship **La Paz** anchored near us. Winds as usual ENE pretty breeze during the day and some calm periods during the night. From time to time, we have *pagués de 9 crampes(?)*.¹

10 April. First day of calm weather. Weather very nice. All employed in the hold and clearing the false deck. We have begun to scrape the joints recently caulked. The rigging has been gone over and then painted. One boat-load of firewood was received. The sailmakers have finished repairing the main topgallant mast. The sails have been put in a dry place, the captan repaired. At 9 p.m. we observed the beginning of a total eclipse of the moon which ended at about 11 p.m.

11. The work in the hold and the false deck is finished. The long boat was manned with 4(?) men and 1 guard(?) to take 7 ship officers ashore; it did not return. The mizzen has been put in a dry place. In the afternoon we received many rain squalls, very strong, but of short duration.

12. The long boat came back. The yards and all the masts were painted. All hands constantly at work. Winds from ENE and E, the sea calm.

13. The outside was scraped. The top men were kept busy on the quarter-decks. The winds from E, ENE, NNE, ENE and ESE, weak.

14. The 7 men who had been sent ashore on the 11th came back this morning. The anchors were raised, scraped, and the bumpers have begun to be painted. In the afternoon, the Commander came on board but he went away.

15. The long boat left to take a cask of wine to Tupungan for the sick who were ashore. The men are continuing to scrape outside and to paint the masts of the corvette. The false deck was washed with hot water. Same winds and sky as usual.

16. The scraping outside is finished, and the gun ports(?) have been painted straw yellow. A shore boat brought in some lime, and by the same occasion three of our sailors, already cured, have come back on board. In the evening the whole ship was entirely painted inside, and work has begun on the false deck to whitewash it.

17. Winds from E and ENE, gusting in the evening. Work continued in whitewashing the false deck, and the gun-room deck was washed with hot water.²

18. Winds ENE, gusting and variable to NE. At daybreak quarter-decks washed. The gun-room was painted. At 5 a.m., a canoe brought fresh meat for the crew, as usual. At 8:30, the Commander came on board with one of the Governor's boats; he sent the long boat to town, and then left with many instruments.

19. Our long boat returned from town with 18 bags of rice (60 Kg each), 3 barrels of coconut brandy, 1 small barrel of coconut oil, 1 barrel of coconut vinager. The winds shifted from ESE to NE.

20 April. As of daybreak, all sails that had been taken down for repair were replaced on their yards. Two barrels of drinking water were sent to the fort for the men to wash

1 Ed. note: Unclear meaning. Some clamps tightened? chains paid out?

2 Ed. note: The phrase that follows does not make sense, unless it refers to some men remaining in irons.

their clothes. The long boat came back from town with many food supplies. The guns [or gun-room?] were given a coat of oil paint.

21. Sky overcast and .?. Breeze from ENE, variable. The Supercargo came on board with various provisions. At 10 various trading goods were loaded aboard the long boat for the town. A tub with a chest were made to store the crew's clothes. The caulker has replaced many copper sheets that were missing along the floating line. Some painting [rather whitewashing] was done at Fort Santa Cruz.

22. Almost calm. At 10 a.m., the launch left with some casks and barrels to get water. It made a long trip that lasted the whole day. The sailmakers have worked on a new topgallant sail.

23. At 5 a.m., the launch left to get water. A second coat of paint was applied to the quarter-decks.

24. The launch made two more water trips. One cask of wine was sent to town for the hospital. Many trade articles were also sent.

25. The corvette was *appognée(?)* and two boat-loads of water were stored in the hold. The carpenters still busy on the whale-boat and the sailmakers on the topgallant sail.

26. During the night from the 25th to the 26th five men from aboard seized the small boat that was tied alongside. At daybreak the long boat was sent to look for them, but it came back without them. At 11, Mr. Railliard left aboard the canoe belonging to the Mayor of Agat to get the small boat that was at the landing, at the bottom of the bay.

27. The launch made two water trips. The topgallant and royal yards were replaced. A port boat brought in provisions.

28. At daybreak washed the quarter-decks. At 11 the port launch brought in about 300 bundles of firewood.

29. Washed the deck, scraped the gun-room and the false deck. All the men who had clothes to wash were sent to the fort.

30. The launch went watering. A port boat brought in various food supplies.

May.

1 **May.** Washed the quarter-decks and cleaned up the inside of the ship. At 8:40, as the Spanish ship **La Paz** was making ready to sail, the long boat was sent, under a cadet officer, with the Army Captain and four of his men, to carry out a search of this ship for our deserters. None was found.

2. Overcast sky and some lightning. The shrouds were tightened and the topgallant shrouds were taken down.

3. The long boat was sent ashore to have it cleaned; it came back before noon. The men who had not yet washed their bedding were sent to Fort Santa Cruz.

4. At 7, the long boat left under the command of Mr. Duperrey to make a geographic survey of the island.¹

¹ Ed. note: See Appendix 1.

5 May. The launch was sent watering; two trips were made. A Spanish boat brought in some rice, corn, brandy, chickens and vinager for the crew. During the night much lightning.

6. The provisions brought in yesterday were peeled(?) and then they were stored in the store-rooms and in the hold.

7. The launch went watering. At 8:30 p.m., an earthquake set the sea in motion and we were shaken very violently on board; it lasted about 3 minutes. In the evening a few rain squalls.

From 8 to 12 May. A few water trips were made, the sailors went to Fort Santa Cruz to wash their clothes, the iron(?) was polished(?) many times. On the 9th, Mr. Duperrey came on board and left again for Agaña. On the 11th, a few thunder claps were heard in the west. On the 12th, the launch chafed our cables.

From 12 to 15. Many water trips were made, the carpenters having finished with the whale-boat, the caulkers have caulked and .?. the copper(?).

16. The whale-boat was put down. The Spanish launch arrived with 1 small barrel of vinager, 1 of brandy, 7 barrels of [dry fish?], 1 small barrel of coconut oil, 1 barrel of flour, 1 barrel of tobacco, 1,800 kilograms of rice, 1,300 kg. of corn, 100 kg. of salt.

On the 17th and 18th we sent ashore some iron in bars and sheets, nails, barrels of gunpowder, boarding cutlasses, and saws.

From 18 to 25 we sent the long boat to town loaded with trade goods. The charcoal pieces were stowed in the hold. A shark was caught; it measured 9 feet. The launch made many water trips. The carpenters went to Fort Santa Cruz to play or wash [their clothes]. Many sick came back on board. Many brooms were made. Many canoes came alongside to sell food to the crew.

25. The large port launch brought all the sick on board and two .?. of plants. Nothing worth mentioning occurred on the 26th and 27th.

28. The Spanish launch brought all the instruments from the observatory and various provisions.

30. Many observations of latitude were made at Fort Santa Cruz. The launch made a water trip.

31. At sunrise, we made ready and fired a salute of 21 guns in honor of the birthday of the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII. At sunset, the flags were removed.

June.

1 June. Wind ENE and NE. The launch brought provisions for the sick and the rest of the trade goods that remained ashore.

2. We have loosened the starboard cable. The Spanish launch brought 5 cows with banana stocks to feed them. Our launch made one water trip.

3. Our launch went watering. Provisions for the crew and for the Commander were brought from the town. The small boat was sent to raise the alarm(?).

4. At daybreak we took in about 20 fathoms of starboard cable. The large launch brought some firewood. At 2 p.m., the Commander came on board with the Governor and many Spanish officers; they spent the night on board.

Saturday 5 June 1819.

Therm. 29° Bar. 761.

Th. m. 28. Variation 4° NE.

Occurrence.

Weather very nice, breeze, fresh early in the morning. At 8:45 we began to turn on the starboard anchor. At 9:20 being ready, the topgallant sails were hoisted and everything hauled to port. At the same time the Spanish launch was sent to place a big grapnel abreast of the starboard side, to act as a stern-fast anchor. At 9:38 we let go the port cable while straightening the topgallant yards. As soon as we found ourselves over the shoals, we lay to to await the launch that was bringing back our stern-fast anchor. We let go soon after and tacked to starboard to head straight out. The weather being cloudy and squally, we were unable to get near Agaña. The ship often missed the tacking maneuver, because it had two boats in tow. At midnight, the winds being very variable, it was not possible to get near the town.

...

Document 1819I

The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Jean Dubos

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ70.

Note: His last name also written Dubaut. He was one of many midshipmen and cadet officers on board.

Original text in French.

*Archipel des Carolines.*¹

*On ignore par quel motif le premier proh des Carolines qui aborda aux Mariannes pouvait avoir été conduit, quoique l'époque où il vint ne soit pas reculée, Il est probable que ce fut le mauvais temps plutôt qu'un voyage prémédité qui les força à relâcher. Quoiqu'il en soit, comme ces insulaires avaient été bien reçus et qu'ils avaient trouvé du fer à échanger contre les objets qu'ils avaient apportés, ils virent dans ce voyage qu'ils pourraient faire par la suite de grands avantages pour eux. Encouragés par ces succès ils venaient donc d'année en année aux Mariannes où ils apportaient des coquillages, des pagnes et des cordes **balibagou**. Leur caractère doux et pacifique intéressa en leur faveur le gouverneur des Mariannes, Mr. de Medinilla gouverneur actuel voulant mériter par quelques bons offices la reconnaissance des carolins envoya, il y a quelques années, dans leur archipel un forgeron chargé de leur apprendre à travailler le fer. Mais par un hasard inconcevable, cet ouvrier à son départ oublia ses outils, de manière que son voyage eut été inutile s'il ne fut parvenu par son industrie à leur faire quelques outils grossiers avec lesquels du moins il est parvenu à remplir une partie de sa mission.*

*Le gouverneur de Manille intéressé par les rapports avantageux qu'on lui faisait touchant les carolins, écrivit au roi d'Espagne sur leur compte et demanda une des îles de l'archipel des Mariannes pour la mettre à la disposition des carolins qui voudraient s'y établir et embrasser le christianisme. Ce qu'il demandait lui fut accordé et par décret du Roi l'île de **Seypan** fut déclarée le domaine des carolins qui voudront s'expatrier et venir peupler les Mariannes. Un **tamor** ou chef qui était à Guham quand cet ordre arriva ne voulait plus retourner dans son pays et préféra aller s'établir de suite dans son nouveau royaume.*

1 Note de l'éditeur: Je me suis permis de corriger les fautes d'orthographe.

*Un des pilotes les plus expérimentés des carolins était aussi resté à **Guham** où nous le trouvâmes encore lors de notre arrivée qui attendait sa femme sans laquelle il ne voulait pas partir pour **Seypan**. La renommée de son expérience dans la marine fit que Monsieur de Freycinet désira le voir. Il vint et traça à la demande du commandant la carte de son archipel. Il plaça toutes les îles avec une intelligence surprenante, et nomma toutes par leur nom et désigna l'espèce de production que fournissait chacune d'elles en particulier. Il fit voir une coquille qu'il dit servir de Boussole à ces compatriotes, ainsi donc à l'inspection des étoiles et la direction des courants et sur le faible appétit de leur coquille, ils osent s'abandonner aux flots sur de si frêles embarcations. Quel est l'euro-péen capable d'une pareille audace? Il traça avec des grains de maïs les différentes constellations entre autres la grande ourse qu'ils appellent **ouéléoué**.*

On attend de jour en jour à Guham un Brick de Manille qui doit aller chercher les carolins à leur archipel.

[Description of Carolinian canoes]

*Les prohs dont j'ai parlé cy-dessus sont excessivement longs par rapport à leur largeur; cependant ils ne dépassent pas 30 à 35 pieds de long. Ils ont la plus part un faux bord, sur le côté bombé de l'embarcation sont adaptés les montants du balancier qui passent dans l'intérieur où ils sont fixés avec ceux du contrepoids par un rond de bois qui est cousu au bord. Au bout du balancier est un floteur qui est aminci par les deux bouts et façonné en manière de Barque. Des deux extrémités du proh partent deux perches qui vont s'amarrer au bout du balancier qui n'a pas plus de deux pieds de large et forment par conséquent un angle très obtus. Le tout est recouvert de roseaux fendus qui sont placés dessus, les uns à côté des autres dans le sens transversal de la barque et assez rapprochés les uns des autres pour qu'on puisse marcher sans craindre de passer entre deux. Au milieu de cette espèce de plancher s'élève une petite cage qui sert à mettre les provisions. Du bord opposé à celui du balancier sortent deux montants qui en supportent un autre qui est carré et qui sert pour dormir. Il est à cet effet couvert de feuilles de baquois tenues avec de la ligne de cocotiers. Le mât s'engage dans une encoche pratiquée sur une grande planche qui porte le nom de **peraf**. Il n'est point solide comme le mât de nos embarcations, mais il est fait pour suivre tous les mouvements de la voile qui est triangulaire et cousue sur deux vergues qui partent toutes les deux du même sommet. Cette voile s'adapte au mât par le moyen d'une drisse qui passe dans un trou pratiqué exprès à l'extrémité du mât, qui est fixé par des haubans volants. Leur gouvernail n'est point de l'arrière comme celui de nos canots, il est sur le côté. Environ aux deux tiers de sa hauteur est une encoche qui entre dans une tête de bois qui sort en dehors du bord et sur laquelle on l'amarre. On sent qu'ainsi installé la force de l'eau doit emporter toute la force du pied et la faire cabaner. On ne peut latiner droite qu'en se tenant assis sur un bout de baton dont l'extrémité est amarré sur un banc, en pressant le bas du gouvernail avec les orteils tandis que de la main droite on manœuvre la barre. Les carolins restent très longtemps dans cette fatigante position.*

Tous les moments de loisir que leur laisse la pêche ils les employent aux soins de leur ménage et à la réparation de leurs prohs. Leurs maisons font aussi partie de leurs soins. Elles sont basses et très grandes, baties sur pilotis et composées de cinq ou six appartemens très spacieux. Les femmes sont plus jolies que celles de Mariannes et ont les dents très blanches, ce qui vient de ce qu'elles n'ont pas la détestable habitude de chiquer le bétel. Elles ne mangent jamais de poisson ni de chair. Les cocos et les bananes sont la base de leur nourriture: tous ces insulaires cependant s'abstiennent de ce dernier fruit quand ils savent que quelques uns de leurs amis sont en voyage. C'est une espèce de sacrifice qu'ils font à son génie titulaire afin qu'il veille sur lui et détourne tout ce qui pourrait lui arriver de fâcheux.

Le Major dit que jamais il n'a vu d'homme avoir plus d'une femme, et que les frères peuvent épouser les soeurs et que généralement ces derniers mariages sont préférés. Les enfants dans ces îles ne peuvent jamais coucher dans la chambre de leurs pères aussitôt qu'ils ont été sevrés, et les filles sont toujours sequestrées à part et séparées de tout commerce avec les garçons.

*Leur religion est celle de la nature. Ils croient à un être suprême qu'ils ne savent pas définir mais qu'ils adorent comme seul puissant. Ils ont une idée des peines et des récompenses de l'autre monde et croient à l'immortalité de l'âme. Les bons selon eux seront placés au dessus des nuages pour jouir d'un bonheur sans mélange par cela même qu'il n'aura point de fin tandis que ceux dont la vie aura été couverte de crimes seront métamorphosés en requin, qu'ils appellent **tibouron**.*

*Ils ont pour coutume de bruler les morts. Le Major assista à la cœrémonie funèbre du fils d'un de leurs Rois nommé **Mélisso**. Il était mort depuis deux jours. Tous les habitans de l'île s'acheminèrent vers la maison de leur chef. Les hommes et les femmes étaient séparés, et les familles étaient confondues. Dans ce jour [on] oubliait son rang pour ne s'occuper que de la douleur que leur causait une si grande perte, Comme étranger on lui fit l'honneur de lui permettre l'entrée de la chambre où était le cadavre, qui était enfermé dans des nates liées avec de la ligne de cocotier. A chaque noeud pendait de longues touffes de cheveux, hommages rendus à l'amitié et au regret. Le père était assis sur une pierre, et sa figure présentait l'image de la plus vive douleur, ces yeux étaient rouges et caves depuis la mort de son fils unique. Il était couvert de larmes et tout son corps était couvert de cendre. Aussitôt qu'il vit un étranger il se leva et dans le but sans doute d'exciter sa pitié il lui montra les restes de son fils en lui disant, voyez le fils de **Mélisso**. Aussitôt que le corps sortit, le peuple poussa jusqu'aux cieux des cris de douleur, et le corps fut déposé sous un proh renversé où il resta jusqu'au lendemain qu'on le brula et on enferma la cendre dans le proh sous lequel on l'avait mis la veille qui fut porté sur le toit de sa maison. Le lendemain le plus âgé des vieillards alla selon l'usage présenter au roi une noix de coco ouverte pour l'engager à sécher ses larmes et à conserver des jours pour le bonheur de son peuple. Le roi consenti à surmonter sa douleur et consentit à vivre.*

Notes sur les antiques des Mariannes.

1. Les îles Mariannes ayant dans leur territoire un grand nombre de villages, chaque village avait son chef et ces villages étaient souvent en guerre les uns avec les autres.

2. Quand une famille noble sentait dans la réunion de tous ses membres une puissance assez forte pour résister aux attaques des autres peuplades elle commençait à bâtir dans un territoire qu'elle se choisissait et le père était le chef du village et laissait son autorité entre les mains de ses plus proches parents.

3. Quand deux villages étoient en guerre, les nobles car il n'y avait qu'eux qui puissent porter les armes, se dispoient au combat. Si le chef d'un des villages comptait parmi ses ancêtres plus d'hommes illustres que les chefs ennemis il s'avançait et en présence de deux armées il disait qu'il refusait de combattre un homme dont la noblesse n'était pas égale à la sienne. L'autre répondait avec mépris qu'il les deshonorait, et enfin par des bravades les deux partis en venoient aux mains non en masse comme nous le pratiquons ordinairement, mais deux à deux. Quand un des champions mourait il était remplacé par un autre, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à la fin. Si un parti se sentoit plus faible que l'autre, il faisait avertir les femmes de son village qui venoient demander la paix et la peuplade restait soumise à l'autre.

4. Ainsi que les héros d'Homère et d'Ossian, les habitans des îles Mariannes prenoient leurs titres de noblesse de leur savoir faire. Celui qui savait faire des embarcations prenait le titre de grand faiseur de canots. Celui qui excellait à la pêche celui de grand pêcheur, &c.

5. La différence qui exista entre les nobles et les roturiers étoit telle que quand un noble passait un plébeyen devait s'incliner, et que quand les individus de cette dernière classe avoient affaire à ceux de la première ils étoient obligés de s'asseoir ne pouvant rester debout en leur présence.

6. Il n'étoit pas permis aux roturiers de pêcher à la mer, ils ne pouvaient tendre leurs filets que dans les rivières, ou encore il ne leur étoit permis de prendre que des anguilles, et tout le poisson dont le petit peuple faisoit usage n'étoit pas touché par les nobles. Les nobles ne faisaient que les choses de grande considération. La pêche et le labourage étoient de ce nombre.

7. Quand un noble vouloit cueillir des fruits dans son champ, il envoyoit un roturier les chercher; celui-ci les apportoit jusqu'à la porte du noble dans la maison duquel il lui étoit défendu d'entrer puis il s'éloignoit, alors le noble venoit le ramasser.

8. Quand il s'agissoit de la préparation du manger les femmes nobles étoient chargées de faire cuire la viande de poisson et toutes les choses qui ne sont point défendues par une pellicule de toucher mais tout ce qui regarde les fruits à peau étoit du district des plebeïennes.

9. Quand un noble avoit pris de gros poissons, il faisoit signal en jettant de l'eau en l'air, alors on venoit décharger son proh dans le tems qu'il étoit occupé à le dégréer. On portoit le produit de la pêche chez la plus vieille femme de toute la famille. Quelque fois celle-ci ne vouloit pas le garder et l'envoyoit chez une autre ou quelque fois aussi la

même chose arrivait, de sorte que quelque fois le poisson se promenait longtemps. La dernière personne chez laquelle on le portait en faisait la distribution.

10. *On en faisait de même quand le premier poisson d'une saison arrivait.*

11. *Une manière singulière de pêcher en usage parmi eux était de mettre dans un filet une espèce de poisson sur lequel tous les autres ont coutume de se jeter.*

12. *Quand un homme prenait une tortue, on faisait de son écaille des ronds qui servent de monnaie, à chacun de ces ronds était pratiqué un trou de la grosseur du poing. S'il en prenait deux, sur les pièces de l'écaille de la seconde on faisait au côté du grand trou, un petit. S'il en prenait trois on faisait deux trous. Plus il y avait de trous plus les pièces étoient de valeur.*

13. *Quand un noble croyait que sa famille ne suffirait pas à faire la récolte de son champ il en donnait avis à la plus vieille de sa famille qui rassemblait tous les membres, et tous ensemble prenoient un jour pour aller faire l'ouvrage, chacun faisait le sien et rapportait sa récolte à la maison de celui pour qui ils travailloient, ils étoient obligés d'apporter leurs vivres et de travailler sans relâche; celui qui venait trop tard était puni d'une singulière manière. Ceux qui étoient déjà au travail s'armoient de branches d'une espèce de racine qui fait lever des cloches comme des orties. Ils le frappaient avec. S'il ne venait pas du tout, il était mal regardé et on ne le secourait pas dans le besoin.*

14. *Si un noble passait devant un champ ou on travailloit, il ne faisait aucune résistance, mais s'il disait laissez-moi aller j'ai des affaires je payerai ma rançon, on s'en fiait à sa parole, et s'il disait soyons amis il était regardé comme de la famille, et on restait amis pour la vie. Quand il se prêtait au badinage on l'emprisonnait dans la meilleure maison du village et on obligeait ses parents à payer sa rançon, mais quand il partait on le chargeait de présents équivalents à la somme de la rançon.*

15. *Quand une famille se trouvait demunie de vivres on faisait avertir la plus vieille femme qui rassemblait tous les parents. Les parents du côté de l'homme envoyaient des vivres, ceux de la femme apportaient des monnoies que l'on donnait à ceux qui apportaient les vivres.*

16. *Quand un homme voyait sa maison sur le point de tomber en ruine, il avertissait également la plus vieille femme de la famille, et au moment où il s'y attendait le moins il voyait arriver les parents chargés de matériaux lesquels rétablissaient sa maison.*

17. *Quand on avait besoin d'une récolte on alloit planter un piquet dans le champ du premier individu. Celui-ci laissait son champ à la discrétion de celui qui avait planté le piquet, s'il n'avait pas besoin du champ entier et entourait de piquets le lieu qu'il désirait.*

18. *Il y avait dans chaque village une maison destinée aux jeunes gens qui n'étaient pas mariés que l'on nomme **oulitaous**. Les femmes mariées et les veuves avoient la voix au conseil du village, les filles ne l'avoient pas sans qu'elles n'eussent été coucher une nuit chez les **oulitaous**: leurs mères par des chansons et des conseils les excitaient à y aller en leur faisant entendre que plus elles déféraient plus elles souffriraient, une fois qu'elles y étoient aller, elles jouissaient de toutes les prérogatives des femmes mariées.*

19. *Quand les nobles faisaient une faute grave on les banissait du village. Ils restaient ainsi allant dans les villages voisins demander un asile; s'ils étaient reçus ils exerçaient là une fonction qui les mettait entre les nobles et les roturiers, c'étaient ceux qui faisaient savoir aux derniers les ordres des premiers, ces fonctionnaires s'appelaient **at-chaos**.*

20. *Ils restaient **atchaos** jusqu'au moment où la famille devenait assez nombreuse pour former un village, alors ils reprenaient leurs droits.*

21. *Quand un noble faisait la cour à une plébéienne, si c'était la première fois on l'avertissait; s'il résistait et qu'il continuait on lui infligeait la punition dont il est fait mention ci-dessus, mais il était entièrement dégradé.*

22. *A la naissance d'un enfant tous les parents viennent et apportent des présents, qui consistent en des monnaies, des vivres et des nattes.*

23. *A la mort d'une personne tous les membres de sa famille se rassemblaient et apportaient des vivres pour faire un grand festin.*

24. *A la nuit tombante il était défendu de sortir des maisons. Celui qu'on trouvait dehors était pris et emprisonné pendant quelque temps. Si c'était un étranger on le tuait.*

25. *Dans le jour un étranger pour obtenir l'entrée dans un village était obligé de demander la permission au chef. Celui qui entrait sans permission était pris pour espion. En attendant la réponse du chef il restait sous les hangars des embarcations. Quand c'était pour demander du secours il attendait jusqu'à ce que le chef leur en envoyât.*

26. *Quand un chef voulait visiter un village voisin il se rendait avec son canot à toucher terre, et là il demandait à parler au chef du village, qui lui demandait à son tour de quoi il était chargé, et s'il avait du poisson, l'autre d'un air fier lui montrait les armes et lui disait voilà ma cargaison. A ce signe on reconnaissait sa noblesse et on lui permettait de tout visiter.*

27. *Quand un noble venait dans un autre village et qu'il disait au chef soyons amis, c'était fini pour la vie et cet individu avait autant de droits dans la famille que les autres membres.*

28. *Un jour, dit Don Louis de Torres, je rencontrais au pied d'une montagne un homme qui me dit soyons amis; plutôt par crainte que pour autre chose, (car j'étais seul avec lui) je répondit oui. Depuis ce temps cet homme toutes les fois qu'il me voyait m'amenait chez lui où il me gardait de son mieux. J'en fit autant pour lui, et à sa mort cet individu recommanda à sa femme d'avoir pour moi les mêmes soins que s'il était vivant.*

29. *Les nobles étaient sensés ne pas manquer à leur parole.*

30. *Le Major demanda inutilement aux plus anciens quelques notices sur la religion des premiers habitants mais il ne put rien savoir.*

Translation.

Caroline Archipelago.

The motive that brought the first canoe from the Carolines to the Marianas is not known, though the period of this event is not very old. It is probable that it was bad

weather rather than a planned voyage that brought them to touch there. Whatever it was, since these islanders had been well received and had found iron to trade for the objects that they had brought, from this voyage they judged that they might thereafter derive great advantages from other voyages. Encouraged by such successes they were thus coming year after year to the Marianas, where they brought shells, woven clothing and *balibago* ropes.¹ Their gentle and peaceful character interested the Governor of the Marianas in their favor. Mr. Medinilla, the present governor, wishing to gain the gratitude of the Carolinians by some good works, sent to their archipelago, a few years ago, a blacksmith to teach them how to work iron. However, by an unthinkable accident, this tradesman forgot his tools when he left, so that his voyage might have been futile, if he had not managed to exercise some initiative, to fabricate some crude tools with which he was able to fulfil at least part of his mission.

The Governor of Manila, interested by the favorable reports that had been made to him regarding the Carolinians, wrote to the king of Spain about them and asked for one of the islands of the Mariana archipelago to be placed at the disposal of the Carolinians who might want to settle there and embrace the Christian religion. What he wished was granted him and, by decree of the King, the Island of **Saipan** was declared the property of the Carolinians who might wish to emigrate and settle in the Marianas.² A *tamor*, or chief, who was in Guam when this order arrived, decided not to return to his country and preferred to go and settle in his new kingdom immediately.

One of the more experienced of the Carolinian pilots had also remained in Guam, where he still was when we arrived; he was waiting for his wife, without whom he did not wish to set out for Saipan. The reputation of his experience in nautical matters had the effect that Monsieur de Freycinet wished to see him. He came and drew, at the request of the Commander, the chart of his archipelago. He placed all the islands with a surprising intelligence, named each one of them, and mentioned the sort of specific products that each one provided. He showed a shell, and said that it was used by his countrymen by way of a compass. Therefore, they dare trust themselves to the waves upon such frail craft, guided by the stars, by the direction of the currents and by the weak pull of their shell. What European could show such daring? He traced with grains of corn the various constellations, among them the Big Bear, which they call *Welewel*.

A brig is expected to arrive at Guam soon. It is meant to go and get the Carolinians from their archipelago.

[Description of Carolinian canoes]

The proas that I have mentioned above appear extremely long for their width; however, they do not reach 30 to 35 feet in length. Most of them have a flat side. On the rounded side of the canoe, the runners of the outrigger have been adapted; they cross the interior where they are fixed, like those of the counterweight, by a wooden ring that

1 Ed. note: Balibago is the hibiscus plant.

2 Ed. note: There is no such decree extant. If so, there would certainly be at least one copy in the Spanish archives. In fact, this was a local initiative.

is itself sewed to the side. At the end of the outrigger is a float that is sharpened at both ends and fashioned like a bark. From both ends of the proa, two poles come out and are fixed to the end of the outrigger, which is only two feet wide, and therefore, they form a very obtuse angle. The whole is covered with split bamboo, one slat next to the other, perpendicular with the bark and close enough to one another that a man can walk upon them without fear of passing between them. At the center of this sort of floor there is a small cage that serves to store the provisions. On the side opposite the outrigger, two runners come out and they support another [cage] that is square and is used for sleeping. For this purpose it is covered with pandanus leaves, fastened with coconut ropes. The mast rests in a socket that is carved out of a big board that bears the name of *peraf*. It is not solid, as the mast of our vessels, but is meant to follow all the movements of the sail, which is triangular and sewed upon two yards that both come out of the same apex. This sail is adapted to the mast by means of a halyard that passes through a hole made on purpose at the end of the mast, which is fixed by moving shrouds. Their rudder is not located at the back, like those of our boats; it is on the side. At about two-thirds of its height, there is a notch that fits into a [horizontal] wood strut that extends beyond the side, and upon which it is fastened. One might think that with such an arrangement the force of the water might overcome the strength of the foot and upset the canoe. One can tack straight only by sitting on a piece of stick whose end is fastened to a thwart, and pressing the bottom of the rudder with the toes, while the right hand controls the movement of the bar. The Carolinians stay a very long time in this tiring position.

During the whole time that the voyages last, there is always one man in front of the canoe who agitates his hands, to part the clouds; at the same time, he sings an incantation, to charm the clouds. The Carolinians who are in command of the proas that came to Guam at the time we were there are distinguished from the others by the tattoos that cover their whole body. The drawings covering their bodies were made with surprising skill. These men very often wear, besides their loin-cloth, a long cloak, with fringes at the two ends that are not so wide, and at the center of which they make a slit through which they pass the head. These cloaks are sometimes painted with a red color that is not fast, like pastel, and that spreads a very strong aromatic odor, rather pleasant; however, those that are not painted smell even better. The straw of which they are made smells like hay. They seem to take an extreme care of their hair, which they vie with one another to have their hairdo styled more elegantly. One has it in the style of Ninon,¹ another prefers to wrap it around his head and knot the end around this, yet another gathers it in a bun. Some of them make wreaths for themselves out of feathers or in pandanus, while others wear pointed hats similar to the men at Guébé, but not as fancy, because they are not painted.

They are lively and playful. You will never see among them one irritated look or a frowned eyebrow. They always wear a friendly and benevolent smile on their lips, and

1 Ed. note: Anne Ninon de Lenclos was a French woman of letters (1620-1705) whose salon in Paris was a popular meeting place for free-thinkers.

I am sure that a disagreeable word never comes out of their mouth. They have their own body style, yet it is so diversified that I think that no two individuals were alike, among the large number whom we saw; however, let someone place a Carolinian in the middle of a crowd of 50 individuals with the same skin color and I would point him out. I am sure that I would choose the right man.

They have few skin diseases. When we were in their archipelago, we saw only two or three individuals who had been attacked by this disease that infects the other islands of the Great Ocean.

[The 1804 tour of the Carolines.]¹

An American ship named **Mary** of Boston, under the command of Captain Samuel Williams [sic], was sent in 1812 [sic] by the Governor General of Manila to visit the archipelago of the Carolines. This ship made a stopover at Guam where it took on board many persons, among whom Major Luis de Torres was the most distinguished. They visited many islands in the archipelago, where they did not find any chickens, pigs, goats, or cows, as the natives live only on coconuts and the product of their fishing, an activity for which they get up early in the morning and only the highest seas can stop them from fishing. The only means that they use to catch fish are lines and spears, if what was brought on board by a canoe, when we passed by the Carolines, can be called a spear; in fact, it was but a hardened stick, sharpened at both ends. Their fishhooks are made with pieces of curved iron, tied to a small piece of bone or mother-of-pearl, at the end of which they make one hole to pass the line, of coconut fiber.

All the moments of leisure left to them, when they are not fishing, they employ in caring for their family and in repairing their canoes. Their houses also get their attention. They are low and very large, built on piles and consist of five or six very spacious rooms. The women are prettier than those of the Marianas and they have very white teeth, because they do not have the detestable habit of chewing betel nut. They never eat fish or meat. Coconuts and bananas are their staple food. All of these islanders abstain from eating bananas as long as some of their friends are travelling [at sea]. It is a sort of sacrifice they make, in honor of the private deity that watches over him and prevents any untoward accident from happening to him.

The Major says that he has never seen a man with more than one wife, but that brothers can marry sisters; in fact, such marriages are generally preferred. The children in those islands cannot sleep in the same room as their parents, from the time they are weaned, and the girls are always sequestered apart from the boys, to prevent intercourse with them.

Their **religion** is that of nature. They believe in a supreme being; although they cannot define him, they worship him as the only source of power. They have an idea of the punishments and rewards in the afterworld and believe in the immortality of the soul.

1 Ed. note: This is essentially the same story as told by Arago (see Doc. 1804A4).

The good people, according to them will be placed above the clouds to enjoy an un-mixed happiness, since it will last forever, whereas those whose life was full of crimes will be changed into sharks, an animal they call *tiburón*.¹

They have the custom of burning their dead. The Major attended the funeral ceremony for the son of one of their kings, named **Melisso**. He had been dead for two days. All of the inhabitants of the island walked to the house of their chief. The men and women were separated, but the families were mixed together. On that day, they did not pay attention to rank and concentrated themselves on their sorrow, caused by such a great loss. As he was a stranger, he was granted permission to go into the room where the corpse was. The body was wrapped in some mats that were tied with a coconut rope. Each knot of this rope had some tufts of hair tied to it, in honor of friendship and sorrow. The father was seated on a stone, and his figure showed the effects of the most acute of griefs. His eyes were red and sunken, since the death of his unique son. He was covered with tears and his whole body had been rubbed with ashes. As soon as he saw the stranger, he arose and, the better to excite his pity, pointed to his son's remains and said: "Here is the son of Melisso." As soon as the body was brought out, the people began to cry in sorrowful lamentations, while the body was placed under an overturned canoe where it remained until the next day when it was burned. The ashes were placed inside the canoe, under which it had been placed on the previous day, and then it was carried up to the roof of his house. The next day, the oldest of the old men, according to custom, went to present to the king an open coconut, to encourage him to stop crying and to stay alive for the sake of his people. The king agreed to overcome his grief and to stay alive.

Notices regarding the ancient Chamorros.

1. The Mariana Islands had a large number of villages within their territory, every village had a chief and these villages were often at war with one another.

2. When a noble family felt that the number of its members was great enough to resist the attacks of other settlements, it began to build in a territory of its choice, and the father became the chief of the village but let the authority be in the hands of his nearest relatives.

3. When two villages were at war, the nobles, because only they could bear arms, lined up to do battle. If the chief of one of the villages could count among his ancestors more illustrious men than the enemy chiefs, he stepped forward and in the presence of the two armies declared that he refused to fight a man whose nobility was not equal to his own. The other would answer that he was dishonoring his ancestors, and finally, after more bravados, both parties would come to blows, but not as a group, as we usually do, but two by two. When one of the champions died, he was replaced by another, and so on until the end. If a party felt itself weaker, it so advised the women of

1 Ed. note: The author did not realize that Torres used the ordinary Spanish word for shark; *tiburón* is not a Carolinian word.

its village; the women would then sue for peace and their settlement would continue to be subject to the other.

4. Like the heroes of Homer and of Ossian,¹ the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands derive their nobility from their know-how. The man who knew how to build canoes took the title of great canoe builder. The man who excelled in fishing that of great fisherman, etc.

5. The difference that existed between the nobles and the common people was such that when a noble passed in front of a common man, the latter had to bend down, and when the individuals of the latter class had business to do with the former, they were obliged to sit down, as they could not stand in their presence.

6. Fishing at sea was forbidden to the common people. They could only use fish-nets in the rivers, or else they could only catch eels. All of the small fishes that the common people ate were not touched by the nobles. The nobles would do only things of relative importance. Fishing and working the land were among such things.

7. When a noble wished to get products from his field, he would send a common man to gather them. The latter would then bring them as far as the doorway of the noble's house, but it was forbidden for him to go in; so, he left them there for the noble to pick up.

8. As far as food preparation was concerned, the noble women were in charge of cooking the fish and all things that were not protected by a skin from the touch, but any fruit or vegetable that had a skin was within the purview of the common woman.

9. When a noble had caught a big fish, he would signal this by throwing water into the air; then the people would come to meet him at the seashore to unload his proa, while he was himself busy unrigging it. The fish would be taken to the house of the oldest woman in the whole family. Sometimes she would refuse to keep it and sent it to another woman, who would sometimes sent it elsewhere, and so on. Sometimes the fish would travel for a long time. The last person to accept it had to distribute it.

10. The same custom took place with the first fish of a season.

11. One of their fishing methods was a strange one; a type of fish that all other fish usually attacked was placed inside a net to attract them.

12. When a man caught a turtle, its shell was used to make circular pieces of money. A hole the size of a fist was made in every one of these pieces of shell. If he caught more than one turtle, the pieces of its shell had a second hole drilled into them, smaller than the first one. If he caught three, two such holes were made. The more holes a piece had, the more value it also had.

13. When a noble thought that his family would not suffice to gather the harvest of his field, he would so advise the oldest woman of his family and she would gather all of its members. Then all together they would dedicate one day to do this work. Each person would do his part and bring his harvest to the house of the man for whom the work was being done. They were obliged to bring their own lunch and to work with-

1 Ed. note: Ossian was a legendary Scottish poet of the third century A.D. whose original text had just been translated and published, in 1807.

out a break. He who came too late was punished in a singular manner: those who were already working would grab the leaves from a sort of root plant and beat him with them; they would cause some painful blisters, as the nettle does.

14. If a noble passed by a field where communal work was going on, he put up no resistance, but if he said: "Let me go, I have business to do. I will pay my ransom", they would trust in his word. If he said: "Let us be friends", he was regarded as a member of the family, and they remained friends for life. When he took part in banter, he would be made prisoner inside the best house of the village and his relatives were forced to pay a ransom, but when he left he was loaded with presents, equivalent to the value of the ransom paid.

15. When a family ran out of food, the oldest woman was advised and she gathered all their relatives. The relatives of the man would send food, but those of his wife sent money, with which those who sent food were paid.

16. When a man saw his house on the verge of falling down, he also advised the oldest woman in the family, and one day his relatives came unannounced, loaded with building materials, to repair the house.

17. When one man needed a crop, he would simply go and plant a picket in the field of another individual. The latter, if he did not need his whole field, would yield his field to the person who had planted this picket, but would reserve the spot which he had himself encircled with pickets.

18. In every village, there was a house built for the young men who were not yet married and were called *urritaos*. Married women and widows had a voice in the village council, but the girls had none until they went to sleep for one night at the house of the *urritaos*. Their mothers would urge them by songs and advice to go there, making them understand that the longer they postponed the visit, the longer they would suffer. Once they had gone, they enjoyed all the privileges of the married women.

19. When the nobles committed a serious offence, they were banished from the village. They had no choice but to seek asylum in a neighboring village; if they were welcomed there, they then exercised a function that placed them between the nobles and the common people: they were the ones who transmitted the orders of the nobles to the common people; such functionaries were called *achaos*.

20. They remained *achaos* until the moment when the family became big enough to form a village, then they regained their rights.

21. When a noble courted a common woman, if it were the first time, he was warned, but if he resisted and continued to do so, he was punished with the same banishment mentioned above, but he lost all rank.

22. At the birth of a child, all the relatives came and brought presents consisting in money, food, and mats.

23. At the death of a person, all the members of his family would gather and bring food to make a great feast.

24. At nightfall, it was forbidden to leave one's house. He who was found outdoors was caught and imprisoned for some time. If he was a stranger, he was killed.

25. During the daytime, a stranger wishing to go into a village was obliged to ask permission from the chief. He who went in without permission was caught for being a spy. While awaiting the answer from the chief, he remained inside the boat sheds. If it was to ask for help, he waited there until the chief had sent it.

26. When a chief wished to visit a neighboring village, he would go with his canoe and land, but he would stay there asking to speak with the chief of the village, who would in turn ask him what cargo he brought, and if he had any fish. The other, assuming a proud demeanor and showing his weapons, would answer: "This is my cargo." By this sign his nobility was recognized and he was given the freedom of the village.

27. When a noble came to another village and said to its chief "let us be friends," such an arrangement was for life and this individual acquired as many rights within the family as the other members.

28. One day, says Don Luis de Torres, I met a man at the foot of a mountain who told me "let us be friends." More out of fear than for any other reason (because I was alone with the man) I answered "yes." Since that time this man brought me to his house every time he saw me and put me up as best he could. I did the same for him. When he died, this man recommended to his wife that she should continue to care for me, as if he were still alive.

29. The nobles were supposed not to break their word.

30. The Major spent much time, unsuccessfully, to find out from the oldest persons anything about the religion of the first inhabitants, but he could not learn anything about it.

 Document 1819J

The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Théodore Fabré

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ72.

Notes: There is also a brief summary of the following observations in this author's logbook, under 5JJ71B. Fabré mentions that the corvette Physicienne (which replaced the Uranie) was of 255 tons capacity and armed with 4 carronades and 2 guns. Many of the notes taken by this cadet officer were copied from the official logbook.

Original text in French

Traversée de Rawack à Guam.

Nous avons appareillé de la baie de Rawack le 5 janvier 1819. à 9 h. du soir, avec une petite brise du NO variable au N.N.O....

...

*Au 12 mars, nous avons aperçu la terre droit devant nous, nous avons eu un tems à grains et très humide, le vent toujours variable après les grains souvent calme, forte houle du NE. les grains étaient généralement plus pluvieux que venteux[.] avant midi cette terre a été reconnue pour l'isle St. Bartholome [sic], à 3 heures plusieurs pirogues se sont détachées de la pointe Ouest de l'isle, à 4 h. étant par le travers de cette dernière nous avons onze de ces pirogues le long du bord, elles ressemblent aux pros des isles Mariannes. sans avoir de faux côté; à la même heure la pointe SE. de l'isle nous restait à l'Est 15° N. à 4 milles de distance et la pointe NO au N 47° E: à 5 heures du soir on distinguait très bien le fond, on a sondé trouvé d'abord 10 brasses, puis 12 ensuite le fond a augmenté graduellement: à 6 h. on ne le trouvait plus[.] au coucher du soleil toutes les embarcations ont disparues[.] on a sondé toutes les heures sans trouver fond; le lendemain à 4 h. sondé avec une ligne de 125 B. sans trouver de fond, aperçu la terre sous le vent à nous, la pointe Sud à l'Ouest et la pointe Nord à l'O. 30° N. à 6 h. cette isle c'est divisée en deux; reunies par un petit canal: de 6 h. à 8 h. aperçu plusieurs fois le fond par 25 et 28 Brasses. nous avons alors plusieurs isles en vue qui étaient **Poulou otti, Tamatam, et Fanadik**, les naturels de ces isles sont venus à bord, dans des pros semblables à. ceux de la veille, leur faux cotés étaient bien prononcés; plusieurs sont montes à bord et on fait avec nous divers échanges. Ils apportaient des cordages faits avec de l'écorce de cocos, des poissons, des nattes et des hameçons de nacre. nous leur*

*donnions en échange, du biscuit qu'ils mangeaient avec plaisir, des hameçons, des clous, des miroirs et beaucoup d'autres bagatelles de ce genre; ils sont généralement bien faits. la couleur de leur peau est cuivrée et ressemble beaucoup à celle des indiens. ils mettent beaucoup d'huile de cocos à leurs cheveux; leurs oreilles ont de très grands trous qui leur servent pour ramasser beaucoup de choses, ils y mettaient les hameçons que nous leur donnions et les y fixaient en faisant dessus un tour mort avec la membrane inférieure de l'oreille qui ressemblait à un véritable cordonnet. leurs dents étaient très blanches, ils ne paraissaient faire aucun usage du tabac, de bétel, de la chaux &c. comme les autres insulaires que nous avons vu depuis notre départ de Coupang. Leur figure est riante et n'a rien de désagréable, Leurs danses sont plus voluptueuses que gaie, ils font beaucoup de gestes avec les bras et les mains mais donnent peu de mouvemens à leurs jambes, dans certaines ils ne bougent pas de place. ces danses approchent un peu du *chica*; ils dansent toujours plusieurs personnes à la fois et tous leurs gestes se font ensemble et à la fin ils poussent tous le même cri et font un petit saut: à 4 heures ces pirogues nous ont abandonner, notre sillage étant assez grand deux de ces embarcations qui étaient à notre remorque, s'étant heurté, une d'elle chavira; les hommes nageaient comme des poissons, ils ont de suite abandonner la remorque; les voyons plonger pour sauver les effets de l'embarcation, une des autres pirogues est allé les aider et peu distance après la leur fut redressé; la dextérité avec laquelle ils plongaient me fait penser qu'ils seront tous sauvés. à 6 heures du soir, il ne restait en vue que l'isle **Fanadik** au S. 45° E. jusqu'au 17 mars la brise de NE var. à l'ENE constante; à la pointe du jour nous avons aperçu la terre par tribord[.] à 6 heures on la découvrait du NNO au SO 1/4 O, serré le vent pour approcher la pointe Nord que nous relévisions au N. 5° O laissé arriver pour prolonger la côte Est de cette isle qui a été reconnue pour l'isle de **Guam**, une des Mariannes; le terrain paraît fertile et couvert de verdure, on distingue plusieurs habitations parmi les cocotiers qui y sont en grande quantité, en approchant de la pointe Sud, on aperçoit des brisans qui s'étendent un peu au large et qui nous a fait nous écarter de la terre, à midi on en voyait toute l'étendue; un gros navire était au mouillage dans la baie d'**Humatac**; serré pour doubler la pointe la plus Sud et arrondir les brisans; à 1 h. un agent du gouverneur est venu à bord et a donné divers renseignemens au commandant; louvoyé pour atteindre la baie d'**Humatac**, où nous avons mouillé à 5 h. 42' par 17 brasses fond de sable fin: mis un canot à la mer et le lieutenant est allé saluer le gouverneur.—*

(Nota) Les notes sur l'isle de Guam ont été remises au Commandant dans le Mois de Septembre 1819.

Traversée de Guam à l'île Owihée.

*Nous avons appareillé de la rade de **San Luis** le 5 juin 1819 à 10 heures du matin, cherchant à gagner au vent pour nous approcher de la ville d'Agaña, afin d'y déposer Mr. le gouverneur des Mariannes qui étoit à bord: nous louvoyons toute la journée du*

*6 entre la pointe des Deux Amans et celle d'Achet [i.e. Achae], à 7 h. 15' monsieur le gouverneur quitte le bord, il est salué de 7 coups de canons; nous prolongeons les îles situées dans le nord de Guan[.] la brise a été constamment fraîche et les courans ont portés à l'Ouest, le 8 nous avons eu connaissance des îles **Aguigan, Tinian et Saypan**, nous avons doublé **Rotta** dans l'Est; jusqu'au 14 que nous avons eu du calme, le tems a été à grains pluie par momens; le 15 les vents ont passés au NO. var. au S.O. d'abord faible brise puis ensuite bon frais[.] le 17 nous avons perdu les terres de vue: Dans plusieurs de ces îles la végétation y est assez belle, surtout sur les sommets des montagnes, on voit peu de plages de sable beaucoup de rochers taillés à pic plusieurs présentent des cavités profondes. Dans deux de ces îles j'ai remarqué des chaussées de laves qui feraient penser que le sol est volcanique.*

*L'île de **Saypan** qui paraît la plus grande à sa pointe Nord, il y a plusieurs rescifs mais ils sont près de la côte; les îles sur lesquelles on a aperçu des volcans, sont petites et assez élevées, elles ont la forme de pains de sucre, le centre du volcan le plus au Sud se trouve au milieu de deux pitons bien distincts, l'île qui se trouve entre les deux volcans et presque à toucher celui du Nord paraît grande et a des sommets des montagnes assez élevées, l'île de Faralhon est petite[.] la partie Sud est la plus élevée, on voit beaucoup de fous[.] de poissons volans, et quelques pailles en queue.*

...

Translation

Crossing from Rawak to Guam.

We set sail from the bay of Rawak on 5 January 1819 at 9 in the evening, with a light breeze from NW variable to NNW...

...

On 12 March, we sighted land dead ahead. We have had a squally weather, very damp, the wind always variable, after the squalls of ten calm, strong swell from the NE. The squalls were generally more rain than wind. Before noon, this land was recognized as the Island of San Bartolomé [sic]. At 3 p.m., many canoes came off the west point of the island. At 4, when we were abreast of it, eleven canoes were alongside. They resemble the proas of the Mariana Islands, except for their flat side. At the same time, the SE point of the island bore E15°N distant 4 miles, and the NW point bore N47°E. At 5 in the evening, we could see the bottom very well. We sounded and found 10 fathoms at first, then 12, and then it increased gradually; at 6, the bottom was out of reach. At sunset, all the canoes disappeared. We have sounded every hour without finding the bottom.

The next day at 4, sounded with a line of 125 fathoms in length, but did not find bottom. Sighted the land to leeward, the south point bearing west and the north point W30°N. At 6, this island divided itself in two, separated by a small channel. Between 6 and 8, saw the bottom many times, in 25 to 28 fathoms. We then had many islands in sight that were **Pulu otti, Tamatam** and **Fanadik**. The natives of these islands came alongside in proas similar to those of yesterday; their flat side was very obvious. Many

climbed on board and traded with us; they had brought ropes made of coconut coir, fish, mats and mother-of-pearl fishhooks. We gave them in exchange some biscuit which they ate with pleasure, fishhooks, nails, mirrors and many other trifles of this nature.

They generally are well built, their skin color is coppertone and resemble much that of Indians. They put much coconut oil in their hair. Their ears have very big holes that serve them to store things; they placed the fishhooks that we had given them there, and they secured them with the lower membrane of the ear-lobe, which resembled a real cordlet. Their teeth were very white; they did not seem to make use of tobacco, betel nut, or lime, etc. as the other islanders whom we had seen since our departure from Coupang.¹ Their face is smiling and has nothing disagreeable. Their dances are more sensual than gay; they make many gestures with the arms and the hands but make few movements with their legs. In certain dances they did not move from one spot; these dances are something like the *chéga*.² They always dance with many persons at a time and all their gestures are made in unison; at the end they all shout at the same time and make one small jump. At 4 p.m., these canoes left us. As our wake was rather big, two of these canoes that were being towed collided; one of them capsized; the men were swimming like fish. They let go the tow rope. Another canoe, seeing them dive to save their effects, went to help them, but a short time later, it was put right side up again. The dexterity with which they were diving made me think that they would all have been saved. At 7 p.m., we only had the Island of **Fanadik** in sight, bearing S45°E.

Until 17 March the breeze was variable from NE to ENE, steady. At daybreak we sighted land to starboard. At 6, it stretched from NNW to SW1/4W. We tacked to windward to get closer to the north point that bore N5°W. We fell back to sail along the east coast of this island which was recognized as the Island of **Guam**, one of the Mariana Islands. The soil seemed fertile and covered with greenery. We could distinguish many houses among the coconut trees that grew in large quantity. While getting nearer the south point, we sighted some breakers that extended a little away from the coast and made us get some leeway. At noon, their full extent could be seen. A large ship was in the anchorage of the bay of Umatac. We tacked to round the southernmost point and get past the breakers. At 1 p.m., a representative of the Governor came alongside and gave various news to the Commander. We tacked to get to Umatac Bay, where we anchored at 5:42 in 17 fathoms, bottom of fine sand. A boat was put down and the Lieutenant went to meet the Governor.—

N.B. My notes regarding Guam were given to the Commander during the month of September 1819.

Crossing from Guam to Hawaii.

1 Ed. note: Then capital of the Dutch part of Timor Island.

2 Ed. note: A French dance then popular in Paris.

We set sail from Port St. Louis on 5 June 1819 at 10 in the morning. We tried to get to windward, to get near the town of Agaña, in order to drop off the Governor of the Marianas who was on board. We tacked all day on the 6th, between Two Lovers Point and Achae Point. At 7:15, the Governor left and was saluted with 7 guns.

We sailed past the islands north of Guam. The breeze remained steady and fresh, the currents pushing us westward. On the 8th, we recognized the Islands of **Aguijan**, **Tinian** and **Saipan**. We had passed to the east of **Rota**. Until the 15th, when it became calm, the weather has been squally at times. On the 15th, the winds shifted to NW variable to SW, weak breeze at first then rather fresh. On the 17th we lost sight of the islands.

In many of these islands the vegetation is rather beautiful, specially on the summits of the mountains. Few sandy beaches can be seen; there are many rocks cut steep, like cliffs; many of them show deep cracks. In two of these islands I have noticed some lava runs that make one think that the soil is volcanic in nature.

The Island of **Saipan** appears to be the largest. At its north point, there are many reefs but they are near the coast. The islands upon which we saw volcanos, are small and rather high; they are shaped like sugar loaves. The center of the southernmost volcano [island] lies between two distinct peaks. The island that lies between the two volcanos, and almost touching the northernmost volcano, seemed big and has rather high mountain peaks. The Island of Farallon is small; the south part is the highest. Many boobies, flying-fish, and a few tropicbirds could be seen.

...

Pendant tout le tems que durent les traversées il y a toujours un homme sur l'avant du proh qui agitte les mains pour écarter les nuages, en même temps il chante un Cantique pour les charmer. Les carolins qui commandent les prohs qui sont venus à Guham du temps que nous y étions étaient distingués des autres par un tatouage qui les couvre en entier. Les dessins dont leurs corps étaient couverts étaient faits avec une délicatesse surprenante. Ces hommes portent très souvent outre leur langouti une pagne longue et frangée sur les deux bouts les moins larges, au milieu de laquelle ils font une fente par où ils passent la tête. Ces pagnes sont quelques fois peintes avec une couleur rouge qui détint comme du pastel et que répand une odeur aromatique très forte et assez agréable; celles qui ne sont pas peintes sentent encore meilleur. La paille dont elles sont composées a une odeur semblable à celle du foin. Ils paraissent avoir un soin extrême de leurs cheveux qu'ils portent tous plus élégamment les uns que les autres. L'un se coiffe à la Ninon, l'autre leur fait faire un tour au dessus de la tête et engage des bouts dans le double, l'autre les ramasse en chignon. Quelques-uns se font des couronnes en plumes ou en baquois, d'autres se servent de chapeaux pointus semblables à ceux de Guébé mais bien moins riches car ils ne sont pas peints.

Ils sont vifs et enjoués. Jamais parmi eux vous ne verrez un oeil irrité ni les sourcils froncés. Toujours un sourire amical et bienveillant est sur leurs lèvres. et je suis sûr que jamais il ne sort de leur bouche aucune parole désagréable. Ils ont un caractère de figure à eux qui est cependant si diversifié que dans le grand nombre d'individus que nous vîmes je crois qu'il n'y en avait pas un qui ressembla à un autre; cependant, qu'on me présente un carolin au milieu de 50 individus de la même couleur je dirais voilà un habitant des carolines, et je suis sûr que je ne m'adresserais pas à un autre que lui.

Il existe parmi eux peu de maladies de peau. Dans le nombre de ceux que nous avons vu dans leur archipel, nous n'en avons vu que deux ou trois qui fussent atteints de cette maladie qui infecte les autres îles du grand océan.

[The 1804 tour of the Carolines]

*Un navire américain nommé **Maria** de Boston commandé par le capitaine Samuel Williams fut envoyé en 1812 par le gouverneur général de Manille pour visiter l'archipel des carolines. Ce navire relâcha à Guham où il prit plusieurs personnes parmi lesquelles le Major Don Louis de Torres était le plus distingué. Ils visitèrent plusieurs îles de l'archipel où ils ne trouvèrent ni poules, ni cochons, ni chèvres, ni boeufs; les habitants ne vivent que de cocos, et de produit de leur pêche, occupation pour laquelle ils se lèvent le matin à la pointe du jour et à laquelle la mer la plus houleuse peut seule mettre obstacle. Le seul moyen dont ils usent pour prendre le poisson sont les lignes et les harpons, si ce qu'un proh apporta à bord quand nous passâmes près des îles carolines est véritablement un harpon. C'est une baguette de bois dur pointu par les deux bouts. Leurs hameçons sont faits avec des morceaux de fer recourbé qu'ils amarrent après un petit morceau d'os ou de nacre, au bout desquels ils font un trou pour passer la corde, ligne (de cocotier).*

 Document 1819K

The Freycinet Expedition—Journal of Mr. Gagnes

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ68.

Note: He too has based his journal on the official logbook.

Original text in French.

Voyage autour du Monde à Bord de la Corvette L'Uranie Commandé Par Mr. Luis de Freycinet.

...

Le 5 Janvier 1819 Jour de Départ de Rawak.

...

Le 12 Mars.

Même tems et Mêmes Routes qu'hier. Mer Belle. Ciel Beau.

A 11h30m La Vigie a aperçu la terre dans le Nord. Cette terre a bientôt été reconnue pour l'île S. Bartholome [sic] l'une des Carolines. C'est une île qui peut avoir 2 lieues long. basse et couverte de cocotiers. 11 Pros de cette île montés par des naturels sont venues nous visiter. On a fait quelques petits échanges. A 5h40' on voit le fond alors on sonde et l'on trouve 10 B. Mais le fond va en augmentant. Les Pirogues nous quittent.

Lat. 6.29' N. Bar. 758.5

Long. 17°50'10" E. Therm. 28.94.

Décl. 6' NE. Hyg. 94.

Le 13 Mars.

Même tems, même Route, même vents. Dan la Matinée on voit d'autres îles. On les croise. Des pros viennent é Bord comme la veille.

Lat. 7.29,5 N. Bar. 758.

Long. 25... E Th. 27,4

Decl. 4. NE Hyg. 95.

Le 14 Mars Dimanche

La Route est le O NNO. Le vent de NE, brise carabinée nous fait faire du chemin. Le ciel est beau. La mer belle. Le Commandant passe l'inspection.

*Lat. 9°6'45" N Bar. 763,5
Long. 17.30.45. E Ther. 26,9
Decl. 5° NE Hyg. 95.*

Le Lundi 15 Mars.

La Brise se soutient fraiche du NE. la Route est comme hier. La mer commence à creuser[,] le tems est nuageux et des grains passent rapidement[,] quelques uns chargent assez. On voit fous oiseaux et Poissons volans.

*Lat. 11°9'38" N Bar. 761,8
Long. 16.8.38. Th. 27.
Dec. 5.48 NE Hyg. 94.*

Le Mardi 16 Mars.

Notre Route est le N et le NNE jusqu'à Midi, a cette heure on laisse arriver a l'O 1/4 NO où on gouverne toute la nuit. Le vent est toujours NE et ENE, belle brise et jolie brise. Le ciel est nuageux mais beau, la mer belle.

*Lat. 13°19'15" N. Bar 760.
Long. 15.50.30. E. Ther. 26,9
Decl. 5.12(?) NE. Hyg. 97.*

Mouillage à Humata. Le Mercredi 17 Mars.

Le vent est ENE belle brise. Le ciel est nuageux. La mer belle. Nous gouvernons à NO. jusqu'à 5h40' heure où on aperçoit la terre à 6h On reconnoit Guam s'étend depuis le NNO jusqu'au SO 1/4 O. Nous faisons ensuite différentes routes pour contourner l'île jusqu'au mouillage. Nous prolongeons la Pte. Sud, puis la Cote Est. A midi plusieurs îles se détachent la pte. Sud de Guam. Nous écartons pour éviter les brisans que lon aperçoit autour de ces îles. On voit bientôt un gros navire au mouillage, derriere l'île aux Cocos. Nous doublons cette île et nous louvoyons jusqu'à 5h42 pour gagner l'ancre. Nous y mouillons a cette heure par 17 h. 17 B. de fond de sable fin. Nous avons de galoie seulement étalingue d'un grelin.

Le petit canot est mis de suite à la mer et le Lieutenant va à terre saluer le gouverneur.

Avan de mouiller deux canots du port sont venus à bord. L'un apporte un espèce de Lieutenant qui donna différens renseignements au Commandant; l'autre apporte de la part du gouverneur divers rafraichissements, on trouve de la viande de boeuf toute cuite.

Un bâtiment Espagnol est mouillé dans rade venant de Manille et allant à Acapulco.

Point à Midi du 17.

*Lat. 13.11.51 Bar. 760
Long. 13.12.35. Therm. 27.2*

Decl. 5° NE Hyd. 96.

Relâche à Humata (Ile Guam).

Le 18. Le tems est beau quoiqu'il passe de tems en tems quelques légères grainasses de pluie venant de la montagne.

A 7h on fait une salve de 21 coups de canon. Les batteries Espagnoles répondent par 25 coups. A 11h mat suivis. Nous avons su que cette irrégularité était causés par l'éclat d'une pièce qui blesse deux hommes. A 9h le gouverneur des Marie-Annes vient faire visite au Commandant, il s'en va à 11 h et on le salue de 7 coups de canon, le Commandant dit que l'état major veut rendre visite au gouverneur qui le retient à diner.

Dans la matinée les embarcations sont venues à leur tour et l'on s'occupe toute la journée d'Espalmer le navire et de peigner le grément. Le matin un canot nous avoit apporté de la viande et d'autre rafraichissements.

Le 19 il fait très beau tems la brise prend ENE après le lever du soleil. Les malades sont transportés à terre avec tous les effets et les chirurgiens. La chaloupe fait deux voyages d'eau.

Le 20 on aperçoit un arc en ciel lunaire. le ciel est nuageux et le vent NE et ENE, il passe toujours des risées venant des gorges et des pointes pluie venant des sommets. On envoit 4 pierres à terre. On détruit l'alambic: on tire 7 coups de canon en l'honneur de la Fête du gouverneur auquel le Commandant va rendre visite avec l'état major[.] tous y dinent. La chaloupe fait deux voyages d'eau.

Le 21 le grand canot sous les ordres de Mr. Dupperrey va à l'île des Cocos et fait la géographie de la Côte; il revient le soir.

On hisse la cuisine du faux pont et elle est mise dans la batterie. La chaloupe fait l'eau.... Des pirogues viennent à bord et voulaient quelques échanges.

... Latitude du mouillage 13°17'38"

Le 23... [MCF very faint and unreadable]

Le 28 on a vire... l'hospital et fait le moins(?) Les embarcations sont visitées et on appareille pour ... chef-lieu de l'île ...

Nous arrivons vers les 6h1/2 à l'entrée de la Baie de Gagan. Nous mouillons sous le Capt Roti [=Orote]. Ce jour là Nog. à déjeuné à 10 h diné à 4 h et soupé à 8h1/2.

Le lendemain 29 les pilotes que nous avoions a été éloigner un ancre à jet avec 700 br. de corde pour nous haler dans ce port où l'on n'a pu entrer jusqu'à présent que de cette maniere. L'autre de tribord a été délogée mais comme on commençoit à virer sur le grelin, un ajust a manqué nous avons atteint à peu près le même mouillage.

Noter que depuis que nous sommes aux Marie-annes le vent a toujours été NE, ENE, E, quelques fois ESE.

[+3 lines, unreadable]

Le 30, 31, Mars, 1er et 2 avril nous avons [+ 11 lines, unreadable]

Les 3, 4, 5 et jours suivant jusqu'au 18 avril, on embarque la baleinière et on nealive(?) sa caissoire de fer blanc, ou cale bouillait des ... et on soulage les mapotages des bas

mâts. et les premiers pour caler des coins entre les élongis et le jettenans et cela fait les mâts d'hune tout guindés et tout ridés partout. ... pendant ce tems, on débacle retais-nons à effets du faux ponts. Le four est mis au millieu. différentes parties du grément et de la martingage sont visitées et réparées ou les calfats repassent les contours des oeuvres mortes et l'on a peint la chambre des officiers.

*Le navire espagnol **La Paix** qui est venu mouiller sous la pte. Rottie, le jour de notre arrivage définitif, se toue comme nous l'avons fait, pour entrer dedans.*

Le Commandant est venu à le 4 et a emporté différentes notes. On a prêté 2 grelins au navire Espagnol pour se touer. On a porté à terre beaucoup d'objets d'échange.

Suite du Mouillage à St. Luis d'Apra (avril).

*Le navire espanol **La Paiz** vient s'amarrer près de nous et se dispose à abattre ou carène (vire seulement au deux bandes) On repare le cabestan dont les taquets avoient pris du jeu dans la sole.*

On refait le drè.. On embarque du bois à bruler. On gratte la brai du calfatage.

Le 10 à 9h du soir, a commencé une éclipse totale de Lune qui a finit à 11h à peu près.

Le 12 on peint. la Matinée un tremblement de terre a lieu.

Dans les jours suivants, le navire est peint entierement, haut et bas en dedans et au dehors.—On embarque des provisions telles que Riz, eau de vie, huile, vinaigre &ca. L'on espalme le navire dans toutes ses parties, les ouvriers font chacuns la réparation, qui les couvrettes. On fait laver le siege de l'équipage. diverses choses sont envoyées du bord à la ville pour les provisions ou l'observation et ceciproqts. des embarcations apportent de la ville ce que a commiss. actutes que des objets d'échange. La chaloupe fait de l'eau à une rivière.

Dans la nuit du 25, cinq gabiers désertent en enlevant le petit canot que l'on retrouve au débarcadère d'Apra.

*Le 1er Mai. Le navire **La Paix** appareille pour Acapulco, on fait une visite à son bord pour chercher les déserteurs.*

Pendant le mois de mai. Les travaux ordinaires de Rade ont lieu à bord. L'équipage fait de l'eau, des balais, des garutttes, du bitord &ca. On met les voiles au sec de tems en tems, et on nétoie le navire tout les jours.—Les voiliers réparent les vieilles voiles et en font def[s] neuves. Les charpentiers réparent les embarcations et différentes parties du navire.—Les calfats revoyent les pompes &c. Les armuriers travaillent également. Mr. Dupperey fait son travail de la baie, il fait le tour de lile dans le grand canot. On envoie de terre tout le reste des provisions et l'on envoie du bord à terre des objets d'échange, fer, cuivre, poudre, fusils, sabres, &ca.

Le 7 Mai un tremblement de terre distinct se fait sentir. Ou eprouve à bord de très fortes secousses. La chaloupe continue la provision d'eau.

Le 25, la chaloupe du port apporte à bord les malades et differens objets. Tous nos malades se trouvent dans une heureuse convalescence et la plus part sont entierement guéris.

Le 26. Joseph Vincent matelot fait une chute très dangereuse. Il est cependant quitte pour une blessure à la jambe.

Le 28 tout le bagage de l'observatoire est venu à bord.

Le 31 on pavoise et on fait un salut de 21 coups de canons pour célébrer la fête du Roi d'Espagne.

Dans les 4 premiers jours de Juin on fait des dispositions pour mettre sous voiles[.] On embarque 5 boeufs[.] des cochons etc., 1200 cocos pour l'équipage. Les Etables embarquent leurs provisions particulières. La chaloupe et le grand canot sont embarqués ainsi que la Baleinière. Le 5 le Commandant est venu à bord avec le Gouverneur, le Major, et Mr. le Capitaine Espagnol, ainsi que toutes les personnes du bord qui restoient à terre. Le Commandant donne un repas à ces trois mess. et aux Officiers. Une ancre étoit levée et nous passons la nuit sur un pied.

(Météorologie, ciel, vents, mer)

La mer est toujours celle d'un bassin. Le vent a été frais et par rafales pendant les 8 premiers jours d'avril, de la partie de l'ENE à l'ESE. Le ciel étoit en même tems fort beau, passé ce tems; les vents, quoique toujours de la même partie, ont soufflé avec beaucoup moins de force et ont suivi les degrés de chaleurs du soleil, eu des tems calmes presque calmes pendant la nuit, il s'élevoient peu à peu le matin se maintenoient petits ou jolie bien dans la journée et mollissoient le soir. On avoit des journées entières de calme, ou bien des calmes momentanés pendant la journée avec les derniers vents, le ciel étoit moins beaux que quand il venoit plus frais. presque toujours en nuages plus ou moins chargés et assez fréquemment des grains de pluie et de vent, ou de pluie seulement. néanmoins le tems étoit généralement beau; les grains, de quelque force qu'ils fussent étoient toujours de peu de durée. Seulement le ciel étoit nuageux.

Travaux de terre. *L'hôpital avoit été installé dans l'hôpital d'Agagna où on trouvoit toutes les commodités, qu'on pouvoit désirer. L'Observatoire a été établi chez le gouverneur: là, on a observé des hauteurs circomm. d'étoiles de soleil et de lune. des distances de la lune du soleil et aux Etoiles. des haut absolues de soleil pour régler les montres, les observations du pendule ont été faites également et après, les déclinaisons, les inclinaisons, les intensités, &ca. de régler montres.—Le Commandant a pris beaucoup de Notes. Messieurs Bérard, Gaudichaud et Arago ont été à Tinian, Rotta et sont revenu au bout de 8 ou 10. Les cinq déserteurs ont été pris et mis en prison bien que deux autres qui avoient voulu s'échapper.—Le Docteur et le Botaniste font de riches collections d'histoire naturelle. Bérard fait le plan de la Ville et des environ[s], il nivelle divers points.—*

Le Commissaire s'occupe continuellement d'approvisionner le Navire en faisant des échanges. et réussit avec beaucoup de peines et d'une manière bien satisfaisante.

La plus grande hauteur du thermomètre a été de 27 à 30 ° dans le moment le plus chaud, de la journée (sur les 3h du soir) et la plus petite hauteur a été de 24 à 26° dans le moment le plus froid (à 3h du matin). La hauteur moyenne du Baromètre centigr. est de 759 mill. à 761. Le degré de l'hygromètre est outre 85 de 100.

Appareillage de la Baie de St. Luis d'Apra.

Le 5 Juin 1819.

A 5h du matin, la chaloupe du port lève l'ancre à jet mouillée dans le nord. On vire ensuite sur l'ancre de tribord et l'on envoie en même temps mouiller un gros grapin par le travers de tribord. pour faire croupia. A 9h35m on dérappe, et l'on abat sur basbord en bordant les huniers. Lorsque la corvette se trouve en dehors de tous les bancs on met en panne pour attendre la chaloupe qui avoit levé le grapin et halé le croupia. Dès qu'elle nous a joint on fait servir et on louvoye toute la journée sans pouvoir s'élever près d'Agaña.

Tout ce jour, le tems a été nuageux et par grains, Le vent ENE, NE et E. belle brise inégale et variable, la mer belle.

Le 6 Juin.

Dans la nuit le vent nous permet de nous approcher d'Agaña. A 7h du matin Mr. le gouverneur quitte notre bord avec les personnes qui l'accompagnoient. Nous l'avons salué de 9 coups de canon. Nous louvoyons tout le reste du jour pour nous élever au vent qui est de l'E, ENE et ESE. Jolie brise, le tems nuageux et à grains. On aperçoit l'île Rota, dont la Pointe SE à 4h du soir nous reste au N 38° E. La pte Retilla (de Guam) au S 7° E et celle des deux Amans S 8° O.

Lat. 13.39.28. N. Bar. [blank]

Long. 0° 8'15 E d'Agaña Th. [blank]

Déclinaison [blank] Hyg. [blank]

Le 7 Juin.

Mêmes vent, ciel et mer qu'hier, nous approchons Rota d'assez près. Vu beaucoup de fous et de poissons volants.

Le 8 Juin.

*Encore même tems, nous nous tenons au vent, à 5 ou 6h du soir nous sommes en vue des îles **Aguigan, Seypan & Tinian**. Les courants nous dressent dans l'O.*

Lat. 14.38.26 Nord

Long. 0.29.4. E et

Decl. 3.10.0. NE

Le 9 Juin.

Même vent et même manoeuvres, ciel clair semé de légers nuages, mer belle[,] les courans et les vents nous contrarient. Nous nous trouvons encore près de Rota, au point du jour.

Lat. 14.17.9. Nord

Long. 0.25.30. E.

Décl. 4.5.0. NE

Le 10 Juin.

Les vents sont ENE, E, & ESE. Jolie et petite brise. Le ciel à grains et nuageux, jusqu'à midi, et beau le reste de la journée. La mer belle. Nous tenons le plus près pour nous élever. On aperçoit suffisamment Rotta, Aguigan, Tinian & Seypan. A 6h30' du soir on fait le relèvement suivant:

L'extrémité SO d'Aguigan N 12° O.

L'extrémité NE item N 6° O.

L'extrémité O de Tinian N 2° O.

id. E id. N 8° E.

Le piton de Seypan N 10° E.

On voit beaucoup de fous blancs.

Le 11 Juin 1819.

Jolie et petite brise de l'est et de l'ENE[,] le ciel parsemé de nuages, la mer belle. Nous manoeuvrons pour nous élever au vent des îles aperçues hier. Nous approchons assez près de la Côte Est de Tinian. On voit beaucoup de fous, des frégates, et une espèce de pétrel.

Lat. 14°39'5" N. Bar. 761,5.

Long. 0.56.18. d'Agaña Ther. 28,4

Décl. 3.51. NE Hygr. 93,5.

Le 12 Juin.

Vent de l'ESE à l'ENE. Jolie et petite brise par rafales. Le ciel nuageux, et à grains de pluie par moments, la mer belle. Nous tenons le plus près tout le jour[,] à midi nous avons dépassé l'île de Seypan. A 1h35' la vigie aperçoit une île dans le N 1/4 NE[,] à toute vue, on voit des fous et des paille-en-queue.

Lat. 15.23.59. N Bar. 762.

Long. 1°8.40. E. d'A. Ther. 29

Decl. 4.52 NE Hyg. 93.

Le 13 Juin.

Même vent, même ciel qu'hier[,] la mer également belle[,] A midi nous sommes en vue des îles Anataxan et Farallan[,] A 1h & 1/2 la vigie signale l'île de Charigan.

A 6h du soir la brise est très faible et les courants nous portent rapidement dans le nord. Dan le jour on voit beaucoup de fous blancs.

Lat. 15.55.45. N. Ther. 31.8

Long. 1.19.40. E d'A. Bar. 760.0

D[éclinaison] 4°50' NE. Hyg. 92.0

Le 14 Juin 1819.

Le calme est à peine troublé par quelques fraîcheurs de l'E., le ciel est nuageux, quelques gouttes de pluie tombent par intervalles, la mer houleuse de l'E et de l'ENE.

On prolonge la côte SO de Charigan.

Lat. 16.47.0. Nord Ther. 31,8

Long. 1.8.54 E. d'A. Bar. 761,2

Décl. [blank]

Le 15 Juin.

Le vent qui dans le 1er quart est ENE saute à l'OSO dans le 2^o et se maintient toute la journée entre ce Rhomb et l'ONO mais faible, le ciel est couvert de nuages grisâtres l'horison est très saporeux. Dans la journée nous passon près d'une ile à Volcan; le cratere fumait encore. On apperçoit deux autres iles qui paraissent également être des volcans. Nous passons à plus de trois lieues de distance des premières.

[Position blank] Bar. 760, Ther. 29, Hygr. 95.

Le 16 Juin.

*A minuit on vire de bord dans l'intention de se rapprocher des deux dernières iles vues la veille mais les vent variant de l'Ouest au Sud et soufflant bonne brise par grains nous oblige de changer de Route. On porte dans la journée entre le N et l'Ouest[.] On apperçoit une nouvelle ile peu étendue que l'on croit être **Agrigan**. A 4h le ciel se couvre entierement de nuages noirs et nous recevons plusieurs grains de vent et de pluie, La mer est très phosphorescente. Sur les 10h le ciel s'éclaircit.*

Lat [blank]

Long. 1°22'24" E A.

Décl. 4°— NE.

Le 17 Juin.

Nous abandonnons définitivement les iles Marie-anne et nous gouvernons à l'E 22° N. A 9h du soir cap à l'E. Le tems est nuageux, pluvieux et à grains presque tout le jour. Le vent jolie brise du SSE et OSO la mer un peu houleuse.

Lat. [blank] Bar. 768.

Long. 2°7'26" E A. Ther. 29.

Décl. [blank] Hygr. 93.5.

...

Note: Pendant tout le tems que nous avons resté dans l'archipel des Marie-anne Mr. Dupperey, chargé de la Géographie s'est occupé de déterminer toutes les iles que nous avons apperçu. Ce travail fera suite à celui de Guam qui est complet.

...

Translation.

Voyage around the world aboard the corvette Uranie under the command of Mr. Louis de Freycinet.

...

5 January 1819. Departure from Rawak.

...

12 March.

Same weather and same courses as yesterday. Sea nice. Sky beautiful.

At 11:30 the lookout sighted land to the north. This land was soon recognized as the Island of San Bartolomé [sic], one of the Carolines. It is an island that could be 2 leagues in length, is low-lying and covered with coconut trees. Eleven proas carrying natives came off this island to visit us. We traded a little. At 5:40 we saw the bottom; we then sounded and found 10 fathoms, but the bottom was getting deeper. The canoes left us.

Lat. 6°29' N. Bar. 758.5

Long. 17°50'10" E. Therm. 28.94

Var. 6° NE. Hygr. 94 [percent relative humidity].

13 March.

Same weather, same course, same winds. In the morning, we saw other islands. We passed by them. Some proas came alongside as yesterday.

Lat. 7°29'05" N. Bar. 758.

Long. 25°... E. Therm. 27.4

Var. 4° NE. Hygr. 95.

Sunday 14 March.

Courses W, NNW. Wind NE, stiff breeze that makes us fly. Sky beautiful. The sea nice. The Commander mustered the crew.

Lat. 9°6'45" N. Bar. 763.5

Long. 17°30'45" E. Therm. 26.9

Var. 5° NE. Hygr. 95.

Monday 15 March.

The breeze continues fresh from NE. Courses same as yesterday. The sea beginning to run high, the weather is cloudy and squalls pass rapidly overhead, some loaded with rain. Some boobies and flying-fish were seen.

Lat. 11°9'38" N. Bar. 761.8

Long. 16°8'38" [E.] Therm. 27.

Var. 5°48' NE. Hygr. 94.

Tuesday 16 March.

Courses were N and NNE until noon. At this time, we veered to W1/4NW and maintained this heading all night. The wind was always NE and NNE, beautiful breeze. The sky was cloudy but beautiful, the sea nice.

Lat. 13°19'15" N. Bar. 760.

Long. 15°50'30" E. Therm. 26.9

Var. 5°12' (?) NE. Hygr. 97.

Anchorage of Umatac. Wednesday 17 March.

The wind was ENE, nice breeze, the sky cloudy, the sea nice. We headed NW until 5:40 when land was sighted. At 6, we recognized Guam, bearing from NNW to SW1/4W. We then sailed along various headings in order to double the island to reach the anchorage. We coasted along the south point [sic], rather the east side. At noon many islands stood out from the south point of Guam. We stood out to avoid the breakers that were seen around those islands. Soon we spotted a large ship in the anchorage, behind Cocos Island.¹ We rounded this island and tacked until 5:42 to reach the anchorage. We dropped anchor at that time in 17 fathoms, bottom of fine sand. We needed(?) only to clinch the cable.

The small boat was immediately put down and the Lieutenant went ashore to visit the Governor.

Before anchoring, two boats from the port came alongside. One brought a sort of Lieutenant who gave various news to the Commander, the other brought us various refreshments on behalf of the Governor, including some beef, already cooked.

A Spanish vessel is anchored in the road, coming from Manila and going to Acapulco.

Position at noon.

Lat. 13°11'51" Bar. 760.

Long. 13°12'35" Therm. 27.2

Var. 5° NE. Hygr. 96.

Stopover at Umatac (Island of Guam).

On the 18th, the weather was nice, although we had a few light squalls coming from the mountain. At 7, we fired a salute of 21 guns. The Spanish batteries answered with 25 guns, at 11, badly timed. We later learned that this irregularity had been caused by the explosion of a piece that wounded two men.

On the 19th, very nice weather, the breeze blew ENE after sunrise. The sick were carried ashore with all their effects and the surgeons. The launch made two water trips.

On the 20th, we saw a lunar rainbow. The sky was cloudy and the wind NE and ENE. There are always some passing squalls that come from the ravines and the capes, rain coming from the summits. Four stones were sent ashore. The still was dismantled. Seven guns were fired in honor of the feast-day [of the patron saint] of the Governor,

¹ Ed. note: The Spanish ship Paz, Captain Rocha.

to whom the Commander went to pay a visit, with the staff officers. They all had dinner there. The launch made two water trips.

On the 21st, the long boat went to Cocos Island under the command of Mr. Duperrey to work on the geography of the coast. They came back in the evening.

The kitchen was removed from the false deck and placed in the gun-room. The launch made water trips... Some canoes came alongside and wanted to trade.

... Latitude of the anchorage 13°17'38"

On the 23rd... [MCF unreadable] ...

On the 24th, we have turned... the hospital and ... the ... The boats were inspected and we made ready to sail to ... capital of the island ...

At about 5:30 we arrived at the entrance of the Bay of Gagan [sic]. We anchored under Point Orote. On that day, breakfast was at 10, dinner at 4 and supper at 8:30.¹

The next day, 29th, the pilots who had helped us went to place a kedge anchor with 700 fathoms of line, to tow ourselves into the port which so far cannot be entered in any other manner. The other anchor on the starboard side has dragged, but as we were then turning on the cable, a splice gave way, and we fell back almost to the same anchorage point.

Note: Since our arrival at the Marianas, the wind has always been NE, ENE, E, and sometimes ESE.

[3 lines unreadable]

On the 30th, 31st March, 1st and 2nd of April, we have ... [11 lines unreadable] ...

On the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of April, the whale-boat was taken in and its ... was covered with tin, ... sails taken down ... the stays(?) relaxed and that was to place some wedges at the foot of the mast... Now, the topmasts have been made secure and tight everywhere... During this time, the clothes tubs on the false deck have been removed(?). The oven was placed in the middle of it. Various parts of the rigging and mooring ropes have been inspected and repaired. The caulkers went over the borders of the dead works and the officers' cabin has been painted.

The Spanish ship **Paz** which has come to anchor under Orote Point on the day of our definitive arrival, is being towed in as we have done, to get inside.

The Supercargo came on board on the 4th and took away various notes. We have loaned two hawsers to the Spanish ship for the tow. Many trade goods were taken ashore.

Continuation of the Anchorage in San Luis de Apra (April).

The Spanish ship **Paz** came in and moored near us and is making ready for careening, on both sides. The capstan, whose pins had become loose in their sockets, was repaired. The ... was rebuilt. Some firewood was taken in. The pitch of the caulked joints was scraped.

On the 10th at 9 in the evening, a total lunar eclipse began; it ended at about 11.

On the 12th, painting. An earthquake took place in the morning.

¹ Ed. note: Of course, a "petit déjeuner" would have been served at daybreak.

Over the next days, the ship was painted entirely, above and below, inside and out. Food provisions were taken in, e.g. rice, brandy, oil, vinager, etc. All the ship's bottoms were cleaned and tallowed, each worker doing the repairs that concerned him. The seat of the crew was washed. Various things were sent from the ship to the town to get provisions or to make observations... Some boats came from the town with what the Super-cargo got for his trade goods. The launch went to a river to get water.

During the night of the 25th, five top men deserted, taking the small boat, which was later found at the landing of Apra.

1 May. The ship **Paz** set sail for Acapulco.¹ We made an inspection on board her, looking for the deserters.

During the month of May, ordinary chores took place on board. The crew took on water, made brooms, bits, belaying pins, etc. The sails were laid to dry a few times and the ship was cleaned every day. The sailmakers repaired the old sails and made new ones. The carpenters repaired the boats and various parts of the ship. The caulkers revised the pumps, etc. The armourers worked also. Mr. Duperrey continued his survey of the bay and sailed around the island with the long boat. The rest of the provisions were sent from shore and trade goods were sent ashore, e.g. iron, copper, gunpowder, rifles, sabers, etc.

On 7 May, a definite earthquake was detected. Those on board felt various strong tremors. The launch continued watering..

On the 25th, the port launch brought back the sick and various objects on board. All our sick have recovered nicely and most are entirely cured.

On the 26th, Joseph Vincent made a very dangerous fall, but he luckily got off with only a leg wound.

On the 31st, we decked the ship with flags and fired a 21-gun salute in honor of the birthday of the King of Spain.

During the first four days of June, we made preparations to sail, took in 5 cows, some pigs, etc., 1,200 coconuts for the crew. Those in charge of the live animals loaded special foods for them. The launch and the long boat were taken on board, as well as the whale-boat. On the 4th, the Commander came on board with the Governor, the Major, and the Spanish [port] Captain, as well as all our personnel who had remained ashore. The Commander gave a [special] meal to his three messes and to the officers. One anchor was weighed and we spent the night making ready to depart at a moment's notice.

(Meteorology, sky, winds, sea)

The sea is always like that in a basin. The wind has been fresh and gusty during the first 8 days of April, from ENE to ESE. The sky was very beautiful during that same

¹ Ed. note: She did not make it, but turned back to the Philippines.

period; the winds, though still from the same quarter, have blown with much less strength but have followed the sun temperature; indeed, they were almost calm during the night, rose a little in the morning, and remained steady, pretty breeze, during the day and then weakened in the evening. We have had some entire days that were calm, or else there were some calm periods during the day. The sky was less beautiful when the wind freshened, almost always with clouds, more or less laden with rain, and rather frequently some rain and wind squalls, or rain squalls only. Nevertheless, the weather was generally nice; the squalls, when they happened, were always of short duration, but the sky was then cloudy.

The work ashore. Our hospital had been set up in the hospital building at Agaña, where all the desired commodities were to be found. The observatory had been set up at the Governor's place; there took place the observations of the elevations of the stars, the sun and the moon, the distances between moon and sun and the stars, some absolute elevations of the sun to regulate our chronometers. The observations of the pendulum also took place and afterwards the magnetic variations and dips, the intensities, etc. to regulate the chronometers. The Commander took many notes. Messieurs Bérard, Gaudichaud and Arago went to Tinian and Rota and returned on board after 8 or 10 days. The five deserters were caught and put in irons, as well as two others who had tried to escape. The Doctor and the Botanist have made rich collections of natural history.¹ Bérard made the map of the town and vicinity, and a levelling survey of various points.

The Supercargo was continuously busy with getting provisions for the ship, by means of bartering; he succeeded very satisfactorily but with much trouble.

The maximum temperatures reached were between 27° and 30° at the warmest time of the day (about 3 p.m.) and the minimum temperatures were between 24° and 26° at the coldest time (3 a.m.). The average height of the centigrade Barometer was between 759 and 761. The Hygrometer read beyond 85 on a scale of 100.

Departure from the Bay of San Luis de Apra.

5 June 1819.

At 5 a.m., the port launch hoisted the kedge anchor to the north of us. We then veered on the starboard anchor and sent men to drop a big grapnel abreast of us on the starboard side, to act as a stern-fast anchor. At 9:35, we let slip and let go to port by working the topsails. When the corvette got past all the shoals, we lay to to await the launch that had gone to recover the grapnel or stern anchor. As soon as she came alongside, we set sail and tacked all day long, trying without success to get up to Agaña.

During the whole day, the weather was cloudy and squally, the wind ENE, NE and E, good breeze but uneven and variable, the sea nice.

¹ Ed. note: He refers to Quoy and Gaimard (see Doc. 18190).

6 June.

During the night the wind allowed us to get near Agaña. At 7 in the morning, the Governor left us with the persons who accompanied him. We saluted him with 9 guns. We tacked for the rest of the day to get upwind, the wind being E, ENE and ESE, good breeze, sky cloudy and squally. We sighted the Island of Rota whose SE point at 4 p.m. bore N38°E, Retillan Point (on Guam) bore S7°E and Two Lovers Point bore S8°W.

Lat. 13°39'28" N. Bar. [blank]

Long. 0°8'15" E of Agaña. Therm. [blank]

Var. [blank]. Hygr. [blank].

7 June.

Same wind, sky and sea as yesterday. We got rather close to Rota. Saw many boobies and flying-fish.

8 June.

Same weather still. We faced the wind. At 5 or 6 p.m., we were in sight of the Islands of **Aguijan, Saipan and Tinian**. The currents were setting us westward.

Lat. 14°38'26" North.

Long. 0°29'4" E and Var. 3°10'0" NE.

9 June.

Same wind and same maneuvers, sky clear with scattered light clouds, sea nice. The currents and the winds were contrary. We were still near Rota by daybreak.

Lat. 14°17'9" North

Long. 0°25'30" E.

Var. 4°5'0" NE.

10 June.

The winds were ENE, E, and ESE, light but pretty breeze, the sky squally and cloudy, until noon, and beautiful the rest of the day. The sea nice. We kept on plying to windward to gain latitude. We had a glimpse of Rota, Aguijan, Tinian and Saipan. At 6:30 p.m., the following bearings were noted:

The SW point of Aguijan bore N12°W.

The NE point of Aguijan bore N6°W.

The W point of Tinian bore N2°W.

The E point of Tinian bore N8°E.

The peak of Saipan bore N10°E.

We saw many white boobies.

11 June.

Pretty and light breeze from ENE, sky with scattered clouds, the sea nice. We maneuvered to gain latitude to the windward of the islands seen yesterday. We got close to the east coast of Tinian. We saw many boobies, frigate birds and a sort of petrel.

Lat. 14°39'5" N. Bar. 761.5

Long. 0°56'18" E. of Agaña.

Var. 3°51' NE. Hygr. 93.5

12 June.

Wind from ESE to ENE, pretty light breeze with some squalls, the sky cloudy and squally at times, the sea nice. We plied to windward all day. At noon we had passed the Island of Saipan. At 1:35 the lookout sighted an island bearing N1/4NE. Everywhere we saw boobies and tropic birds.

Lat. 15°23'59" N. Bar. 762.

Long. 1°8'40" E. of Agaña.

Var. 4°52' NE. Hygr. 93.

13 June.

Same wind, same sky as yesterday, the sea also nice. At noon we were in sight of the Islands of **Anatajan** and **Farallon**. At 1:30 the lookout sighted the Island of **Sarigan**.

At 6 p.m., the breeze was very weak and the currents were pushing us forcefully northward. During the day we saw many white boobies.

Lat. 15°55'45" N. Therm. 31.8

Long. 1°19'40" E. of Agaña. Bar. 760.0

Var. 4°50' NE. Hygr. 92.0

14 June.

The calm was hardly disturbed by a few puffs from E., the sky was cloudy, a few drops of rain fell at intervals, the sea with a swell from E and ENE. We coasted past the SW corner of Sarigan.

Lat. 16°47'0" North. Therm. 31.8

Long. 1°8'54" E. of Agaña. Bar. 761.2

Var. [blank].

15 June.

The wind which was ENE during the first watch jumped to WSW during the second and maintained itself all day between this heading and WNW but weak, the sky overcast with grey clouds, the horizon very steamy. During the day we passed near a volcano island, the crater was still smoking.¹ We sighted two other islands that appeared to be volcanos also. We passed at over 3 leagues from the first ones.

[Position blank] Bar. 760. Therm. 29. Hygr. 95.

1 Ed. note: Probably Alamagan.

16 June.

At midnight we tacked in order to get closer to the two latter islands seen yesterday but the winds varying from W to S and blowing a good breeze with squalls forced us to change our course. All day we headed between N and W. We sighted a new island, not very big, which was thought to be **Agrigan**. At 4, the sky became completely overcast with black clouds and we received many wind and rain squalls. The sea was very phosphorescent. By 10 p.m., the sky had cleared.

Lat. [blank]

Long. 1°22'24" E. of Agaña.

Var. 4° ... NE.

17 June.

We have definitively left the Mariana Islands and headed E22°N. At 9 p.m., headed E. The weather was cloudy, rainy and squally for most of the day. The wind pretty breeze from SSE and WSW, the sea a little bumpy.

Lat. [blank]. Bar. 768

Long. 2°7'26" E. of Agaña. Therm. 29.

Var. [blank]. Hygr. 93.5.

...

Note: During the time that we stayed in the archipelago of the Marianas, Mr. Duperrey, in charge of geography, was busy determining [the position of] all the islands that we have seen. This work will follow that at Guam, which is complete.

...

 Document 1819L

The Freycinet Expedition—Journal of Mr. Railliard (in part)

Sources: ANP 5JJ68 (MCF copy at UH: S00011); 5JJ70-74; 5JJ158-158bis.

Original text in French.

Voyage de l'Uranie.—Journal historique ou recueil de quelques notes prises pendant la campagne autour du monde par Mr. Railliard, élève de première classe.

...
 Le douze mars dans la matinée nous aperçumes une des Carolines que le Commandant reconnut pour être l'Isle **San Bartolome**. à trois heures du soir, étant à peu de distance de cette Isle nous vîmes plusieurs pros se détacher de la pointe Ouest & faire route vers la corvette, à 4h onze de ces pros avaient accosté le bord, & il y en avait un très grand nombre en vue que faisaient tous leurs efforts pour atteindre la corvette, ceux qui l'avaient accostée échangeaient des cocos, du poisson, des nates & autres différens objets qu'ils avaient, pour des couteaux, des hameçons & d'autres objets en fer dont ils étaient très envieux; pour tout autre chose ils n'en voulaient pas; plusieurs naturels montèrent à bord sans montrer la moindre méfiance, il y en eut quelques uns qui présentèrent(?) différentes choses du pays, ils étaient nus à l'exception d'une ceinture pour couvrir les parties naturelles, ils étaient tous grands & bien faits, ils ont une couleur cuivrée, une belle figure, de très belles dents & une belle chevelure, une grante partie étaient tatouée sur les bras & sur les jambes, les chefs avaient tout le corps tatoué en forme d'armure, & avaient pour marque distinctive aux bras & aux jambes des morceaux de feuilles de cocotier. Un moment avant le coucher du soleil, ils nous quittaient pour regagner leur Ile.

Le lendemain treize nous vîmes plusieurs nouvelles Iles Carolines, nous eûmes encore ce jour-là la visite d'un bon grand nombre de pros, les naturels étaient aussi bons & aussi [...]ins que ceux que nous avons vus la veille; ils avaient le même gout pour le fer, ils nous nommèrent les quatre Iles que nous avons en vue, voici leurs noms: **Poulou otte, Tamatam, Fanadik & Taviotan.**

Le 14, nous avons dépassé les Carolines & nous faisons route pour arriver ax Marie-annes.

Les habitans des Carolines ne mâchent ni betel ni tabac aussi leurs dents sont elles très belles, les Iles que nous avons vues sont petites & basses, elles paraissent être très boisées; pendant presque tout le tems que nous avons été parmi les Carolines, nous avons vu le fond; mais la sonde n'a jamais donné moins de huit brasses, & encore était-ce bien rare quand elle donnait huit brasses.

*Le 17 mars 1819, nous aperçumes l'Île de Guam & le même jour nous mouillâmes en rade d'Umatac, nous trouvâmes sur cette rade un bâtiment marchand Espagnol nommé **La Paix**, ce bâtiment venait de Manille & se rendait à Acapulco, le gouverneur des Mariannes qui habite ordinairement à Agaña se trouvait à Umatac, il nous reçut parfaitement bien & nous offrit tous le secours qui était en son pouvoir, il nous donna un logement pour nos malades, & il leur fit donner tous les rafraichissemens dont ils avaient besoin.*

La baie d'Umatac est entièrement ouverte à l'Ouest & par conséquent très dangereuse dans la saison de la mousson d'Ouest, on ne peut donc la fréquenter que dans la saison de la mousson d'Est, la tenue est bonne, les débarcadères y sont commodes, il y a une rivière que vient se jeter dans le port même, on peut y faire de l'eau très facilement; pour toutes les autres provisions c'est le gouverneur qui les faisaient.

*Le village d'Umatac est situé au bord de la mer, toutes les maisons sont construites sur des pilotis, toutes sont en bambou & recouvertes en feuilles de cocotier rude **Nipa**, l'église, le palais du gouverneur & la maison de l'alcalde sont les seules en pierres.*

...

Translation.

Voyage of the Uranie.—Historical journal, or collection of a few notes made during the voyage around the world, by Mr. Railliard, cadet officer first class.

...

13 March [1819]. In the morning we sighted one of the Caroline Islands that the Commander recognized as the Island of **San Bartolomé** [sic]. At 3 in the afternoon, as we were near this island, we saw many proas leave the west point and head toward the corvette. At 4 there was a large number of them in sight that were making every effort to reach the corvette. Those that had already made it alongside, were trading the for coconuts, fish, mats and various other objects that they had for knives, fishhooks and other objects made of iron, of which they were very fond of; they wanted nothing else. Many natives climbed on board without showing the least mistrust. There were some who offered various local things. They were naked, except for a belt that covered their natural parts. They were all tall and well built. Their skin is the color of copper. They had a good figure, very nice teeth and beautiful hair. Many of them were tattooed on the arms and legs. The chiefs had their whole body tattooed, like body armor and had, as a distinctive mark, some pieces of coconut leaves around their arms and legs. Soon after sunset they left us to go back to their island.

The next day, 13 March, we saw many new Caroline Islands. We also received the visit of a large number of proas on that day. The natives were equally good and equally

pleasant as those we had seen on the previous day. They had the same fondness for iron. They gave us the names of the four islands that we had in sight. Here are their names: *Pulu-ot, Tamatam, Fanadik and Taviotan*.¹

On the 14th, we had left the Carolines and were heading for the Mariana Islands.

The inhabitants of the Carolines do not chew betel nut nor tobacco; that is why their teeth are very nice. The islands that we have seen are small and low-lying. They appear to be very wooded. During most of the time that we were among the Carolines, we have seen the bottom, but the sounding line never gave less than 8 fathoms, and when it did, it was very seldom.

On 17 March 1819, we sighted the Island of Guam and that same day we anchored in the roads of Umatac. There we found a Spanish merchantman named **La Paz**. This vessel came from Manila and was bound to Acapulco. The Governor of the Marianas, who normally resides in Agaña, was then at Umatac. He received us perfectly well and offered us all of the succors that were within his power. He gave us a lodging for our sick people and arranged for them to get all of the refreshments that they needed.

The bay of Umatac is entirely exposed to the west and therefore is very dangerous during the season of the west monsoon. It can be used only during the season of the east monsoon. The ground is good, the landing places are convenient. There is a river that flows into the harbor itself; watering can be done very easily there. For any other provisions, it was the Governor who supplied them to us.

The village of Umatac is situated on the seashore. All the houses are built upon piles and are all made of bamboo and roofed with rough **Nipa** palm branches. The church, the Governor's palace and the Mayor's house are the only stone buildings.

...

[rest not transcribed, for lack of time]

¹ Ed. note: Now named Pulap, Fanadik, and Tamatam, but the last one has since become joined with Fanadik.

Documents 1819M

The Freycinet Expedition—Other unpublished journals

M1. Journals by other cadet officers, e.g. that of Mr. Gabert

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ68 (a microfilm).

Notes: Most such journals are amateurish, badly written, and very badly reproduced in the above microfilm. Such are the works of Ferrand, Guérin, and that of André Gabert (below), who was acting as Freycinet's Secretary.

Original text in French.

...

Relache à Umata.

*18. Le temps est beau, quoiqu'il passe de temps en temps quelques grains de pluie venant des montagnes. A 7h on fait une salve de 21 coups de canon. Le fort de **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** répond par 23 coups assez mal suivis (nous avons su par la suite que cette irrégularité avait été causée par le feu d'une piece qui avait blessé deux hommes). A 9h le Gouverneur des Marie-anne est venu faire visite au Commandant, il a quitté le bord à 11 h et il a été salué de 7 coups de canon. Le Commandant suivi de son Etat-major fut rendre visite au Gouverneur (**José de Medinilla y Pineda**) qui le retint à diner ainsi que sa suite.*

Dans la matinée les embarcations ont été mises à la mer et l'on s'est occupé le reste de la journée à espalmer le navire et à peigner le gréement.

*Un canot a apporté de bonne heure de la viande et d'autres rafraichissements.
etc.*

...

31.—On a pavoisé et l'on a fait un salut de 21 coups de canons en l'honneur de la fête du Roi d'Espagne.

*Le portrait de ce Roi a été exposé tout le jour, à **Agaña**, sur le balcon du palais du Gouverneur; il était gardé par deux sentinelles, qui avaient pour consigne d'obliger les passants de saluer le portrait. Le soir la ville fut illuminée.*

...

*Le 22 avril Mr. Bérard, Godichaud et Arago partirent pour Tinian et Rota sur les pros des Carolinois qui se trouvaient alors à **Agaña**, revinrent au bout de 8 ou 10 jours.*

Tous les ans (en Mars ou Avril) les Carolinois viennent faire des échanges aux Mariannes. Ils troquent des coquilles, des cordages, des nattes ou des pagnes contre du fer travaillé.

Mr. Bérard leva le plan de la ville, ainsi que des environs, & nivela la rivière d'Agaña. Mr. Quoy, Gaimard & Godichaud firent de riches collections d'histoire naturelle.

...

Translation.

Stopover at Umatac.

18 [March 1819]. The weather is beautiful, although some rain squalls coming from the mountains pass now and then. At 7 a.m., we fired 21 guns. Fort **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** [rather de la Soledad] answers by 23 guns, badly served; we later found out that this irregularity had been caused by one piece that misfired and wounded two men. At 9, the Governor of the Marianas came to pay a visit to the Commander. He left us at 11 and we fired 7 guns. The Commander, along with his staff, returned the visit of the Governor (**José de Medinilla y Pineda**) who retained him to dinner, as well as his retinue.

During the morning the boats were put out and the men were kept busy for the rest of the day cleaning the sides of the ship and repairing the rigging.

Early in the morning, a boat brought us some meat and other refreshments.
etc.

...

31. In honor of the birthday of the King of Spain, the ship was bedecked with flags and we fired 21 guns.

The portrait of this king was exposed all day, at **Agaña**, on the balcony of the Governor's palace; it was guarded by two sentinels whose duty it was to force the passers-by to salute the portrait. In the evening, the town was illuminated.

...

22 April. Messrs Bérard, Gaudichaud and Arago left to go to Tinian and Rota aboard the proas of the Carolinians who were then at Agaña. They came back at the end of 8 to 10 days. Every year, in March or April, the Carolinians come to the Marianas to trade. They barter shells, ropes, mats or skirts for iron articles.

Mr. Bérard drew a plan of the town, as well as vicinity and took a level survey of the Agaña River. Messrs. Quoy, Gaimard and Gaudichaud gathered rich collections of natural history.

...

1 Ed. note: This sample gives the net impression that a great deal of plagiarism was done by the cadets.

M2. The lost journal of gunner Larose

Source: Ms. 656, folio 303v, in the Municipal Library of La Rochelle, France.

Original text in French.

[Remarques du Dr. Quoy]

Nous avons eu beaucoup de malades dans cette campagne de l'Uranie. Obligés de séjourner quelques temps sous l'équateur à la terre des Papous, des fièvres graves s'emparèrent de l'équipage; notre vieux soldat fut très malade et je craignis de le perdre. Peu à peu cependant il revint à la santé grâce aux secours généreux que nous reçûmes dans l'île espagnole de Guam. Assitôt rétabli, il reprit son journal, accompagné de dessins, car il faisait aussi lui son journal. Il était bien un peu dans les choses curieuses à lire; mais enfin c'était la narration de ce qui se passait, de ce qui se voyait avec des réflexions à la manière de l'auteur qui remplissait à bord les modestes fonctions de Second Maître Armurier.

Le Commandant de l'expédition ne dédaignait cependant pas le Journal de l'ex-républicain et le prit comme les n^o7tres, non sans doute pour en faire usage, seulement dans la crainte que l'auteur, en passant par Avignon, quelque malencrontreux éditeur ne le publiât; et qu'on vit quelque jour un voyage autour du monde imprimé sur papier gris avec d'effroyables figures à la manière des quatre fils Aymont [sic].

Translation.

...

[Remarks by Dr. Quoy]

We had many sick during this voyage of the **Uranie**. Obligated as we were to spend some time on the equator in Papua, some serious fevers attacked the crew. Our old soldier [i.e. Larose] became very sick and I feared for his life. However, a little at a time, he recovered his health, thanks to the generous assistance that we received at the Spanish Island of Guam. As soon as he was well again, he resumed **his journal, that contained drawings**; indeed, he too kept up a journal. He specialized in things that were curious to read, but, in the end, it was his view of what was going on, what he saw, with his own thoughts about it, in a style that could be expected of an author whose modest job on board was that of Second Gunner.

The Commander of the expedition did not reject the Journal of the former Republican and collected it, along with ours [at the end of the voyage], not to refer to it, to be sure, but to prevent the author from publishing it; indeed, he might one day pass by Avignon, where some ill-advised publisher might accept it. We would then see it appear on grey paper with horrible illustrations, in the style of the Four Aymon Brothers.¹

¹ Ed. note: A reference to a 12th-century novel about the struggle between Charlemagne and the four sons of the Duke of Aymes.

Document 1819N

The Freycinet expedition—Navigation and hydrographic matters

Source: Louis de Freycinet. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1826): Volume 8, Navigation et hydrographie.

Introductory note.

Jacques Arago's brother François was a well-known scientist in France. Naturally, he took an active interest in the results of the Freycinet expedition. In a report that he made to the Académie Royale des Sciences, on 23 April 1821, he reported, among other things, that:

...“it was, however, at the Mariana Islands, one of the main places visited, that the most detailed hydrographic work of the voyage was carried out. For instance, the Island of Guam, which is the main one, was surveyed in great detail all around, by ship's boats. The same thing was done in Rota, and for the greater part of Tinian. If one puts together the works of La Pérouse and those of the officers of the *Uranie*, there remains only the northernmost islet of the Marianas whose position has not been determined by French mariners. However, this island was visited by Malaspina, and we now have all the elements to build an excellent map of the important archipelago of the Marianas.”¹

Excerpts from the Navigation and Hydrographic Atlas.

Book I.—Itinerary.

...
1819. January.

Nothing more could keep us at anchor, so that we left Rawak on 5 January 1819 in the evening. After having surveyed the southern tip of the Ayu Islands, the corvette² pursued her voyage eastward, maintaining a low latitude, sometimes north and some-

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- 1 Ed. note: These remarks were published in the periodical entitled: “Journal des voyages, ou Archives géographiques du XIXe siècle,” N° 32 (June 1821).
 - 2 Ed. note: A corvette was a sailing warship that was smaller than a regular frigate, and had only one row of guns.

times south of the equator, until she reached the Admiralty Islands, before which we arrived on 19 February.

February.

This part of our voyage, frequently slowed by periods of calm weather, was the more difficult, because in addition to a few cases of dysentery that our physicians had been unable to cure, fevers had gained a foothold on board. My plan which had been to follow the equator further east, in order to continue to examine its magnetism, and find out if an anomaly existed along it in those neighborhoods, was so frustrated by calms and the extreme force of the currents, that I was obliged, in the interest of my crew, tired by the heat and the lack of refreshments, to direct my course northward towards the Island of Guam, capital of the Marianas.

March.

Our course took us through the Caroline archipelago. On 12 March, we sighted the island called Pulusuk by the natives, which bears the name of [San] Bartolomé Island on some charts. A short time later, we also sighted the Islands of Puluwat, Alet, Tamatam, Olap, Fanadik, etc. whence came out a fleet of charming canoes, a few of which came alongside. We charted these islands.

Finally, on 17 March, we sighted the Island of Guam, the port of destination that we had long sought so strongly. I approached the eastern coast rather closely in order to make some measurements of it, then I proceeded without further delay to the Bay of Umata, which lies in the SW part of the island; I let go the anchor there, at 5:45 p.m. of the same day.

April and May.

We remained at this anchorage only long enough to renew our water supply, because the watering place there is better and more convenient than at any other place. I then took the corvette to the Port of San Luis de Apra, which is closer than Umata to the capital town of the island, where I wanted to set up my observatory, to be closer to the sources of information of all kinds that we had been promised on the country that we were to explore.

The time devoted to geographic duties during our stay at Guam was taken up by the interesting work of Mr. Duperrey, who sailed around the island in a boat,¹ and by the side expedition of Mr. Bérard to Rota and Tinian. Mr. Lamarche, my Lieutenant, took part, like the other officers of the *Uranie*, in the various observations that were made daily at our observatory.

This is not the place to talk about the distinguished and polite manner with which the Governor of the Marianas, Don José Medinilla y Pineda, received us, but it is not possible for me not to express here, to this kind and generous governor, at least our gratitude for the collaboration that he willingly gave us, not only by way of refreshments, but also for the execution of our geographic labors. We cannot but say thanks to him again, and express our sincere gratitude for everything.

1 Ed. note: See Appendix 1 on the Duperrey Papers.

Section IV. From Guam to Port Jackson.

(From 5 June to 25 December 1819).

June.

In spite of the interesting results obtained by our observers during our operations at Guam and Rota, we still had to explore further all the islands north of Guam, in order to complete a general chart of the Mariana Islands. A few days were devoted to this survey. On 17 June, wishing to take advantage of westerly breezes, that had been blowing steadily for three days, to gain some longitude, we finally left this archipelago and headed for the Sandwich Islands. We had to increase our latitude somewhat in order to find the favorable winds to achieve this purpose.

...

Book II.—Hydrographic and nautical descriptions.

Chapter X.—The Caroline Islands.

The archipelago of the Carolines (Plate n° 7)¹ occupies a vast stretch of ocean from east to west, but a much smaller extent in latitude. We have crossed this archipelago from south to north, at 147° longitude East of Paris, on our way to the Mariana Islands.

The first and southernmost island of the Carolines that we met with was Pulusuk. Its southern tip lied at about 7°40' latitude north.² Its greater dimension lies along the N-S meridian, about 2 miles. This is a low-lying island, well wooded, but the plants are not so thick as in the Molucca Islands. Among the sandy coves of the western coast, one can spot among coconut groves a large number of houses that resemble by their mode of construction those at Waigiu, although they are not built on piles above the water, but near the shore.

At both ends of Pulusuk, the sea breaks for a long distance outward, and the island itself is completely surrounded by a reef barrier.

When we were WNW of this island, we saw a shoal underneath the corvette:³ the whitish color of the bank that constitutes it made us believe at first that it was a sand bank, but the sounding line was thrown and, a few moments later, indicated 10 fathoms, bottom of rock and coral. We found out that a ship could anchor upon this flat area without danger, if need be, because the sea runs smoothly over it; however, the cables should be made of steel.

Pulusuk is most probably the same island that bears the name of Bartolomé Island on the charts;⁴ we thought it wiser to record the name given to it by the inhabitants.

1 Ed. note: The plates are reproduced below.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for 6°40' lat. N.

3 Ed. note: Now called the Manila Reef, after the Spanish steamship **Manila** that surveyed it 66 years later.

4 Ed. note: See the documents of 1799 and 1801 for a discussion on this point.

If one advances in the direction N1/4NW from Pulusuk, a group of two small islands, named Alet and Puluwat, are sighted in 7°21' latitude.¹ The former, the easternmost [rather westernmost] is also the smaller; the diameter of the other one, which is almost circular, hardly exceed one mile. The distance between the two islands is about half a mile. These islands, like the previous one, seem to be surrounded by a coral reef that binds them together; the sea breaks against it with violence. They are low-lying and covered with trees.

To the NE1/4E of Pulusuk, we have again encountered a shoal: the sounding line at first found no bottom at 25-28 fathoms, but three-quarters of an hour later we found bottom at 25 fathoms; this bank does not seem to be anywhere higher than that.² We have sounded many times between Pulusuk and Puluwat, without ever finding bottom in 120 fathoms.

At a distance of 18 miles NE of Puluwat, appeared the Island of Tamatam, about one mile in diameter, ending with a sand spit that links it with a small islet nearby on its east side.

Toward the NNW, at 2 miles from Tamatam, is the Island of Ollap³ whose dimensions do not exceed one-third of a mile, and one league NE of it is the Island of Fanadik, which is not much larger.

Tamatam, Ollap and Fanadik are surrounded by reefs through which we suspect the existence of some straits. Besides, these islands are, like the others, low-lying and well wooded.

We have seen yet another island north and east of Fanadik, but we cannot say anything about them, as they were spotted only from the topmasts.⁴

During the whole time that the *Uranie* sailed in sight of some Caroline island, she was always followed by a large number of charming outrigger canoes, some of which came alongside; they are painted red and black with much taste. The islanders on board them brought us coconuts and many kinds of excellent fishes, among which were flying-fishes and dorados, and in exchange we gave them some fish-hooks, knives, and bits of iron which these savages eagerly desired. We have already mentioned many more details regarding these people, and their canoes, in the historical portion of our voyage.⁵

Chapter XI.—Mariana Islands.

Discovered by Magellan in 1521, and visited many times since by the Spaniards, who have conquered them and settled there, the Mariana Islands (Chart n° 8) have also been seen by English, French, Russian and Anglo-American travellers. However, they were not yet perfectly known at the time the *Uranie* reached their neighborhood.

1 Ed. note: Car. 19-1 and 19-4 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: This bank is now called the Uranie Bank.

3 Ed. note: This is in fact Fanadik, Carl 18-3 in Bryan's. Olap, now written Pulap, is the next one described here. Duperrey, in 1824, will admit that he had inadvertently interchanged the names Pulap and Fanadik.

4 Ed. note: It may have been the western corner of Namonuito, a long distance from Pulap.

5 Ed. note: See Doc. 1819D.

We refer the reader who is not strictly interested in navigation and nautical matters to the historical part of our Voyage, for other details. Here we will confine ourselves to the details of a hydrographical nature that we have collected regarding the islands of this archipelago.

The group in question occupies space between the parallels from 13°15' to 20°30' north, and longitudes from 142°29' to 143°46' East of Paris. It comprises 17 islands, laid out almost along the same meridian. The largest, and southernmost, is the Island of Guam; it will be the subject of the first section below. In the next section, we will cover the Islands of Rota, Tinian and Seypan, which are, after Guam, the large islands in this archipelago. The third section will cover the northern islands, most of which are smaller and less important than those previously mentioned. Finally, in the fourth section, we will present some ideas on the winds that prevail in this neighborhood.

Section 1.—Guam Island.

The island described in this section (Charts n° 9, 10 and 11) is situated between the parallels of 13°13'13" and 13°39'6" South [rather North], and the meridians of 142°29'24" and 142°48'48" East of Paris. Its shape is almost like that of a figure 8, that is, narrow at the waist, and having a length greater than its width. Its greatest dimension covers 29 miles along a NE1/4E—SW1/2S axis.

Many coves, ports and deep bays are to be found along the coasts of this island, which has some islets here and there. Mr. Duperrey, who had the special task of charting it, and who has followed its contours in a boat, will be our guide as we follow the shoreline.¹

Bay of Umata. The bay of Umata (Plate n° 12) is about 600 meters deep, in an ENE direction; its two headlands lie north and south 500 meters apart.

The southern coast is mountainous from Cape *Chalan Aniti*² as far as the bottom of the bay, where the Umata River, also known as the Salupa River, joins the sea. The northern coast is, however, low-lying, and that is where the town and the governor's palace are located. The church, built at the foot of a mountain, faces the easternmost end of that bay; a small stream, named the Sabo River, flows between the church and the governor's place,³ and into a small pond whose waters disappear among the sands of the seashore; it overflows only during the rainy season, but, during the other seasons, it does not reach the sea. The same thing occurs with the Salupa River, which, after coming down from the mountains where its source is to be found, upon nearing the shore, splits into two branches, each becoming lost in its own pond, and becomes re-united by a ditch that turns the land inside into a marsh islet. These two ponds do not overflow into the sea, except during the rainy season, when they do so by only one outlet.

1 Ed. note: For his rough survey notes, see Appendix 1.

2 Ed. note: Cape *Chalan Aniti*, or Spirit Road, is next to Fort Soledad, on the south side of Umatac Bay. It is now called Machadgan Point.

3 Ed. note: Not so, the stream flows to the east of both.

Behind the town [of Umata], to the north and to the east, there are hills in the shape of an amphitheater, that are not very high, and do not deserve a further description. South of the bay, however, is Mount Inago, which is on the same meridian as the governor's palace. Further [north-]west, a steep hill, from 35 to 40 meters above sea level, next to Cape *Chalan Aniti*, is the site of a fort known by the name of *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*.

Between these two mountains, inside a ravine, flows the rapid waters of a small stream that reaches the sea; it is known by the name of Chioreto, and yields excellent drinking water.¹

Point Tuguene [i.e. Toguan] is really the name given to the end of the southern side of Umata Bay. It is low, sharply-pointed, and defended by a line of rocks and reefs; it is distant only one cable-length from Cape *Chalan Aniti*.

North of the bay, there is an isolated and picturesque rock, upon which is built Fort Santo Angel. Access to it is by way of a stairway cut into the rock itself. Some reefs protect its base and project northward along the coast, at a short distance from the shore, as far as Fort San José, which is distant hardly 100 *toises* [under 200 meters] from the former fort, and built upon a hill by the seashore. In addition to these forts, there exists, at the bottom of the bay, and in front of the church, a battery known by the name of *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*. Fort San José and Fort Nuestra Señora de la Soledad can be seen quite clearly when the ship approaches the anchorage point; they are painted white, in clear contrast with the brown coloring of the land.

A small river flows into the sea between these two forts, and therefore does not flow into the bay that we have just described.²

Umata Bay, situated on the SW side of the Island of Guam, is perfectly sheltered from the northerly and easterly winds; the anchorage is also very spacious, but in the season of the westerlies, that is, during the months of June, July, August, September and October, it would be unwise, and even impossible oftentimes to stay there, because the sea runs very high and the winds push the waves right over the landing, they say.

At any other time of the year, this bay offers a very good anchorage, all along its centerline as far as one mile from the headlands. Everywhere the bottom is sand, shells, or gravel; however, along the coasts, as far as the bottom of the bay, there run rocky banks and coral reefs, which dry up at some low tides, but extend at most 100 meters from the shoreline.

As measured from the center of the bottom of the bay, out to its mouth, the sounding line gave from 27 to 15 feet of water; and further out, as far as one mile (counting from the church), the depth increases gradually to 200 feet.

The ships generally anchor at the opening of the bay, on a line joining Point Tuguene [sic] and Fort Santo Angel. The *Uranie* had anchored further out; if this position did not accommodate fast contacts with the shore, it nevertheless had the advantage of

1 Ed. note: Same as the Toguan River, I think.

2 Ed. note: No longer; there remains only one culvert in the vicinity of Fort Santo Angel.

avoiding the squalls, rather strong at times, that come out of the nearby ravines and would affect any ship anchored any closer.

The ordinary watering place is the Salupa River which comes down from one of the highest mountains on the island, named Umata Look-out Point (so named, because it is near the bay of that name), and as we have already said, reaches the bay.¹ In order to reach sweet water, one must wait until low tide, and even roll the barrels over a rather long distance from the shoreline, but this work can be done rather easily.

The inhabitants prefer, quite rightly, the water from the Chioreto Stream to water from any other river mentioned so far. They use long bamboo pipes placed on their shoulders to carry it home; generally this work is performed by the women and children, but it would take too long to water a ship by this means.

The coast from Umata to Port San Luis. Upon leaving Umata Bay, the coast trends NW1/4N as far as Facpi Point, but is cut by many coves, the deepest of which is the cove or bay of Cetti [sic],² whose dimensions are the same as Umata Bay.

Facpi Point is remarkable, in that it is very pointed, it extends into the sea, and ends with an isolated rock, but this rock is linked to the coast by a ledge that dries at low tide. From there as far as Orote Point, which is the tip of the peninsula of the same name, the coast forms an open bay whose width is 6 miles and depth about 2 miles; many points and inlets can be seen therein, as well as many islets, one of which, named Anae, located one mile from Facpi Point, stands alone. The other islets are all linked to the coast by reefs that render them inaccessible. The town of Agat occupies the bottom of this bay; in fact, there is a channel among the reefs that allows passage as far as the shore at that point.³

The southern shore of the Orote Peninsula is high and steep, without any reef that might impede an approach, but it would be absolutely impossible to try and land anywhere between Orote Point and a place called Uputu.⁴

In the neighborhood of Agat, the land appears to be fertile, in contrast with the soil in the rest of the island, specially within Orote Peninsula, where the vegetation, though not dead, seems to be struggling to survive. The islets offshore from Agat, are pleasant to look at, as their green colors are as fresh as those of bushes growing along rivers. If one approaches as far as Uputu Point, one will notice many small sandy coves, bracketed by steep rocks, and offering a rather pleasant view.

A beautiful river, 20 meters wide, snakes its way just north of the town of Agat; its mouth is not blocked by a sand bar, and allows small boats to get in. Many other water courses, of lesser importance, provide drinking water along the coast, between this point and Umata.

1 Ed. note: The high point is now called Mount Bolanos.

2 Ed. note: We note here that the name Cetti has replaced the word Ati for the first time. Could this be the result of a typographical error?

3 Ed. note: The old town of Agat was located north of present-day Agat, near the Namu River whose lower course, by the way, has been dredged in modern times.

4 Ed. note: Now written Uputua.

Port San Luis de Apra (Plate n° 13). Beginning at Orote Point, just north of which, and very close to it, is located the small island of the same name, the coast trends E1/4SE, then SE1/4S, as far as the town of Apra, then it turns eastward, comes back toward the north, after making many indentations, more or less deep, it trends N1/4NE, where it circumscribes a large cove in the shape of the letter V, more or less, whose opening is sheltered by a long and narrow island called Cabras, or Apapa, and by numerous reefs. This cove, as a whole, constitutes a vast and safe port, known by the name of Port San Luis de Apra (see Plates 9, 10 and 13). Its longest dimension runs from E to W and is 3-1/2 miles; that from north to south is but 3 miles.

This space is obstructed by a considerable number of coral banks, by some islets, and by rocks that reduce the navigable area very much.

From the western tip of Apapa Island runs a line of reefs known by the name of Luminan Reefs. This line runs westward for 1-1/3 miles, then joins the Calalan Bank which, in turn, runs to within 1/3 mile from Orote Island, leaving enough clear space, normally used by the ships entering the port.

The general alignment of the Orote Peninsula is SE—NW, for 3 miles. Its surface is uniform, flat and not too high. As we have said earlier for its SW coast, its north coast, as far as San Luis Point (see Plate 13), is steep and inaccessible, but from this point to the landing at the town of Apra, the terrain is low, swampy, sometimes with sandy beaches, and sometimes with mangrove forests growing even in the sea itself.

The isthmus that joins the Orote Peninsula with the mainland, as measured near the town of Apra, is 835 meters wide. A wall, built in this part, separates the land of the peninsula from neighboring fields.¹

The whole of Orote Peninsula is coral rock, and its surface is almost impenetrable, on account of the large number of crags and ravines that cover it; however, at some places, plants are thriving. Here and there, one sees some trails, one of which leads from the farm at Sumay to Fort Santiago.

From the village of Apra, going north, the coast of the island of Guam presents a low-lying terrain as far inland as half a mile. At the mouths of streams, such as those named Abo and Atantano, the vegetation of the inlets is very pretty; shallow-draft boats could find here the perfect shelter.

Cabras Island is a pile of coral rocks, divided by ravines, upon which it is impossible to make headway on foot; however, these upturned rocks offer a foothold to trees of various species. From place to place, there are tiny sandy beaches that the fishermen made use of. This island has the shape of a crescent whose opening faces north; its length is 2,680 meters and its width varies from 300 to 340 meters. Its eastern tip is separated from the coast of Guam by a canal that is 340 meters in width, but boats with a draft of more than 2 or 3 feet cannot cross there, except at high tide. This canal leads to the town of Agaña, the capital of the island. It crosses a fishing area that extends from the mouth of the Masso River to Cabras Island.

¹ Ed. note: It was an important property line that became the subject of dispute before the American invasion of 1899 (see Lieut. Safford's notes).

To the E1/4SE of San Luis Point, and almost in line N-S from the western tip of Apapa, is a small rock at sea level, upon which is built Fort Santa Cruz. Boats can easily land there.¹

Out of all the streams that flow into Port San Luis, the one named Aguada, seems to be only one suitable as a watering place; its mouth lies almost directly east of Fort Santa Cruz. Water can also be had at the Sassa River, but it must be done at low tide. As far as the Masso River is concerned, potable water can still be had there, but it is rather far from the usual anchorage point of vessels. It was there, however, that the *Uranie* got her water, because the loading operation was easier there; our boat would make two trips per day.

A coral shoal that begins at Orote Island runs to the nearby coast and continues along the shore at a short distance as far as San Luis Point, where it extends due east toward the Aguada River; some coral heads surface here and there, from San Luis Point as far as the eastern end of the port.

South of this coral barrier, there is a large space where ships could anchor upon a sandy bottom, and find an excellent shelter, but light boats can hardly get into this interior basin, on account of the shallows. That is why this part of the port is normally for canoes only.

The anchorage normally used by ships is north of Fort Santa Cruz; it is a basin that measures 1,000 meters from east to west, by 300 meters in width. It is surrounded by coral banks upon which there are only 2-3 feet of water. North of these banks, as one heads toward the western end of Cabras Island, some wide spaces seem suitable as anchorages, but they are not used, although the bottom is everywhere mud, and the water depth suitable for large ships. Thus, the port proper is limited to the inner basin that is close to Fort Santa Cruz.

If one draws a line from Fort San Luis to the western tip of Cabras Island, the result would be to divide the harbor in two parts; the eastern half, though full of coral banks, nevertheless contains the best shelters and the safest anchorages. The western half, whose limits are the Orote Peninsula in the south, the Luminan Reefs in the north, and the Calalan Bank in the northwest, offers a space that is virtually clear of shoals; in fact, we have found only one bank in this area, and there is at least 15 feet of water on top of it. However, if water depth is considerable in this area, there is no suitable holding ground anywhere in it, unless steel cables be used. The *Uranie*, which had to be towed to get to the bottom of the harbor, had a bad experience there, in that most of her mooring cables were made unserviceable.

The channels that lead to the anchorate north of Fort Santa Cruz go through the banks and are often very narrow; the last channel before entering the basin is, in fact, only 110 meters wide. These banks are just below the surface, but are very steep; in fact, one can go very near them, yet the sounding line will indicate at least 50 feet. The only

¹ Ed. note: The space is now occupied by the U.S. Navy Ship Repair Facility. Nothing has been preserved of Fort Santa Cruz; only a modern brass plaque, in English, mentions this historic spot.

exception is at the bottom of the harbor, where depths can be only 15 to 20 feet, but ships do not have to go that far in.

The Luminan Reefs could sometimes be crossed by canoes, when the sea is calm, but at other times, it would be too dangerous to get close to them, although their edges are also very steep.

As far as the Calalan Bank is concerned, Mr. Duperrey has sounded it in all of its parts, and did not get less than 25 feet between its SW tip to the western end of the Luminan Reefs. However, at this SW tip, there is a rock ledge that is only 13 feet deep. Such rocks are not very extensive, and can be easily avoided, if one takes care of staying clear of a sighting line that passes through Fort Santa Cruz and the second peak of Mount Tinkio (see Plate 13).¹

The pass that is most often used to get into Port San Luis is between Orote Island and the rocks that have just been mentioned, and which are known of the Spanish Frigate Rocks. The width of this pass is about half a mile in width; it is easy to use only when the winds are westerlies, because there is always a very fast current flowing out of the harbor.

When the winds are easterlies, then one has no choice but to tack, or be towed in with kedge anchors; the pilots, at the time that the *Uranie* wished to get in, wanted to use this last method. However, when they will gain more experience with Calalan Bank itself (between the Luminan Reefs and the Spanish Frigate Rocks) then they will no doubt prefer to tack their way in. Then, it will become possible to get inside, under any wind condition, at least as far as the outer harbor.

Port San Luis is defended by two forts: one, named Fort Santiago, is located upon a high hill, very close to the sea, to the east and at a short distance from Orote Point; the other, which we have already mentioned, is Fort Santa Cruz, whose specific purpose is to protect ships that are in the anchorage. In the past, there existed a fort at San Luis Point, bearing the same name, but it is now in ruins.

The coast from Port San Luis to Ritidian Point. Upon leaving Port San Luis, the coast eastward first trends ENE, then turns northward as far as Acahi-Fanahi Point, a steep rock, near which, that is NW of which, is the small islet of Gapan.²

A line of breakers goes directly from Cabras Island to this islet, and coral flats occupy the space between it and the shore; water depth is only 1 to 2 feet over these flats, except at some spots, where it can reach as much as 20 to 50 feet. A ship being pursued could even seek refuge in one of these sorts of creeks.

The village of Tepungan is built upon the shore, facing one of the openings in the reef that we have just mentioned.

Beyond Acahi-Fanahi Point, eastward of it and at about 1-1/2 miles from it, is another point; it is called Adelup Point, but the natives prefer to call it *del Diablo* [Devil's

1 Ed. note: Now written Tenjo.

2 Ed. note: Now called Asan Point, and Camel Rock, respectively. The original name for this point probably referred to a local bat, *Fanihi*.

Point], because of the extreme speed of the currents near it, which makes it difficult to round this point.

Everywhere else where the coast is bordered by reefs extending seaward, the waters pushed against the coast do flow over these reefs in a continuous fashion; therefore, to get out, they must find another route, and that is why the current in the openings in the reefs is always outward, as we have found out, much to our surprise. However, at Devil's Point, the line of reefs almost touch this point, and interferes with the regular movement of the water, and forces the current outward, and over the reef, in line with the coast at that point. This is the natural explanation, it seems, for a phenomenon that might appear, at first sight, to be extraordinary, because the chart would not explain the cause of such currents near Devil's Point, for their being more violent there than near any other point with a similar shape.

To the east of Acahi-Fanahi Point, the pretty village of Asan is located on the seashore, and is crossed by a small river. A sandy beach, that begins immediately after Devil's Point, extends past the village of Anigua and the town of Agaña, where the river of that name finds an outlet. Going eastward, then northward, the beach continues, almost without any interruption, as far as Apurguan Point, while it forms a rather spacious bay. In the middle of this bay, one finds the small port of Agaña which, bound by reefs, can only accommodate small ships, but the space is very restricted, and the water depths from 20 to 35 feet.

Alupan Island¹ occupies the NE end of this bay, and almost touches Apurguan Point. There is a very pretty basin, perfectly enclosed, between this island and the coast; it appears to be a very spacious port, but it is unfortunately useable only by small boats, because it is too shallow.

It would be possible to anchor, with steel cables, just west of this island, in 30 fathoms water, on a rocky ledge. This anchorage might even be convenient, in good weather, for ships that have to maintain daily contact with Agaña; in this case, one should avoid getting close to the bar at the entrance of the port, because the bottom there is irregular, and covered with coral rocks, and one would be exposed to the risk of having his anchors fall into the cracks between those rocks, and be unable to raise them later on.

The reefs that follow the coast before Agaña continue to extend, though at a shorter distance from the coast, toward the north, as far as a small rock that is close to the shore in the vicinity of Taynaneso Point.² A boat can pass between this rock and the shore, when the waves do not flow in from the sea.

The coast, from Apurguan Point to Tumon Point, is formed by steep cliffs, and all of the points that stand out from it, as far as the northern end of the island, are absolutely similar.

1 Ed. note: Now written Alupat.

2 Ed. note: Most probably what is now called Saupon Point.

Between Tumon Point¹ and [Dos] Amantes Point, so called on account of a circumstance that is narrated in the historical part of our Voyage, there is the bay called Tumon, that has an opening of 2-1/4 miles, and a depth of about one mile. A reef barrier seems to make it inaccessible, but there are various passes for canoes only, and then, landing presents no difficulty.

At the eastern half of this bay, and almost in its center, just south and at a short distance from Gnaton,² a village that is famous in the island for its feasts, a cross has been raised to mark the spot of the martyrdom of Father Sanvitores, the apostle of the Mariana Islands, who was killed there by one of the local chiefs.

Beginning at Amantes Point, and as far as Niigo Point,³ the coast noticeably trends NNE, and offers here and there some coves and capes whose soil is not cultivated nor inhabited. A little above the latter point, and before Falcona, there exists, beyond the reef, a sand bank where the sounding line gave 5-6 fathoms water, as far as two cable-lengths from shore; a circumstance that is very rare along this type of coast.

The anchorage at Falcona is exposed to westerly winds, but when the winds are from any other quarter, a small ship could anchor on this bank, close enough to the island to be sheltered by the reefs that extend from Niigo Point.

The coast, that had not shown any sandy beach between Agay Point and Guyalacone Point, begins here to show some sand at the bottom of the coves; this point also marks a new beginning for the reef barrier that is missing in the same interval. Beyond Niigo Point, and from there to Ritidian Point, the shore is trending NNE for about 2-1/2 miles. Navigation during the season of the NE trades is very difficult here, on account of the strong currents running westward, and the resulting surge. Mr. Duperrey, in order to overcome these obstacles, was forced to go inside the reef, where he found the calm waters that he was seeking. The natives fear having to round Ritidian Point from west to east, and it is certain that, had not the boat from the *Uranie* done the maneuver in question, it might have had much difficulty to achieve it.

Northeast and eastern coasts of Guam. Ritidian Point, near which our companions met a house inhabited by a very hospitable family, is low-lying and sandy, but, a short distance inland, there arises coral mountains, cut steeply, that almost run continuously all around the island. From Ritidian to Tagua Point, the coast runs noticeably SE; the reefs that follow it end at the latter point, but contain a few passes here and there, enough to let canoes and small boats in. The sea, during the season of the easterly trades, always breaks upon these reefs.

Mr. Duperrey was forced to sail inside this reef barrier and met with great difficulty when he tried to get out of this enclosure, because of the strength of the waves, of the direction of the winds and the currents that split into two rivers at this point, one running to the west side of the island, and the other to the east coast.

1 Ed. note: Now called Ipao Point.

2 Ed. note: Now written Gognga.

3 Ed. note: Niigo corresponds to either Haputo, or to Pugua, Point.

Beginning at Tagua Point, the shoreline trends E for one mile, then SE as far as the eastern cape of the Island of Guam, which is called Patay Point,¹ From there, it trends S1/4SW as far as Lafac Point, where it turns westward as far as Anao Point; all along this stretch of coast the shoreline is very high, cut steep, and not protected by any line of breakers.

The reef barrier begins anew at Anao Point, and continues, gaining some width, as far as Hanum Point, over a distance of 2-1/2 miles. At this place, the coast trends SW as far as Taugan Point,² and offers nothing remarkable except for a cliff, steep and uniform, upon which the sea breaks violently. After the last-mentioned point, the land is not so high, more covered with vegetation, and some sandy beaches begin to appear here and there.

Further still, two more miles toward the SW, the reefs form, with the beach, the small port of Pago, accessible only to light boats. Mr. Duperrey did not go in, but he was told that there are only 2 feet of water between the reefs and the beach. The town of Pago, near which flows a river, occupies the west end of this cove.

Two miles further S1/4SW is Ylic Bay which contains a port that is similar, and just as inimportant as that of Pago; a small river flows out into this bay, but its shores are uninhabited.

Between Ylic to Tarofof Harbor, the coast trends south; it is low-lying and fringed by a continuous sandy beach, to a point close to Hypan Point, that forms the southern [rather eastern] end of this harbor. The Tachia River³ finds an outlet to the sea in the middle of this interval, which is bordered by a continuous reef barrier elsewhere along it. Inland can be seen some high mountains.

The whole stretch of coast of the Island of Guam, from Ritidian Point to Tarofof Harbor, offers no shelter to the navigator; one must therefore keep away from it during the season of the easterlies; and, since in no other time can be found a proper harbor, it would be useless to come close to it, unless one has a reason to send a boat in at Pago, where some food supplies could be available, if need be.

Tarofof Harbor (Plate n° 14). At the time of the visit to Guam of the *Uranie*, the Spanish colonists had only a vague idea of this magnificent harbor. Mr. Duperrey, whom I entrusted with the task of surveying and charting it, has also written some notes about the advantages that this port can offer to the navigator; we will now reproduce them.

The harbor in question consists in two small gulfs, or deep bays, the first of which, known more particularly under the name of Tarafof, is open to the east, and has, in this direction, 900 meters in length by 270 meters in width from north to south, as measured between the two rock ledges that form the points at the entrance. The other cove, smaller, situated at the eastern end of the former, goes in 400 meters toward the

1 Ed. note: Now written Pati.

2 Ed. note: Now known as Pagat Point.

3 Ed. note: Now written Togcha.

SW; its width is but 170 meters. It is known as Paicpuc Bay.¹ A little further west along the southern coast of the main bay, there is a cove that is called Gayloup Bay, which is accessible only to boats.

Tarofoto Harbor proper has two shores that are almost parallel to each other and consists of cliffs that run as far as the bottom of the bay. The Tarafoto River, the largest in Guam, flows out onto a semi-circular beach, smooth and flat. Mountains made of coral rocks, very steep, gradually come down to the shoreline on both sides of the harbor. That of Mahilouc, that is obvious on the north side is, as we will say elsewhere, famous in the history of the country.² Its western part is linked with other mountains inland. On its eastern side, it comes down gradually to the seashore, where the shoreline, though steep, is not so high.

The reefs that line the north and south coast extend outward for some distance; they consist in coral ledges upon which the sounding line gives only 2 to 3 feet of water, but they are cut sharp, so that close to them there is a considerable depth of water.

Beginning from the entrance of the bay, and going inland as far as one quarter of the way in, the bottom is mud, decreasing gradually from 50 down to 40 fathoms. Everywhere else beyond that, one finds sand and gravel, and the depth continues to decrease as far as the mouth of the river. The harbor ends on a sandy beach, bracketed by the two above-mentioned coral ledges; however, the water from the river has turned the soil in the area into a marsh. However, the waves affecting this beach and the landing place are not strong; in fact, during the visit by our companions, the sea was very calm.

If one crosses this harbor from north to south, the sounding line gives a constant depth from one shore to the other; in the center of the harbor, it has from 22 to 23 feet, but if one advances only to half as much, 1/4 the length of the bay, the depth is between 12 and 13 feet.

Outside of the points, one meets again with a gravel bottom, for quite a distance to the east, and 90 feet at half a mile out. Ships could find there a sort of outer harbor, with lots of space. There is no village anywhere near this harbor, but only a sort of farm where cattle is raised; it occupies, not far from the beach, the foot and back side of a mountain toward the south and inland from the bay.

Of all of the ports or bays of the Island of Guam, Tarofoto is, after Port San Luis, the only one that can be used at all seasons of the year; there is no dangers inside it, and ships could remain there without risk. In truth, during the season that the winds blow in, it might sometimes be difficult to land there, above all at the bottom of the harbor, but if a wharf could be built at the south end of the beach, from 40 to 50 meters in length, landing upon it would become easy at any time. The project would cost little, because the sea, in that part, is only 5 to 6 feet deep.³

1 Ed. note: Written Piggug in the older accounts.

2 Ed. note: Better known as As-Quiroga Cliffs, it was the site of an ambush by the natives against Filipino troops led by Captain Quiroga in the 1670s.

3 Ed. note: A boat landing was never built there; however, it is now a parking lot.

The Tarofof River, which, as we said, flows into the western end of the bay, offers a good watering place. It runs fast between two shores that are about 30 meters apart, and meanders through land that is covered by strong vegetation. Its depth, beyond the bar, is from 10 to 12 feet, and sometimes as many as 25; however, the entrance is blocked by a sand bar, through which the waters have dug a channel 5 to 6 meters wide, but only 2 feet deep. The river is crossed with a small bamboo raft, a short distance from this mouth.

This river carries black iron-bearing sand, which the sea pushes back onto the beaches inside the harbor; the bottom is of the same color. Nearby there, the seaside beaches are made up of coral sand.

The coasts from Tarofof to Inarahan (Plate n° 8). Upon leaving Tarofof, one sees a shore that first trends S, then SSW and SW as far as the small bay called Hunlodgna.¹ The land, along this stretch, is low-lying and full of sandy beaches separated by rocky points; a line of reefs runs close to the shoreline. Hunlodgna Bay is cut off by reefs, that nevertheless offer a narrow pass for small boats only. A river flows into this bay, but it cannot offer any shelter except to canoes.

The coast, from Hunlodgna to Guae Point,² at the entrance of Inarahan Bay, still trends SW; it has no sandy beaches and has a protecting reef; the sounding line, at 1/4 mile from shore, gives from 20 to 25 feet of water.

Inarahan Bay. This bay, with an opening of a quarter mile and a depth of half a mile, is exposed to winds blowing from E and S, but sheltered from any other wind. Its width increases somewhat inside the points, but the reefs bordering it do limit the useable space markedly.

As far as the center of the bay, the bottom is either sand or rocks, from 5 to 12 fathoms; further in and as far as the shore, the sounding line gave depths of only 2 to 3 feet, coral bottom. It seems, at first sight, that a ship could ride very safely at anchor in this bay, and I believe that it might be possible during the season of the westerlies, but, in the opposite season, a rather strong surge prevails between the points, and would make it difficult to leave, unless the land breeze that blows during the night could be taken advantage of.

The bottom of the bay is a beach of black sand, at the south end of which there are two small rivers that join up near their mouth. The town of Inarahan is situated at about one cable-length further south.

This part of the Island of Guam is one of the granaries of the colony, judging from the magnificent rice and corn fields that cover it.

Agfayan Bay. To the SW 1/4 W, and at about 3/4 of a mile only from Inarahan, is Agfayan Bay, and a smaller bay; like it, it may offer a rather good anchorage to boats not drawing more than 15 to 30 feet of water. Its opening faces ENE. Two small islands lie close to the north side of its entrance. At the bottom is a sandy beach that receives a small brook, near which it is easy to land with a boat.

1 Ed. note: Now called Pauliluc Bay.

2 Ed. note: Now called Guaifan Point.

The coast from Agfayan to Ahayan Bay. After passing the point on the south of Agfayan, which forms a round headland, the coast runs westward, then there is a long sandy beach running from south to north [sic], toward Ahatcho [rather Acho] Point, then SSW as far as Ahayan Point, which is both the southern end of the Island of Guam as well as the eastern end of Ahayan Bay.¹ This coast is sandy, but upon going up from Ahayan Point to Agfayan Bay, it is lined with a row of coral reefs that begin on the shore itself and sometimes extend as much as half a mile out.

Ahayan Bay. This bay, half a mile at its widest, is considerably decreased by reefs that foul its waters. The opening, cut into the reef barrier, is only two-thirds of a cable-length, but it too is obstructed, on its west side by the small island of Agrigan. There one can find 45 feet of water, and from 15 to 33 feet further in. The bottom of the bay is lined with a continuous sandy beach. On its north side, there is a small village, and near it a stream whose water disappears in the sand of the beach.

This inlet, absolutely inaccessible during windy weather, could only be suitable for small boats; in any case, it would be unwise to try and get in there, unless one has a perfect knowledge of the pass.

The south and southwest coasts of Guam; the Port of Merizo. Just west of Ahayan, one finds, firstly, Ligan Point, then that of Manello, after that, one heads WNW as far as Autan Point. Along this stretch, there is a continuous sandy beach. Between Autan Point and the town of Merizo the direction is NW, though there are some bends.

Facing this part of the coast, at 1-1/2 miles to the SW, is Cocos Island, which was formerly called Daneono.² Near it is the much smaller islet of Bali.³ A bank of coral and rocks, where the sea breaks, surrounds these two islands and then branches out in various directions, while approaching the coast of Guam; on the one hand, toward Ahayan Bay, and on the other hand, as far as Merizo.

Before Manello Point, there is an opening in the reefs that leads to a channel that can shelter small ships, they say, with a good anchorage between these reefs; the bottom is sand with some broken coral. Our boats did not go in there. To the east of this channel, inside the reefs, there are the islets called Chiaud, lying south of Ligan Point, and stand out among some other islets.⁴

Near the town of Merizo, the reefs are also cut by a channel about one cable-length in width. The water depth inside this channel is everywhere 15 feet on a rocky bottom; further inside, the channel widens and forms a small port, known as the Port of Merizo, which has a sandy bottom, with a depth from 12 to 27 fathoms. It is suitable only for small ships. This port, which is almost completely surrounded by reefs, can offer

1 Ed. note: Also written Hahayan, or Ajayan. Duperrey had already taken bearings from Cocos Island of the coast beyond Agfayan Bay, on an earlier occasion (see his report in Section IX).

2 Ed. note: Rather Dano.

3 Ed. note: Rather Babe.

4 Ed. note: These islets now bear the names of As-Gadao and Fofos.

shelter only from winds coming anywhere from ESE to N; however, there are no waves inside it.

They say that there is no direct passage between the Port of Merizo and the Manello Channel.

Cocos Island is one mile in length and only two cable-lengths in width. It is low-lying land, and infertile, where a few trees grow, among which, however, is not a single coconut tree [in 1819], as the name of the island would have us believe. Its north side is sandy, but its south side consists of coral rocks at sea level.

Bali Island has a similar nature.

The only way to effect a landing upon these two islands is to come by way of the Port of Merizo.

Between Merizo and Umata, the shore is but a sandy beach cut only by one small rocky point, not far from Tugwene Point, which, as we have said at the beginning of this section, marks the end of Umata Bay.

Refreshments. The ships that stop at Guam should not expect to find everything that may be useful to their needs, but nevertheless one can find a daily supply in abundance. The *Uranie* had some stocks of pork salted here, but they did not last very long, on account of the heat of the climate. We also bought a small quantity of rice and corn, some dried fish and beef, a few chickens and coconut brandy. However, it was due to the extreme generosity of our respectable and beloved Governor, Don José Medinilla, who was instrumental in our being so liberally supplied, we believe that ships should not expect so many resources.

As far as refreshments were concerned, every day we received fresh deer meat, or beef, some purslane, some tree cabbages, yams, potatoes, and various starchy roots that resembled the *songo* root, or West Indian cabbage, found in our colonies. Fruits and coconuts could be had in any quantity we wanted.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants of Guam are few in number. Their customs are rather sweet, and we have but good comments to make as a result of our contact with them.

That concludes our remarks, for now, about an island where we have received the most touching of hospitalities, and we reserve more curious details for another part of our narrative, as we must here restrict ourselves to hydrographic matters.

Section II.—Rota, Tinian, and Saipan Islands.

Rota Island. Rota Island lies NE1/4N and at 10 leagues from the northern end of the Island of Guam (see Plate 8). Its dimension from NE1/4E to SW1/4W is 4 leagues; its biggest width is 5-1/2 miles. It is mountainous in its eastern and northern parts, specially in its center, but its height decreases and forms an amphitheater in the SW in the direction of a low isthmus, low-lying and sandy, where are built the villages of Sosanhagno [rather Lago] and Sosanhaya. This isthmus joins the mainland of the island to its SW point, which is high and in the shape of a mountain cut flat on top, very straight.

The highest parts of Rota are at least 180, or 200, meters in elevation; they can be seen from Ritidian Point on the Island of Guam.

The SW tip of the island, rather high, is cut vertically on all sides, and in its corners, there are vertical cuts resembling the embrasures of a fortress. Elsewhere, the land comes down in a gentle slope to the sea, where it forms low and longish points. The island is almost completely surrounded by a reef barrier; its NW coast and the SE side of the isthmus are dotted by a large number of rocks where the sea breaks more or less strongly, depending on the direction of the winds. "The uninhabited part of the island," says Mr. Bérard, "is so entangled with brush that it is difficult to penetrate inland. There are even some places, where the view of such bushes might inspire sadness, were it not for the presence of some beautiful trees here and there and along their borders, which breaks the monotony of the scenery. On the north coast, coconut trees begin at the foot of the highlands, and come down to the seashore; the rest of the soil is covered with a forest that grows to the mountain top."

Three wells provide drinking water to the inhabitants. Two of them, dug by human hands, supply brackish water, and the third well, formed by nature, is not much better; nevertheless, it provides drinkable water, though slightly salty. On the east coast, at about five miles from the town, flows a stream whose water is very good. Anyhow, the inhabitants collect rain water in jars that are placed under the coconut trees for this purpose.

Between the south point and the SW point of the island, a wide bay can be seen before the village of Sosan-haya; its western part is a large number of rocks: "Ships," says Mr. Bérard, "could find there a good shelter from winds blowing from the NE and NW quarters, but I was told that the bottom is bad, and therefore, they should anchor there only with steel cables."

On the west side of the isthmus, there is a sort of inlet that allows canoes easy access, and protection from sea waves by rocks and banks upon which the sea breaks violently. Mr. Bérard thinks that, without such a barrier, this sandy isthmus could not resist the fury of the waves, and would necessarily be submerged. The skilled officer who wrote the above lines, went to Rota Island aboard a canoe, manned and guided by Carolinian natives, and he had not brought any sounding line.

This island is inhabited, and one can find there a greater purity of customs, and above all, of the language of the ancient inhabitants of the Marianas. A few heads of cattle, but more pigs, coconut trees, bread-fruit trees, bananas, watermelons, and a small number of other plants, constitute the only wealth of this island.

Aguigan Island.

By going 44 miles to the NNE of Rota, one finds the small Island of Aguigan, which is but one league in length. This island, according to Mr. Bérard, offers in its northern part sheer cliffs, high and almost naked, but crowned with a thick wood that extends to the highest points. Seen from a long distance away, this island seems dry and infertile, but upon getting nearer, one can see that all of its high points are covered with

vegetation. At about one mile SW of Rota [rather Aguigan], there is a rock, which divides into three parts, that are almost attached to this island.¹

It is said that, a long time ago, the inhabitants of Tinian took some goats to Aguigan; they must have multiplied very well since, because this island is seldom visited.

The only places amenable to a landing, that Mr. Bérard could see, are to be found on the west and northwest coasts; they are very small creeks bordered by a sandy beach.

Tinian Island. This island, made famous by the Voyage of Lord Anson, is at least two leagues to the NE of Aguigan. Its length, from north to south, is 1-1/2 leagues; its width, from east to west, 1-1/2 leagues. This island, generally not too high, has cliffs along its east side. The west coast offers some rock ledges, some reefs, and in its SW part, an open roads where a ship can anchor upon a bottom of sand, but not very pure, in 12, 16, 18 and 20 fathoms. There it would be sheltered from SE, E, NE and N winds, but it would have to be close to the shoreline, about where Lord Anson anchored.

At two cable-lengths from the shore, there is a bar that, however, allows boats, and even small ships with a draft no greater than 2-3 fathoms, to anchor in the small port of Sunharom (see Plate 15). Facing it is the village of the same name, located at the bottom of a sandy beach that runs from Lalo Point, which is at the same time the south end of the island, to Gurguan Point, which lies NW and over 3 miles away. Mr. Bérard thinks that the anchorage point of Admiral Anson was a little further west than the one we have indicated; the views that have been published in his Voyage, and which are accurate, have given him the clues.

The general appearance of Tinian has nothing pleasant: as soon as one approaches the coast, one sees here and there on the mountains a little vegetation, but the rest of the island is covered by brush and dead trees, which give the impression that the island is not fertile.

The population consists in about 20 persons; thus, one can say that this island is inhabited by animals, rather than people. There is a large number of cows, pigs, goats, chickens and ducks, all belonging to the government of Guam. There are some fish to be had along the coast, but a line has to be used, as the presence of coral rocks makes it impossible to use a net. Messieurs Bérard and Gaudichaud, who stepped ashore at this island, during the expedition that we will narrate elsewhere in detail, did not find anywhere the pleasant sites that are described in such a brilliant manner in the narrative of Admiral Anson.

The soil near the seashore is a mixture of sand and gravel. As one advances inland, the soil takes on a reddish color that become more and more intense; it also becomes more and more fertile, and proper for any culture. Our companions have seen it covered with such a thick brush, dead and upturned trees, that they could hardly make their way through, even along existing trails. Here and there a few frail bushes and plants hardly rose about the ground; it appeared as if a hot wind has razed the whole island and had eaten up everything in its path. The scarcity of water is the real source of the sad state of the vegetation.

1 Ed. note: This is Naftan Rock, 59 feet high.

Indeed, there are only two ponds in the whole island. Only one has drinkable water; it is located in the center of the eastern half of the island.¹ The other one is larger, but brackish; it is located to the NW.² Besides, there is a well located in a dip; one gets to it by way of three steps, and the water is very good.

Seypan Island. The *Uranie* has sailed along the east coast of Seypan at a short distance (see Plate 8), and we have observed carefully, on that side, the details of the shoreline. This island, which is only one league NE of Tinian, is about 4 miles [rather leagues] from NE1/4N to SW1/4S; its width, perpendicular to this direction, does not exceed 2 leagues. A noteworthy peak, situated a little south of the center of the island, can be seen from very far away, and offers a very good reference point.³ It appears to be of a volcanic nature. We have estimated its height at about 300 meters. The east coast of Seypan is but a continuous limestone cliff, steep, and made up of three horizontal layers. In certain spots, this cliff is right next to the seashore; in others, it runs a little inland and before it can be seen a low terrain that comes down to the shore where it takes the shape of a low-lying rocky plateau. The sea breaks strongly on almost all of the parts of this coast; so, generally no sandy beach nor coral banks can be seen there. The west side is lined with reefs that extend far out to sea, and enclose a small port that contains many shoals; we did not survey that coast and, therefore, we ignore whether or not there exists a clear passage between the Islands of Tinian and Seypan.

The NE point of Seypan is whitish and also fringed with breakers close to the shore. At its SE point, we have noticed a rocky islet very near the shore that projects upward and is cut steeply in all directions.⁴

The surface of Seypan, seen from offshore, is irregular. In the west, from the peak to the north end of the island, the land can be considered mountainous; the rest, on the Tinian side, offers a reasonably-level and low-lying land. The vegetation, in the valleys and upon the mountains, seems rather beautiful; however, the general appearance of the island is less pleasing than that of Guam.

Section III.—The northern Mariana Islands.

Under this heading we include a total of 12 small islands of little importance, given their [small] size, their [few] products, and the fact that they are all uninhabited today (see Plate n° 8). We have surveyed them while sailing, and sometimes even from a great distance, except for the three northernmost islands, that are not so big as the others, but that have all been surveyed by other navigators, and therefore can be coordinated with our other measurements and placed on our own chart.

-
- 1 Ed. note: No longer in sight, it must have been located in Marpo, because there was a large village there at contact.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is Hagoy Lake, still existing.
 - 3 Ed. note: This is Mount Tapochau, 465 meters (or 1,526 feet) high.
 - 4 Ed. note: Actually he refers to the islet at the end of Kagman Point (the north end of Laulau Bay), rather than Naftan Point.

Farallon de Medinilla. This small island, located exactly in 16° latitude (Plates n° 8 and 15), is but 2 miles in length NE-SW, with a variable but small width. It is a limestone rock, steep but flat on top; the soil appears not at all smooth, and sterile, and the surface soil is reddish here and there. On its south and west sides, the sides that we have examined up close, there are very deep caverns dug in the rock. The south point ends with a smaller sliver of rock that may be tied to the island by some low-lying land; the very southern tip of this rock is pierced through, enough for a boat to pass right through it. We have given a name to this point, *Pointe des grottes*, i.e. Cavern Point, but another name to the whole island, which had no name on the chart, that of our respectable and good Governor of Guam, hence Farallon de Medinilla.

Anataxan Island. Nine leagues to the NW of Farallon de Medinilla is located Anataxan Island (Plate n° 8), about 5 miles in length, from east to west. This island has two peaks, very high, on the same latitude, and sloping very sharply down to the sea. It is only in the SW that a small point can be seen that extends but a short distance out to sea. Everything indicates a volcanic origin for this island.

Sarigan Island. NNE of the preceding island is the Island of Sarigan, which is distant from it a little more than 6 leagues. It is but a very high peak, conic in appearance but with the base of this cone not too circular in shape, with a diameter of a mile and a half. The summit of this cone is rounded. This island, almost devoid of vegetation, is of the same geological nature as the preceding one.

Farrallon de Torres. The small island bearing this name is about 12 leagues from Sarigan Island (see Plate 8 and 15).¹ It is 2-1/2 miles in length along a NNE-SSW axis. Its width does not exceed much more than a mile. This island, of an average height, resembles Farallon de Medinilla somewhat; its northern part is lower in elevation but everywhere it is completely sterile. The shore is steep and inaccessible on all sides. We have given the name of Major Luis de Torres to this island, as this gentleman was so useful to this expedition while we stayed at Guam, on account of his courtesy, as well as the deep and varied knowledge he has about everything regarding his country.²

Guguan [sic] Island. Almost directly north of Farallon de Torres, and 5-1/2 leagues from it, is Guguan [rather Alamagan] Island (Plates 8 and 15). This island, which is at most 2-1/4 miles in its largest dimension, is one of the highest in the archipelago; two peaks can be seen, the northern one being about 500 meters high.³

The south and east sides of this mountain are extremely steep; it is lava rock all the way down to the sea. At the south end, some red and white spots can, however, be seen. On the western part, there is a point that extends a little and is covered with trees; this is the only place on this island where tall trees can be seen.

1 Ed. note: It is **important** to note at this point that Freycinet mis-labelled this and the islands further north. See the corrections made by Sanchez y Zayas in 1864.

2 Ed. note: In fact, this is Guguan Island and it already had a name. The name of Torres is now applied by some geographers to Zealandia Bank nearby.

3 Ed. note: This peak on Alamagan is 744 meters in height.

The north coast is not so steep as the south coast; the rock is sloping gently down to the sea, where it forms many well-wooded points. Everywhere else, the island is covered with lava.

The higher peak of this north coast exposes a vast crater, whence we have seen smoke rising. Smoke also comes out of another hole on the NW side, about 2/3 of the way up this mountains. The shore is strewn with black lava rocks, steep, upon which the sea breaks at many places.

Alamagan [rather Pagan] Island. We were able to see this island from only 6 leagues away, and therefore our description must remain imperfect. We have estimated its length, along a NE-SW axis, to be at least 8 miles. At first, we thought that it might have been divided into two parts, but we later were made to realize that it was an illusion, caused by the low-lying land that links two mountain. The tops of the high grounds are very angular. The NE hill has the appearance of a volcano, since it is a standard cone, and naked. Alamagan [sic] is almost exactly on the meridian of Guguan, in 18°4' latitude north.

Pagon [rather Agrigan] Island. Three leagues further north lies Pagon [sic] Island, which we were not able to see clearly, on account of the fog and the great distance from where we were. Many peaks can be seen and toward the south there is a small islet near the coast; perhaps, it could be linked to the island by low-lying land. It is said that there is an anchorage very near the shore on the south part of Pagon, but it could not offer shelter from any wind from the SE or SW quadrants.

Grigan Island. N1/4NW of Pagon, in 18°48' of latitude north, lies an island that is about 6 miles long, and has two high peaks that seem to be the result of former volcanic activity. In the SW corner of the island, it is said that there is a small plain, before which the anchorage is rather bad, specially on account of strong currents there. Some U.S. citizens and some Sandwich islanders had settled there, but the Governor of Guam has chased them off.

Mang [sic] Islands. They are small islets that the Spanish charts place among many reefs; our sailors at the mastheads saw them and the sightings we have made has allowed us to determine their position.

Asuncion Island, Uracas Island, and Faralon de Paxaros. These three islands are the northernmost islands of the Mariana Island group. The *Uranie* did not see these islands; so, we refer to the next Book, where we have determined their positions, based on researches and calculations, in order to link them to the group of islands that are described above.¹

Section IV.—Remarks on the winds.

We have noticed that in April and May, the winds at the island of Guam blow almost always from ENE to ESE, as a good breeze. The speed of the wind increased at

¹ Ed. note: Needless to say, this work was shoddy, as the French Navy hydrographic office realized, because the next scientific expedition, led by Duperrey, had, as one of its objectives, the task of re-doing this cartographic work.

daybreak, became very fresh at about 8 or 10 a.m., but it was calm during the night. Most ordinarily, the sky was clear; sometimes, however, it was covered by thick clouds that, racing overhead, caused some rain squalls and gusts of wind.

When the horizon was obscured, in the SW, NW, and W, by a sort of low black layer, the sea came to break upon the banks right inside Port San Luis; finally, it also happened that, in spite of the steady easterly winds, a surge from SW and W would render difficult any maneuver within the narrow channels through the reefs in question.

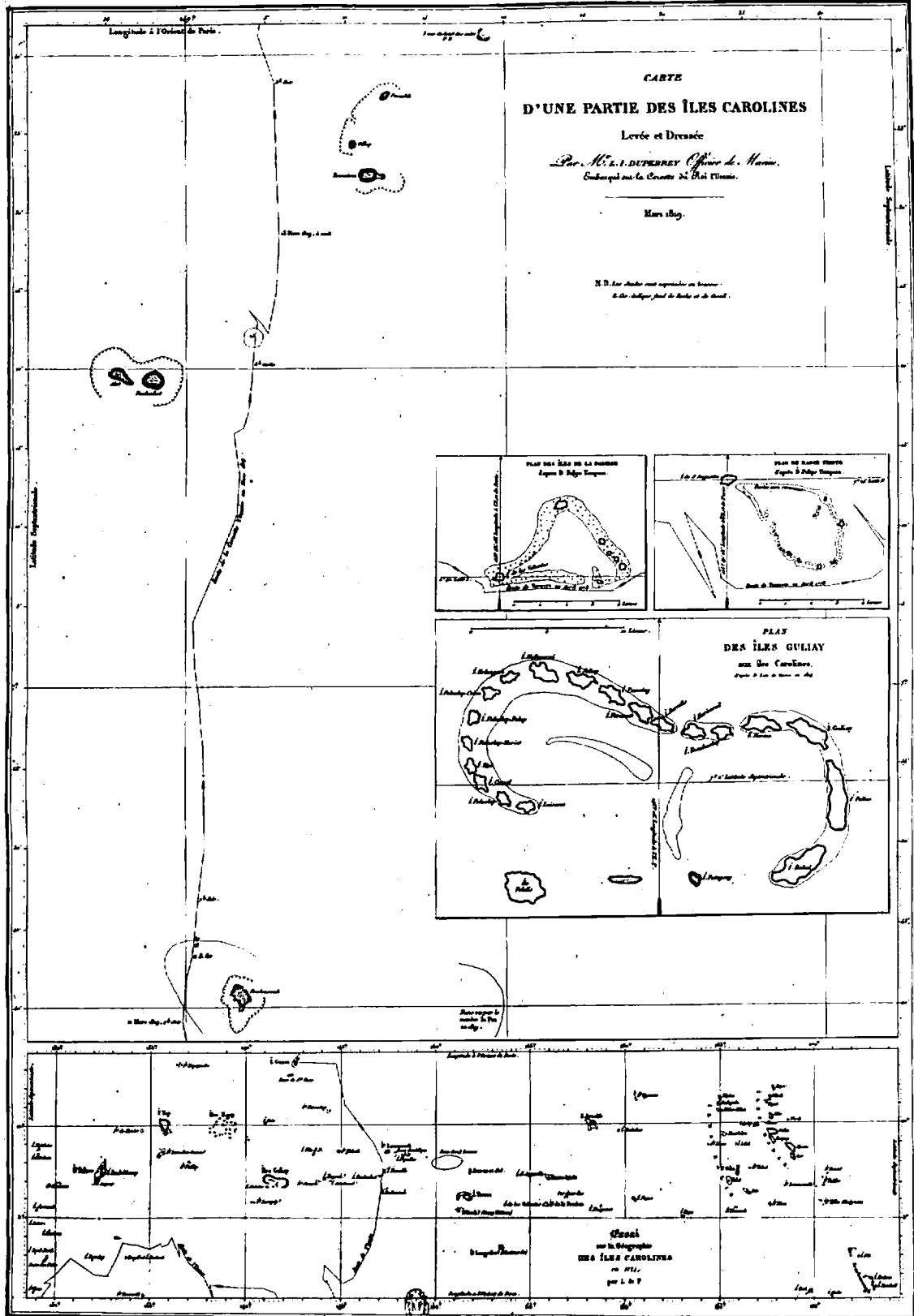
During our stay, the rain squalls were very abundant, but of short duration; we never heard thunder.

The monsoon winds make themselves felt in the Marianas; the west monsoon lasts from mid-June to mid-October, but the wind blows violently only during three months of the year. Hurricanes are rare, but they are known to exist, and so are earthquakes, which occur rather frequently. Be that as it may, the last hurricane had occurred seven years before our visit on these shores.

According to Major Luis de Torres, the months of July, August, September, October and November constitute the season of bad weather, with storms, thunder, and rains. In December, January and February, the weather is variable, with frequent northerlies and heavy seas, but the months of March, April, May and June are very nice; during this season, the breeze blows from E and NE. The months during which the winds blow strong are August, September, October and November; they then blow from the NW and SW quarters, sometimes from S and SE, but generally they come more from NW than N itself.

Important remark made by the editor—Freycinet made an error in identifying the Northern Marianas

Sources: Freycinet's "Derrotero de las islas Marianas" in: Revista General de Marina (Madrid, 1862); offprint, 1863; see also important corrections brought by Sanchez y Zayas in 1864.



Examination of the Atlas (cont'd)

Section VII.

PLATE N° 7: Chart of part of the Caroline Islands.
 Map of Passion Islands [i.e. Ngatik].
 Map of Bajo Triste [i.e. Oroluk].
 Map of Guliay [i.e. Woleai].
 Notice on the geography of the Caroline Islands.

Among the islands of the very large group of the Carolines, the small number that we have examined lie in the space from Pulusuk to Fanadik Islands, that is, from 6°40' to 7°40' latitude north. The geographic work that we have done has nothing particular. Suffice to say that we have assigned the names that the natives themselves used. So far, the charts for this neighborhood have shown many anomalies, because of the imperfect geographic work done in the past. For instance, it seems certain that our Pulusuk Island is the same as the one that Espinosa¹ has named Kata Island; and that he has given the collective name of *Martires* to the islands of Tamatam, Ollap and Fanadik. Another comment that we should make has to do with some other *Martires* Islands, that Espinosa has placed at 7°37'19" N and 146°47'37" E of Paris, and which are different islands, and with *Matelotes*, which he places in 8°45'0" N and 129°4'23" E of Paris.

The bank marked to the east of Pulusuk has been seen by the Spanish ship *Paz*; the documents that we used to place it on the chart have been communicated to us by Mr. Douglas, the pilot of this vessel, whom we have met at Guam

Passion Islands; Bajo Triste. I have placed on this chart many specific maps: firstly, that of Don Felipe Tompson for Passion Islands, and secondly, that of Bajo Triste, by the same navigator.² These two maps, which both belong to the Caroline Islands, existed in the archives of the town of Agaña, where I consulted them.

...
 Don Joaquin Lafita, Navy Lieutenant, and commander of the ship **Príncipe de Asturias** in 1802, has also recorded the position of the Island of Los Valientes [i.e. west end of Ngatik], as Espinosa has also noted, as 5°54' lat. N and 164°21' E of Cadiz; that is 26'37" less than Tompson. This longitude was determined by a series of lunar observations, so that it must be considered accurate.

1 *Memorias sobre las observaciones astronomicas, hechas por los navegantes españoles en distintos lugares del globo, &c.*, ordenadas por don Josef Espinosa y Tello; Madrid, 1809.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1773D.

In this respect, I must make some additional comments: 1° The inhabitants of the Caroline Islands, like those of the Marianas, regularly interchange the letter R with the letter L, and vice versa; 2° sometimes, they also interchange the sound O with the sound U [pronounced OO, in English]; 3° according to Spanish orthography, which Major Luis de Torres has used, for the names on his map of Guliay, U must always be regarded as the equivalent of our French diphthong OU. This said, I deduced this table of island names.¹

Names on the Torres chart	Names on the Cantova chart	Remarks
Felalis	Farale	If one substitutes L for R in Farale, it becomes Falale, and its correspondence with Felalis more evident.
Luisacai	Losacay	The first must be pronounced <i>Louisacai</i> [in French], and that is close to Lusacay, pronounced the Spanish way, and so on.
Faluelap	Falivelap	
Comal	Comul	
Pial	--- ²	
Faluelap-Mariat	Muriet	
Faluelap-Palap	Faluilapala	
Faluelap-Calao	Faliugalaf	
Helangari	Alangari	
Hulimarai	Ulimaray	
Saliap	---	Nothing similar on Cantova's chart.
Famalag	Faramalo	
Faramat	Taramit	
Farralis	Farilies	
Haricarail	Alingaray	
Tacahuelap	Tacaylap	
Marian	Marioc	
GULIAY	Ulier	
Paliao	Parivu	
Rahul	Raor	
Putugsug	---	This, the smallest islet in the group, is not given by Cantova.

All of these islands, both on the chart and on the map, appear in the same exact sequence. I must, however, point out that between Ulimaray Island and Faramalo, Cantova's chart has 5 islets that are not mentioned by Don Luis.

- 1 Ed. note: The text of Cantova, rather than his chart (redrawn many times by others), should have been used for this comparison, but it was not available to Freycinet. It should also be noted that the Carolinian language had changed over more than one century, between 1696 and 1804.
- 2 Father Cantova's chart does not contain this name, but the other island at that spot bears the name of Olivlara.

I will not say anything about the islands in the vicinity of this group, as I see no reason to do so at this point.

Notice on the geography of the Caroline Islands.

In drawing the chart of the Carolines, reproduced on the lower part of Plate n° 7, I intended to show the present status of our knowledge regarding the islands, and the relationship of this vast archipelago with the Marianas, where Guam is both the most important and the southernmost.

I will report in succession how each island, or group of islands, has been placed upon this chart.

Beginning in the south and on the west side, we first find the **Fane** Islands. These islands, next to the **Ayu** Islands, were mentioned by Captain Forest who, however, did not see them personally. Later on, the English ship **Anna** determined their position,¹ such that they were placed on the charts by Arrowsmith, from where I took my information.

The knowledge of the Shoal of San Felix is due to Pilot Felipe Tompson who sighted it in 1773. It was seen again in 1804 by Lieutenant Francisco Catala who fixed its position carefully in 2°56' lat. and 129°34'15" long. E. of Paris. Espinosa thinks that this shoal could very well be the same that Carteret discovered in the same latitude, and that I have placed, after this navigator, in 133°44' E. of Paris, its exact latitude being 2°53' N.; however, we do not share this opinion, and I base myself on the presence of a small island nearby, the Carteret Shoal that was not spotted either by Tompson or Catala.

The small **Evening** Island, that lies between the Shoal of San Felix and the Carteret Shoal, was taken from the chart of the islands by Arrowsmith, but placed one degree further East, because otherwise the **Uranie** would have seen it, since our course took us on the very spot assigned to it by the English chart.

The **Freewill**, **Lord North**, **Meriere**, **Ana**, and **Sonsorol** (also named San Andrés by a few persons), have been copied from the Chart of the Asian archipelago by Arrowsmith. The **Johannes** Islands, given differences in latitude and longitudes, are taken from the Chart of the Great Ocean by the same author, and so are the **Palaos**, or **Pelew** Islands of the English. The **Catrican** Islands, the **Matelotes**, and the **Martires** Island that lies between them, have kept the positions assigned to them by Espinosa in the hydrographical notices.

I took the group of the Palaos Islands from the chart produced by Captain McCluer, but I have corrected their position based on the position of Angaur Island, located in 6°53'30" lat. N. and 132°1' long. E. of Paris, according to Horsburgh who said that this longitude was the average of eleven different measurements made by as many mariners.

I based myself on the same authority to place the south point of **Yap** in 9°30'30" lat. and 135°48' long. E. of Paris.

¹ Ed. note: In 1806 (see Doc. 1806A).

The **Hunter** Islands are placed relative to their position with that of Yap given above; the differences in latitude and longitude between them were taken from the Arrowsmith chart.

The same chart gives, wrongly, the name of **Matelotes** Islands to a small group that I nevertheless reproduce in the position shown, but that, according to information that was given to me in Guam, should be named the **Lamuliao-Uru** Islands.¹

A little further east, and south, and Yap, the **Philip** Islands have been placed according to the differences of latitude and longitude recorded for them on the Arrowsmith chart.²

In 1712, Bernardo de Eguí discovered, SW of Guam, after he had left this island, and in **approximately** 10° of latitude, a rather large group of islands, that bears the name of **Egoy** Islands.³ Its size was thought to be about 25 leagues in length and 15 in width. I have placed these islands in the latitude shown, and in an appropriate neighborhood relative to Guam, whose position was well determined in the work done by our expedition.

West of Guamm are some islands taken from [old] Spanish charts, but whose existence and, above all, positions are uncertain. I have placed them, keeping their difference in latitude and longitude with respect to Guam, but have given them here the name of Spanish Islands.

The discovery of the **Santa Rosa Bank** is due, according to the learned [sic] historian of the South Sea,⁴ to Captain Dampier. In May 1686, the ship **Cygnnet** and the bark **Tender** aboard which was Dampier, crossed the east part of the Santa Rosa Bank; the bottom could be seen, as well as some breakers to the west. The part visited by the **Cygnnet**, says Dampier, is S1/4SW1/4W [sic] of the south point of Guam, at some 10 or 11 leagues from it. I have placed this bank on my chart, based on these data.⁵

The **Guliay** [sic] Islands are a small-size copy of the particular map that I have given of this group, after Major Luis [de Torres]. These islands are incorrectly drawn on the Arrowsmith chart, where they are marked as **Thirteen Islands, low**.⁶ It was important for me to recognize this identity, because it was helpful to me later on, to place many other islands, as we shall see.

On my chart, the Guliay Islands, the south point of Guam, and Fanadik Island represent the three corners of a triangle within which I have placed some islands whose respective positions are respected and which are considered part of the same district, or

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- 1 Ed. note: This is incorrect. There has never been any connection between Lamoliaur and the atoll of Ngulu, which corresponds to it.
 - 2 Ed. note: Name given to Sorol in 1791 to a group first discovered in 1565 by Arellano.
 - 3 Ed. note: Same as the Ulithi atoll.
 - 4 Burney. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*, vol. IV, chap. XX.
 - 5 Ed. note: To avoid repetitions, and for exact historical references on this, and other groups, the reader is urged to refer to earlier documents in this series.
 - 6 Seen in 1797 by Captain Wilson.

else out of it. A similar "triangle" exists on the Arrowsmith chart, where I thought I could recognize Fanadik as the northernmost island of said group, which he names, wrongly I think, **Los Martires**.¹ The **Farroilep** Islands, that are probably the same as **Carolina** Islands, discovered in 1686 by Francisco Lazcano, have been placed by means of this triangle, the same process was applied to **Feis** Island, east of the Egoy Islands, and to **Ulie**, incorrectly [sic] named Vlee on the English chart.

The **Swede** Islands were taken from the same source, but subject, as the preceding ones, to the position of my large triangle, as well as two islands that are near them, east and ENE of them. According to the information that I collected at Guam, directly from a skilled Carolinian pilot, I thought myself authorized to substitute the names, given by the natives themselves, of **Satawal** and **Mugrak** [sic] Islands to the names of Tucker Island and Haweis Island, given to them by Arrowsmith. However, since there seems to remain a certain amount of uncertainty about these names, I have placed a question mark after them.²

Ifeluk Island, or rather Islands, because the Carolinian pilot who was telling me the true [native] names of the Caroline Islands had assured me that Ifeluk was a group of five distinct islands;³ so, these islands have been placed in 8°36'0" lat. North and 144°53'23" Long. E. of Paris, a position assigned to them by Espinosa. The same author thought himself authorized to place the Lamursek Group (which many charts show as a lone island) in 8°30'0" lat. N. and 147°7'23" long. E. of Paris, but, if this were true, the **Uranie** would have seen it, but since it did not, I have placed these islands further East by 20'. I have been assured that this group consists of 10 islets, three of which are big and offer a good anchorage.⁴

To the ESE of the Lamursek Islands, I have placed, according to documents that are really not too dependable, one island, **Piguelao** and a bank, **Oraitilipu**, upon which it is said that the bottom lies in 12 fathoms, the letters P.D. next to them to indicate that their positions are doubtful.

Still further to ESE, there is a bank over which Major Luis de Torres sailed during three days; he could not say the exact dimensions, but it seems certain that its extent is considerable. I have given to this shoal the name of *Banc des 24 brasses* [=24-fathom Bank] because Don Luis pretends that this was its average depth.

The islets that Arrowsmith places to the SW1/4W of the Guliay Islands have been taken from his chart, and copied to mine, while keeping the same differences in latitude and longitude with the Guliay Islands. I thought I could recognize in them the islands

1 Ed. note: This name corresponds to Pulap, where Arellano had some of his men "martyred" by the natives in 1565.

2 Ed. note: Satawal was correct, but Mugrak is a transcription error for Lamotrek, and is not the same as Haweis, which corresponds to Ifaluk.

3 Ed. note: Now only 4 islands, but the north end of Ifalik Island proper was once a separate islet called Moay (see Bryan's Place Names, Car. 36-1a).

4 Ed. note: It is clear to us now that his native informant had in mind the "extended" group formed by three atolls: Lamothek-Elato-Olimarao.

called by the Carolinians the **Auripig** [i.e. Eauripik] Islands; the question mark that I placed next to it, however, shows that I was not quite sure.

I entertain a similar doubt about the **Lugulos** group of islands by the Spanish Captain Monteverde in February 1806,¹ which Arrowsmith names, for unknown reasons, the Monteverdeson [sic] Islands; it seems that he should have at least used the name of their discoverer correctly. For this group, I have kept the position assigned by Monteverde, that is 3°26'30" lat. North and 153°27'23" long. East of Paris (ref. Espinosa's **NOTICES**).

The group that the English charts state were seen by the ship **Young William** in 1795, which I think was the Ruk Islands,² has been placed in the same position given to it by Arrowsmith, as well as a bank, seen in 1806, that lies a little farther North.

Quiros discovered, in December 1595, an island of average height, which I think is the same that some charts call **Torres**, or **Hogoleu**...³ To fix the geographic position of this island, I suppose that Quiros, by saying "beyond 6° of latitude North" meant about 6°10' and we copy the arguments of Burney to fix their longitude in 154° East of Greenwich, which equals 151°40' E. of Paris.

The positions of **San Agustín** Island, **Baxo Triste**, and the **Passion** Islands⁴ were given by Tompson. I will, however, note that Arrowsmith refers to the latter group by the name of "the Seven Islands," as they were seen in 1794 by the **Britannia**, but I have maintained the name given to them by their first discoverer.

To the NE1/4E of the Passion Islands is a group named **Two Islands**; I have taken them from the Arrowsmith chart, and the same applies to other groups: **Arecife**, **Brown**, **Casbobas**, **Hope** and **Feyoa**, a name written Teyoa on the English chart, but wrongly, if one refers to the notices that I gathered at Guam. **Musgrave** Island, discovered by the captain of that name, in command of the ship **Sugar Cane**, in 1793, is also placed in accordance with Arrowsmith, where it bears only the mere mention of "land seen."

Cook Island, **Halls** Island and the **Scarborough** Islands,⁵ that occupy the extreme SE of my chart, are also taken from English references; however, I do not think that these islands should be part of the Caroline archipelago.

To end this long and fastidious study of island names, there remains only to talk about the two chains of islands called **Radak** and **Ralik**. Part of these islands have been seen a long time ago and existed on our charts under the names given to them by discoverers, or geographers. The Russian Captain Kotzebue made them known to us by the names given to them by their inhabitants, in the narrative of his voyage (of 1817), and he has also published detailed charts of most of them, giving a sufficient notice of

1 Ed. note: That is, Nukuoro atoll.

2 Ed. note: They correspond to the Mortlocks, not Truk or Chuuk.

3 Ed. note: Not Truk, or Chuuk, but Pohnpei (see Doc. 1596E).

4 Ed. note: The first two are part of Oroluk, and the latter is Ngatik.

5 Ed. note: The Gilbert Islands generally.

those which he did not see himself, but whose relative positions were provided by the islanders.

For my chart, I have taken these details to fix the positions of the following islands: **Bigar, Udirick, Tagai, Ailu, Ligiep, Miadi, Otdia, Eregup, Kaven, Aur** and **Temo**, which all lie in the northern part of the Radak chain. Ligiep, Otdia, Kaven and Aur are obviously the same as the Nautilus, Chatham, Calvert and Ibbetson Islands on our [previous] charts.

SE of the above, the **Arrowsmith** Islands could very well correspond to the **Majuro** Islands of Kotzebue, whereas the **Daniel** Islands and the **Peddler** Islands could be the same as the **Arno** mentioned by the same mariner. As I was, however, in doubt, I have kept the [previous] names shown on our charts, and kept for them the positions calculated in the last article.

Having deduced that the **Mulgrave** Islands, which the inhabitants call **Mille** accordingly to Kotzebue, are indeed the same, I have preserved both names on my chart.

The islands that I have named, based on Kotzebue, **Namorik, Ebon, Odia** and **Tebot** are without a doubt the same as those that our geographers have named Barings, Bonham, Muskitto and Elmore, but I thought it better to keep the native names, although I borrowed the relative positions given to them on the Arrowsmith chart.

The preceding process also applies to the **Namu** Islands, called Patterson on the charts, as well as to the **Bigini, Radogala** and **Udai-Milai** Islands that are certainly the same as the Pescadores. Since the positions of these islands are imperfect on all our charts, I have relied on Kotzebue. I did the same for the groups of islands called **Kwadelen, Lileb, Telut** and **Kili**.

I could have overloaded my chart with many other islands, specially in the area between the Ralik Islands and Pulusuk Island, but their position would have been so vague and hypothetical that I thought it wise to let the navigators who will be entrusted with their exploration to fill the gap in our knowledge that subsists regarding them.¹ I could have given an overview of the possible geographic positions of these islands, but I could not have given information in sufficient details to satisfy some readers. Besides, one might consider that the above analysis went beyond the objectives of our mission, and I fear that I may be accused of having gone astray!

1 Ed. note: Pohnpei and the islands of the Chuuk district were large groups that were still imperfectly known.

Section VIII.

PLATE N° 8. General chart of the Mariana Islands.

Except for some astronomical and geographical observations that were carried out by Mr. Bérard in the port of Agaña and at the Islands of Rota and Tinian, this chart relies entirely on the operations carried out, both ashore and aboard the **Uranie**, by Mr. Duperrey. The work aboard the ship was carried out under favorable conditions and do not call for any comment. Moreover, having taken care to mention, upon the general chart of these islands, from what source were copied the details of the eastern [rather western] part of Saipan which we did not see, we will furthermore give a detailed account below about Guam and Rota. So, I must only mention here, to complete the analysis of this chart, how the northernmost islands of this archipelago, Asunción, Uracas and Farallon de Paxaros, were placed thereon.

Having determined the position of Grigan [sic] Islands, we sighted from the topmasts, on 16 June 1819 in the evening, land on the horizon, toward the west, that we thought had to correspond to the group of rocks named Mang [rather Maug].

La Pérouse has placed Asunción in 19°40' lat. and 143°15' long. E. of Paris. When he was at the anchorage on the west side of this island, he placed the Mang [sic] Islands S28°W of it, at 5 leagues distance; hence, it is easy to conclude that these islets are about 19°32' lat. N. Now, to reconcile this latitude with the bearing that we took on 16 June in the evening, I have assigned the longitude of the Mang Islands as 143°13'45". However, since Asunción bears N28°E of this point, it follows that, if we keep the latitude of 19°45' given to it by La Pérouse, its longitude would nevertheless be 143°22'30" and that means a difference of only 7'30" with that imposed by said mariner.¹

Espinosa's Notices tell us that "Joaquin de Marquina observed, in 1789, the position of Farallon de Paxaros in 20° lat. N. and 152°35' E. of Cadiz, by means of lunar distances, i.e. 142°54'53" E. of Paris. In assigning to the same place the longitude that Dagelet, astronomer with La Pérouse, assigned to Uracas and Asunción, the longitude of Farallon would be in 151°32'30" E. of Cadiz, or 142°54'53" E. of Paris." The difference between the latter longitude and that of 143°15' given to Asunción by La Pérouse is 20'7", a quantity that is obviously the same as the difference in longitude between Asunción and Farallon. Therefore, if we take away this difference from the longitude of 143°22'30" that our combined observations, as we have said, have assigned to Asunción, then 143°2'23" would definitely be the longitude that must be assigned to Farallon de Paxaros, for it to be linked with the whole of our geographical work on the Mariana Islands.

Let us go back to Espinosa's Notices. I see that the latitude of Uracas, resulting from observations made in sight of these islands in 1706 by Marcelo Ayensa, is 20°6'0" North; furthermore, these small islets are 9' west of Asunción. It is easy to conclude, based on

¹ Ed. note: Needless to repeat here, Duperrey and/or Freycinet failed to realize that Maug lies north of Asunción, so that their whole analysis became helter-skelter.

the position assigned by us to the latter, that the longitude of Uracas must be $142^{\circ}13'10''$ E. of Paris.

After a careful [sic] study of Espinosa's Notices regarding the Mariana Islands, I have noticed a weird transposition of the names of most of the islands of this group, hence many false results in latitudes and longitudes attributed to them by this author.¹

Guam, Rota, Aguijan, Tinian and Saipan are rather well fixed, but, on the first hand, the position of the Farallon that lies directly north of Saipan is not to be found [in Espinosa's Notices], although the author, in naming the islands, from south to north, specifies a Farallon, after Saipan, but the position he gives to it is that of the next island, i.e. Anataxan; the truth is that these two islands have a difference in latitude of 42 minutes. A similar error can be found in the classification of the northernmost islands, and, since the total number of known Mariana Islands had to be the same as the total number of names for them, he had to introduce one more island in the north, given that he had skipped one in the south.

To elucidate the preceding general remarks, I will repeat the passage from Espinosa's Notices concerning the islands in question, and add notes, whenever I see fit.

"Out of the trigonometric operations that we did at Guam," says Espinosa,² "we determined the geographic position of the north and south points of this island, and that of the town of Agaña, and by means of marine chronometers we obtained those of the Islands of Tinian and Rota, relative to Guam. They are the only observations that we were able to carry out in the Marianas. However, as various officers and pilots of our navy have often visited this archipelago, I have consulted their logbooks, and have extracted the following data for the rectification of the chart of these seas."

"Navy Lieutenant Joaquin de Marquina, in command of the *San Andrés* in 1789, found the latitude observed of Farallon de Paxaros to be $20^{\circ}30'$ North and the longitude derived from lunar distances to be $152^{\circ}35'$ E. of Cadiz. By assigning to the same place the longitude derived from distances by Dagelet, astronomer of La Pérouse, and assigned by him to Uracas and to Asunción, the longitude of Farallon must be $151^{\circ}32'30''$, and the average of these two data places this point in $152^{\circ}4'$ E. of Cadiz; this result is perfectly in agreement with the longitude given to the same Farallon by various logbooks of voyages made by our ships that covered, in a few days, the distance, or difference in longitude, that exists between the islet of San Bernardino³ and the point in question. Farallon de Paxaros is the northernmost point of the Mariana archipelago."

"The latitudes of the Uracas Islands and of Pagon Island⁴ result from observations made in sight of these islands, in 1796, by Navy Lieutenant Marcelo Ayensa; the latitudes of Grigan and Anataxan Is-

1 Ed. note: Again, it was Duperrey himself, who did not do a good analysis of the northern Marianas. His misconceptions were exposed by Captain Sanchez y Zayas in 1864.

2 During the Voyage of Malaspina, in which Espinosa took part.

3 On the east side of the Philippines.

4 Grigan was mistaken for Pagon. Ed. comment: Wrong.

lands are due to Spanish mariners;¹ finally, the latitude and longitude of Guguan² and those of Farallon, which lies north of Saipan,³ as well as the latitude of Sariguan,⁴ are due to Second-Lieutenant Juan Ibargoitia who landed there in April 1801, from the ship *Filipino*, that he was in command of, and he fixed its position. Let us now see those that we have adopted for the whole archipelago.”

In the following table, I have thought it necessary to apply the names to the positions adopted by Espinosa, and compare them with those resulting from our own observations.

NOMS EMPLOYÉS		LATITUDE SEPTENTRIONALE		LONGITUDE ORIENTALE		DIFFÉRENCES	
PAR ESPINOSA.	À BORD DE L'URANIE.	selon Espinosa.	selon nos observations	selon Espinosa, à l'Est de Cadix.	à l'E. de Paris, selon nos observations.	en latitude.	en longitude.
Mouillage d'Umata...	Mouillage d'Umata... <i>Pris au milieu des pointes d'entrée de la baie.</i>	13°17'52"	13°17'9",0.	150°32'0"	150°32'0"	- 0 32',0.	1 37'13",0.
Partie la plus S. de Guam	Pointe Ahayan... <i>Il y a doute qu'Espinosa et nous nous ayons pris le même point pour la partie la plus S. de Guam.</i>	13.14. 0.	13.14. 0.0.	150°30'0"	150°30'0"	+ 0 0',0.	1 37'13",0.
Ville d'Agagna.....	Ville d'Agagna.....	13.26. 0.	13.27.51.55.	150.58. 0.	150.58. 0.	+ 1.3. 55.	1 37'13",0.
Partie la plus N. de Guam	Pointe Ritidian.....	13.34. 0.	13.38.53.0.	151. 20. 0.	151. 20. 0.	+ 4.33. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Base Antupis.....	<i>Nous n'avons point eu connaissance de cette base, dont l'existence même n'est pas certaine.</i>	14. 1. 0.	"	151.20. 0.	151.20. 0.	"	"
Rota.....	Rota (milieu).....	14. 9. 0.	14. 8. 0.0.	151.27. 0.	151.27. 0.	- 1. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Aguigan.....	Aguigan (milieu).....	14.55. 0.	14.53.44.0.	152. 10. 0.	152. 10. 0.	- 1.16. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Tinian (milieu).....	Tinian (milieu).....	15. 0. 0.	15. 2.30.0.	152. 20. 0.	152. 20. 0.	+ 2.30.0.	1 37'13",0.
Seypan.....	Seypan (le piton).....	15.10. 0.	15.12.42.0.	152. 30. 0.	152. 30. 0.	+ 2.42.0.	1 37'13",0.
".....	Farallon Médinilla... <i>On Farallon au Nord de Seypan.</i>		16. 0. 0.0.		143.52.55.0.		
Farallon au Nord de Seypan.....	Anataxan (pointe E.)..	16.42. 0.	16.20. 9.0.	152.32.30.	152.32.30.	- 21.5. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Anataxan (extrémité S.)	Sariguan (extrémité S.)	17. 0. 0.	16.39. 3.0.	152.40.30.	152. 25.3.	- 20.55.0.	1 37'13",0.
Sariguan (extrémité S.)	Farallon de Torres (extrémité S.).....	17.16. 0.	17.15.30.0.	152.56. 0.	152.58.23.	- 0.30.0.	1 37'13",0.
Farallon (n.º 2).....	Guguan (milieu).....	17.47.30.	17.15.20.0.	152.59.30.	152.51.53.	- 12.10.0.	1 37'13",0.
Guguan (extrémité N.)	Alamagan (extrém. N.)	18. 7. 0.	18. 7. 0.0.	152.45. 0.	152. 7.23.	- 0. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Alamagan.....	Pagon (milieu).....	18.15. 0.	18.15. 0.0.	152.42.30.	152. 4.33.	- 0. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Pagon (extrémité N.)	Grigan (extrémité N.)	18.46. 0.	18.50. 0.0.	152.28.30.	152.50.53.	+ 4. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Grigan (extrémité N.)	<i>Autre compte, il n'existe point d'île dans la position assignée ici par Espinosa.</i>	19.21. 0.	"	152.52.30.	152.54.53.	"	"
Assomption.....	Assomption.....	19.45. 0.	19.45. 0.0.	152.23. 0.	152.45.23.	+ 0. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Uracas.....	Uracas.....	20. 6. 0.	20. 6. 0.0.	152.14. 0.	152.36.23.	+ 0. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.
Farallon de Paxaros...	Farallon de Paxaros...	20.30. 0.	20.30. 0.0.	152. 4. 0.	152.26.23.	+ 0. 0. 0.	1 37'13",0.

1 The author does not pay much attention to the positions of these two islands, perhaps because he had no source documents to refer to.

2 He mistook Alamagan for Guguan. Ed. comment: Not so.

3 He mistook Anataxan for the Farallon. Ed. comment: Not so.

4 He mistook the second Farallon for Sariguan. Ed. comment: Not so.

In the above table, I have supposed that the name of a few of the Mariana Islands had been applied in Espinosa's Notices; this supposition seems to me preferable to the idea that the positions had been wrongly assigned to the various islands of this archipelago instead. The result would indeed give errors so strong, specially in latitude, that one could hardly conceive that such errors had been made. In any case, the table that follows would illustrate this outcome, though I consider the basis for it to be inadmissible:

NOMS SELON ESPINOSA.	LATITUDE septentrionale,		LONGITUDE à l'orient de Paris.		DIFFÉRENCE	
	selon Espinosa.	selon nos observa- tions	selon Espinosa	selon nos observations.	en latitude.	en longitude.
Mouillage d'Umata . . .	13° 17' 32"	13° 17' 27"	142° 31' 36"	142° 31' 36"	0,0	0,0
Partie Sud de Guam . . .	13. 14. "	13. 14. "	142. 31. 36.	142. 31. 36.	0,0	0,0
Ville d'Agagna	13. 26. 0.	13. 27. 51.	142. 31. 36.	142. 31. 36.	0,0	0,0
Partie Nord de Guam . . .	13. 34. 0.	13. 38. 53.	142. 41. 15.	142. 41. 15.	0,0	0,0
Basse Antupis	14. 0. 0.	"	142. 41. 15.	"	0,0	0,0
Rota (milieu)	14. 9. 0.	14. 8. 0.	143. 10. 0.	143. 10. 0.	0,0	0,0
Aguigan (milieu)	14. 53. 0.	14. 53. 44.	143. 23. 32.	143. 23. 32.	0,0	0,0
Tinian (milieu)	15. 0. 0.	15. 2. 30.	143. 28. 40.	143. 28. 40.	0,0	0,0
Seypan (le piton)	15. 10. 0.	15. 12. 42.	143. 37. 16.	143. 37. 16.	0,0	0,0
Farallon au N. de Seypan.	16. 42. 0.	16. 0. 0.	143. 52. 55.	143. 52. 55.	0,0	0,0
Anataxan (extrémité S.) .	17. 0. 0.	16. 20. 0.	143. 31. 25.	143. 31. 25.	0,0	0,0
Sariguan (extrémité S.) .	17. 16. 0.	16. 39. 5.	143. 39. 0.	143. 39. 0.	0,0	0,0
Farallon (milieu)	17. 47. 30.	17. 15. 30.	143. 44. 26.	143. 44. 26.	0,0	0,0
Guguan (extrémité N.) . .	18. 7. 0.	17. 35. 20.	143. 13. 30.	143. 13. 30.	0,0	0,0
Alamaguan (milieu) . . .	18. 15. 0.	18. 7. 0.	143. 44. 10.	143. 44. 10.	0,0	0,0
Pagon (extrémité N.) . . .	18. 46. 0.	18. 15. 0.	143. 39. 25.	143. 39. 25.	0,0	0,0
Grigan (extrémité N.) . .	19. 21. 0.	18. 50. 0.	143. 50. 45.	143. 50. 45.	0,0	0,0
Assomption (milieu) . . .	19. 45. 0.	19. 45. 0.	143. 23. 10.	143. 23. 10.	0,0	0,0
Uracas	20. 6. 0.	20. 6. 0.	143. 13. 0.	143. 13. 0.	0,0	0,0
Farallon de Paxaros . . .	20. 30. 0.	20. 30. 0.	143. 23. 10.	143. 23. 10.	0,0	0,0

Section IX.

PLATE N° 9. General chart of the Island of Guam.

PLATE N° 10. Detailed chart of the Island of Guam—Sheet 1. Map of Rota Island.

PLATE N° 11. Detailed chart of the Island of Guam—Sheet 2.

PLATE N° 12. Chart of the Bay of Umata.

PLATE N° 13. Chart of Port San Luis de Apra.

PLATE N° 14. Chart of Tarofofu Harbor.

[Technical report by Midshipman Duperrey]¹

As I have said in the analysis that precedes, the geography of the Island of Guam is due to Mr. Duperrey. I will let this able officer give an account himself of the operations that he took part in.

“Our first stop in the Marianas took place at Umata. Firstly, I made a detailed survey of this cove, that I have drawn in a large scale. The work was carried out partly by means of the excellent theodolite of Mr. Malac, and partly with the reflecting circle. The baseline was measured on a beach at the bottom of the port.”

“The exterior points of the bay having been well determined, I was able to use them to link Umata with many other landmarks, specially the rock at Facpi Point, the peak of this point and the extremities of Cocos Island. I have covered the whole coast between Facpi and this island in a boat, taking bearings of all of the points, but making a sketch of the more remarkable indentations of the coast.”

“The observations at Cocos Island has served me to close many triangles begun at Umata, to link this island with Orote Point, and also to determine Ahayan Point, and the part of the south coast of Guam that extends eastward up to this point.”

“As soon as the *Uranie* had arrived at the port of San Luis de Apra, I got busy to draw a plan of this harbor. I established a base point at Fort Santa Cruz, located in the center of its enclosure and, by means of Rochon’s micrometer, determined the distances from this fort to a large number of points, whose bearings I then measured with the reflecting circle.”

“The sounding surveys were carried out as exactly as possible, then adjusted to low tide levels.² I always took care to drop the boat’s grapnel, whenever the bottom seemed to me not to be regular; by this means, I have obtained the accurate position of all the banks of this harbor, where there are many. Generally, though, I was taking soundings every 30 seconds on shallow bottoms but every minute on the others; finally, I determined my position every 5 minutes, by taking with the circle 4 to 5 bearings of the landmarks that had been previously determined.”

1 See Appendix 1 for his papers.

2 The scale to measure the tides was set up at Fort Santa Cruz.

As far as Bajo Triste, and its Island of San Agustin,¹ Tompson discovered them two days after leaving Passion Island. This navigator says clearly that Bajo Triste is made up of a few rocks and sand banks above sea level, that forms an enclosure inside which it appears possible to go, through various passes, in good weather. San Agustin, according to him, lies in 7°24' lat. N and 156°14' long. E of Paris, by estimation. If we apply to this fix the correction of 26'37" (the error that we discovered that he made in the position of Passion Islands), we would have 155°47'23" E of Paris instead, for the true longitude of San Agustin.²

Guliay Islands. The third map that we reproduced as part of our Plate n°7 is that of the Guliay Islands; I owe it to Major Luis de Torres, who has had the opportunity to visit these islands in 1808 [rather 1804].

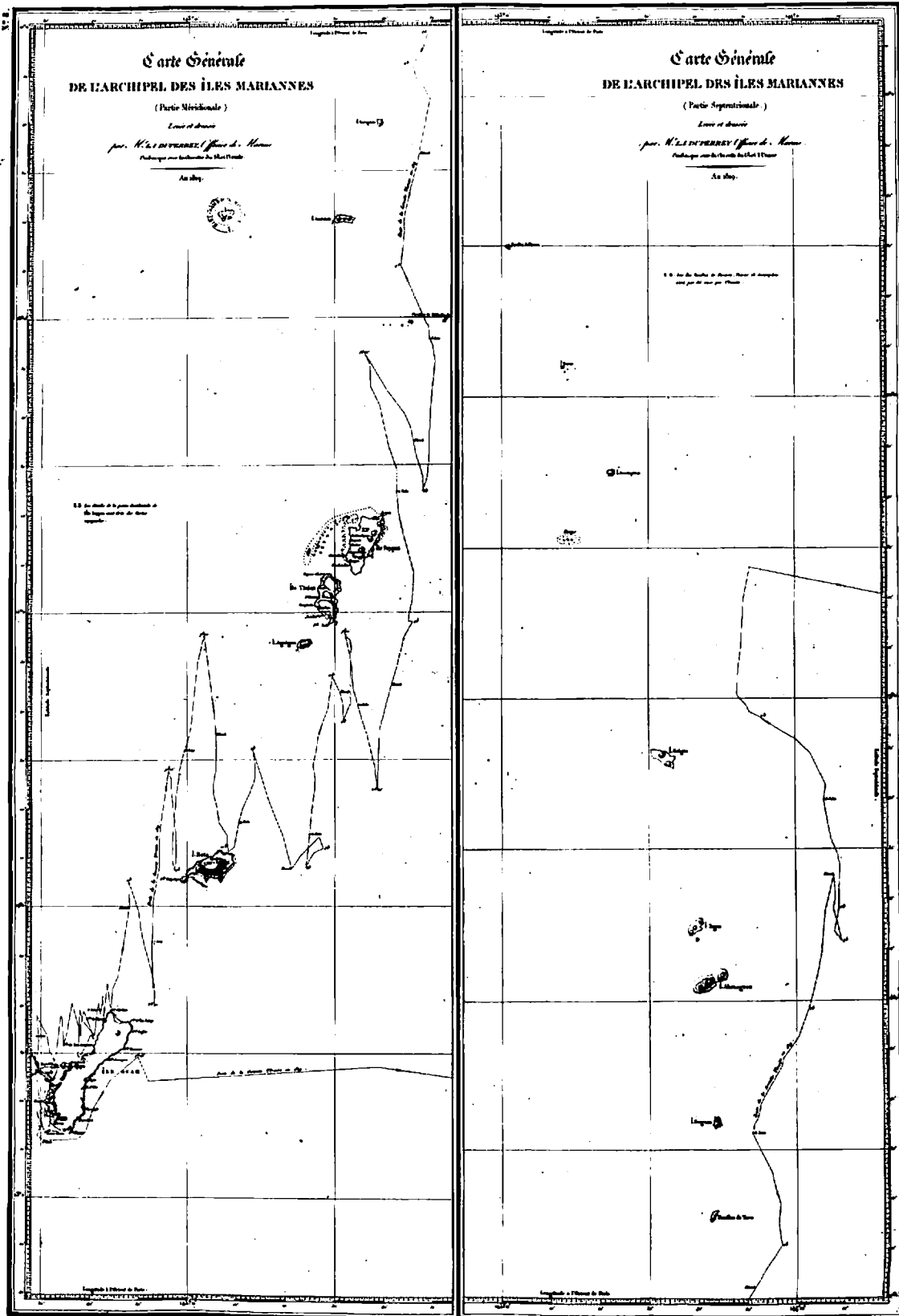
This map is very interesting; not only does it make known an interesting part of the Caroline archipelago, but it also presents the solution of a difficulty that has existed for a long time since the chart of the New Philippines (or Carolines) by Father Cantova.

The chart in question, reproduced in the *Histoire générale des voyages*,³ occupies a space of 19° in latitude, and 21° in longitude; firstly, there appears a large group of islands to the east of the Philippines, that no navigator has ever seen completely. However, many of those names are simply those of the Guliay islands. Thus, in certain respects, the chart of Father Cantova is not so inaccurate as it first appears; indeed, we will soon see that its main fault has to do with distances between the islands, and their relative sizes. It simply could not be otherwise, as it is the result of reports made by savages whose language could hardly be understood, and naturally they were also strangers to our concepts of measurements and geography.

A simple comparison of the names on the chart of Fr. Cantova with those on the chart of Don Luis, will clear up, I hope, any doubt about this conclusion: the group of islands that occupies over 13° of longitude and 9° of latitude on the chart, must be reduced to about 25 leagues, that is, 1°15' in longitude, and to 16 leagues, or a little less than 1° in latitude.

In the following table, the identity of the names will become clear, if one pays attention to the difficulty that Europeans always have in writing correctly the words of another language whose sounds are often variable and uncertain in pronunciation, and may even be impossible to express with the letters of our alphabets.

-
- 1 Espinosa's Notes do not agree with us, regarding the position given by Tompson; indeed, he placed them at 5°40' and 156°14', but Lafita's observations will soon give us an opportunity to comment further on this score.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is Oroluk Island proper, and its true longitude is 155°09'55" E of Greenwich, or 157°30' E of Paris. So, Freycinet was over 2° off.
 - 3 Ed. note: The series by Prévost d'Exiles. In effect, this had first been drawn as the result of Father Clain's report of 1697.



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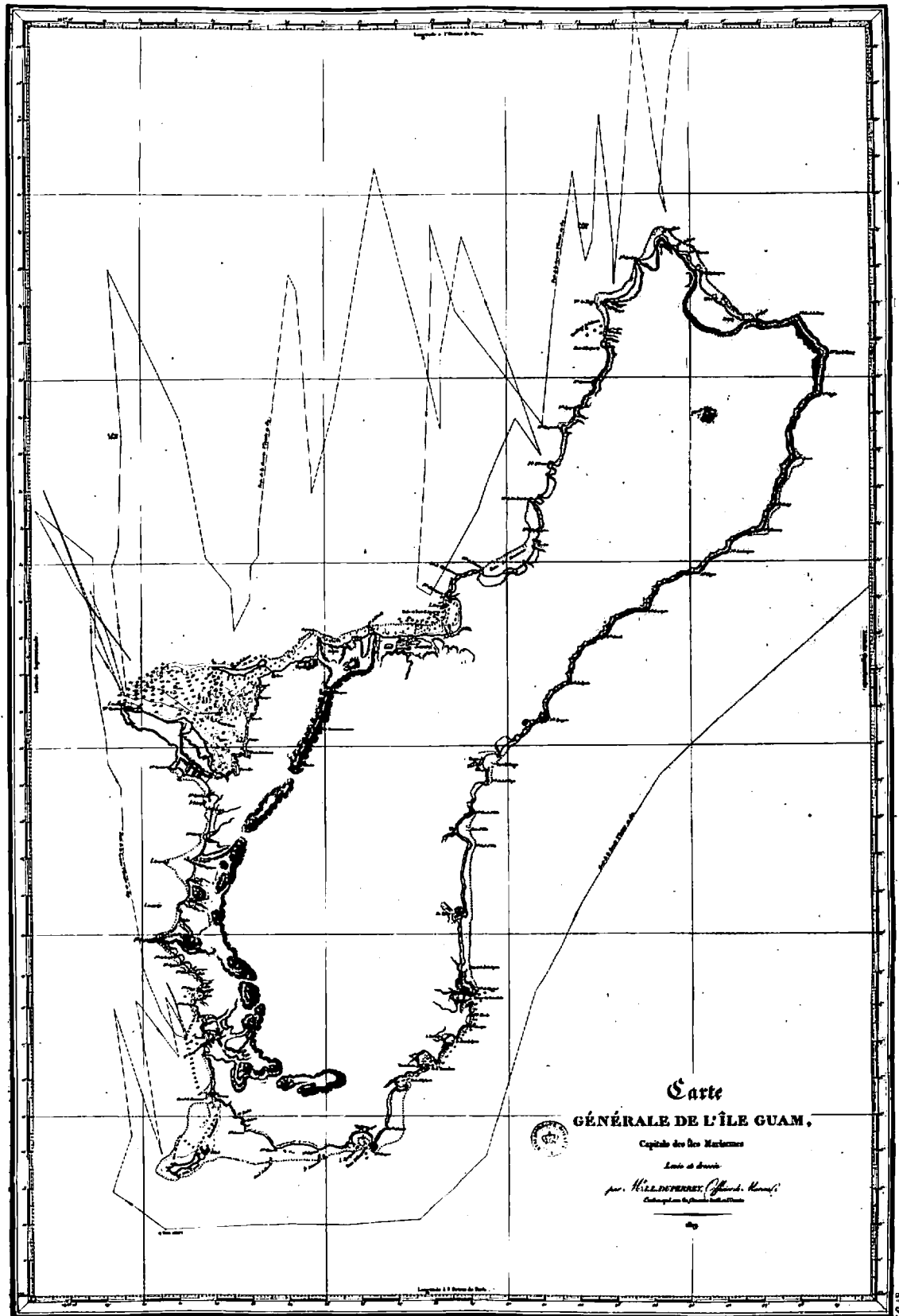
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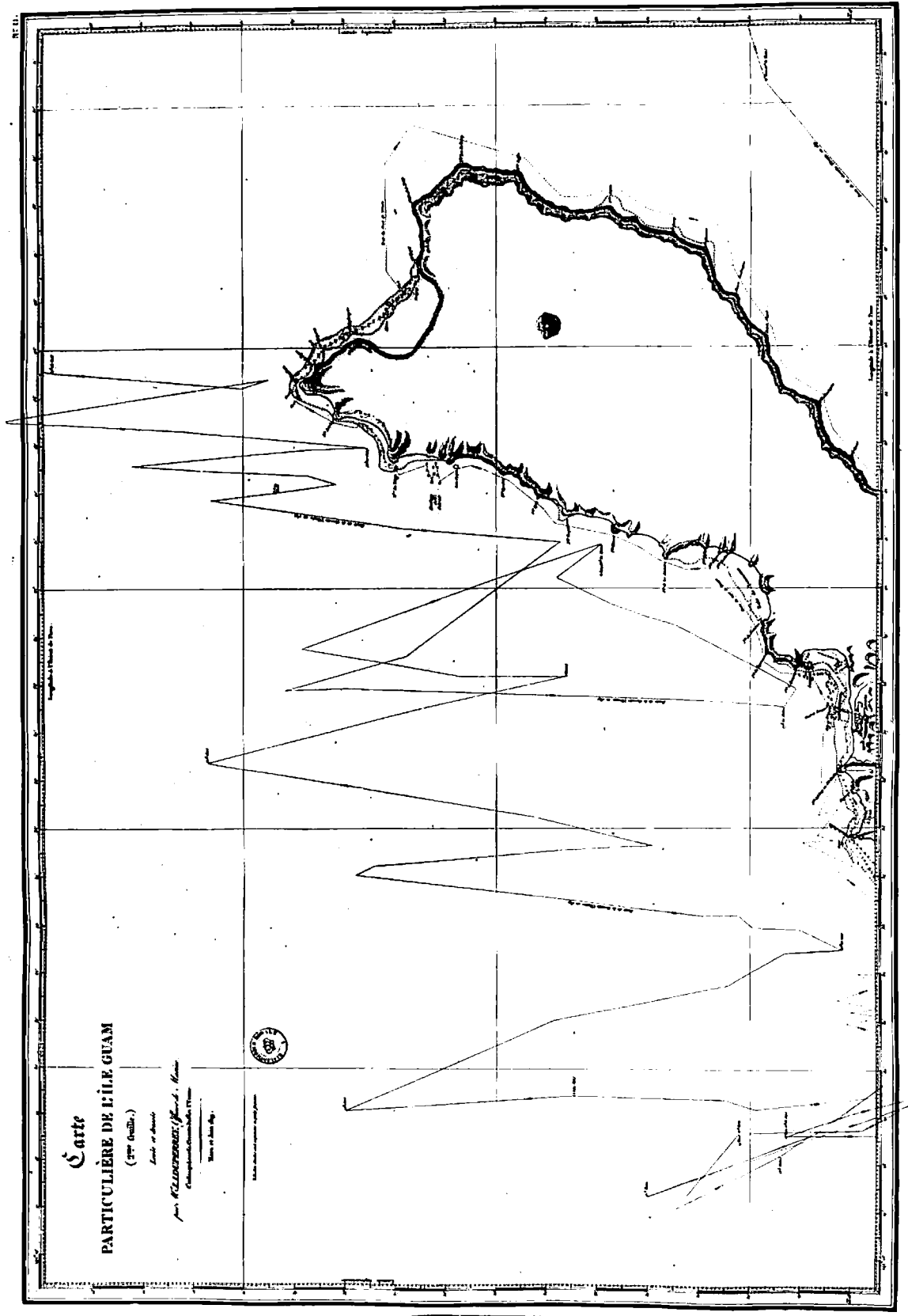
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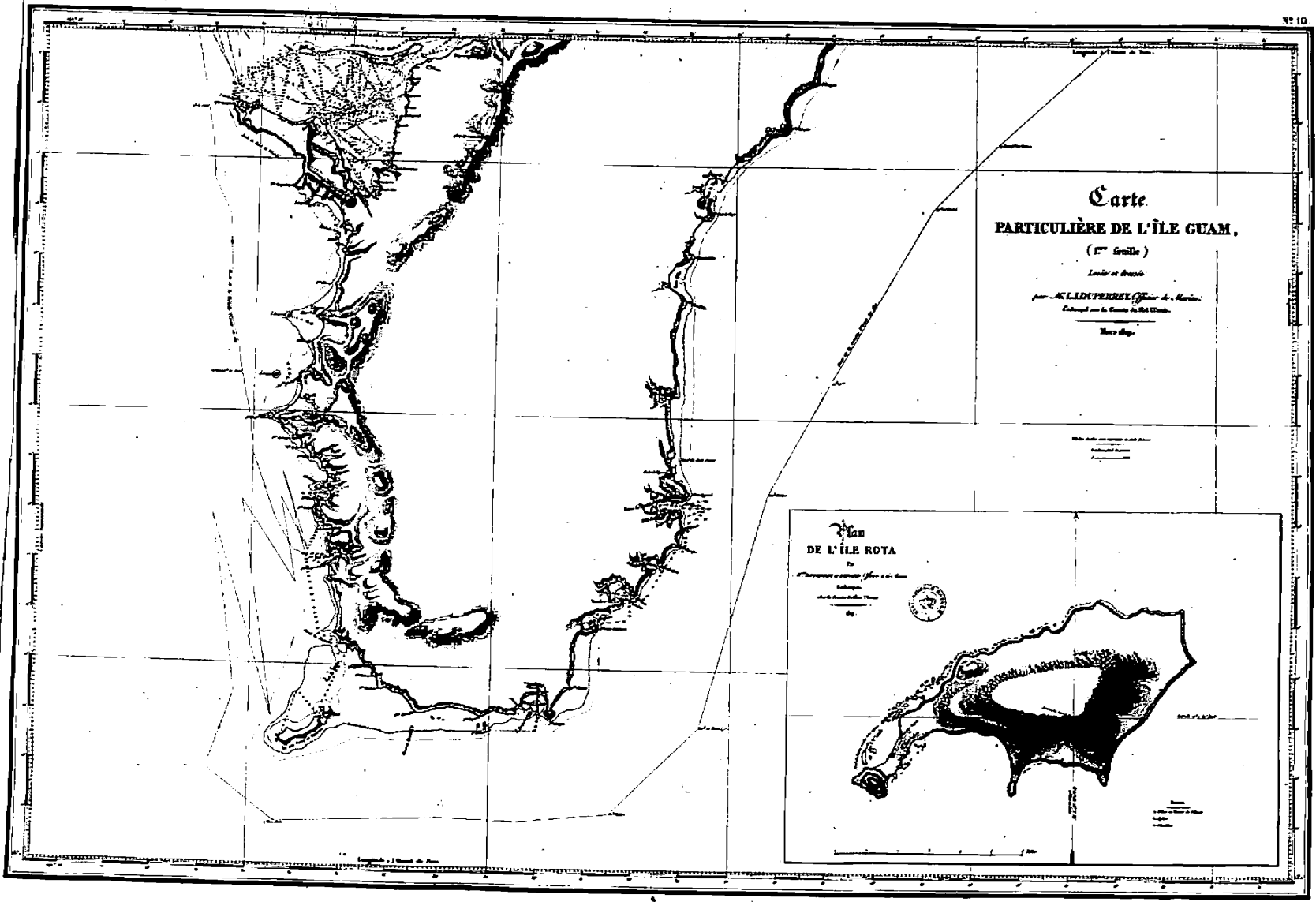
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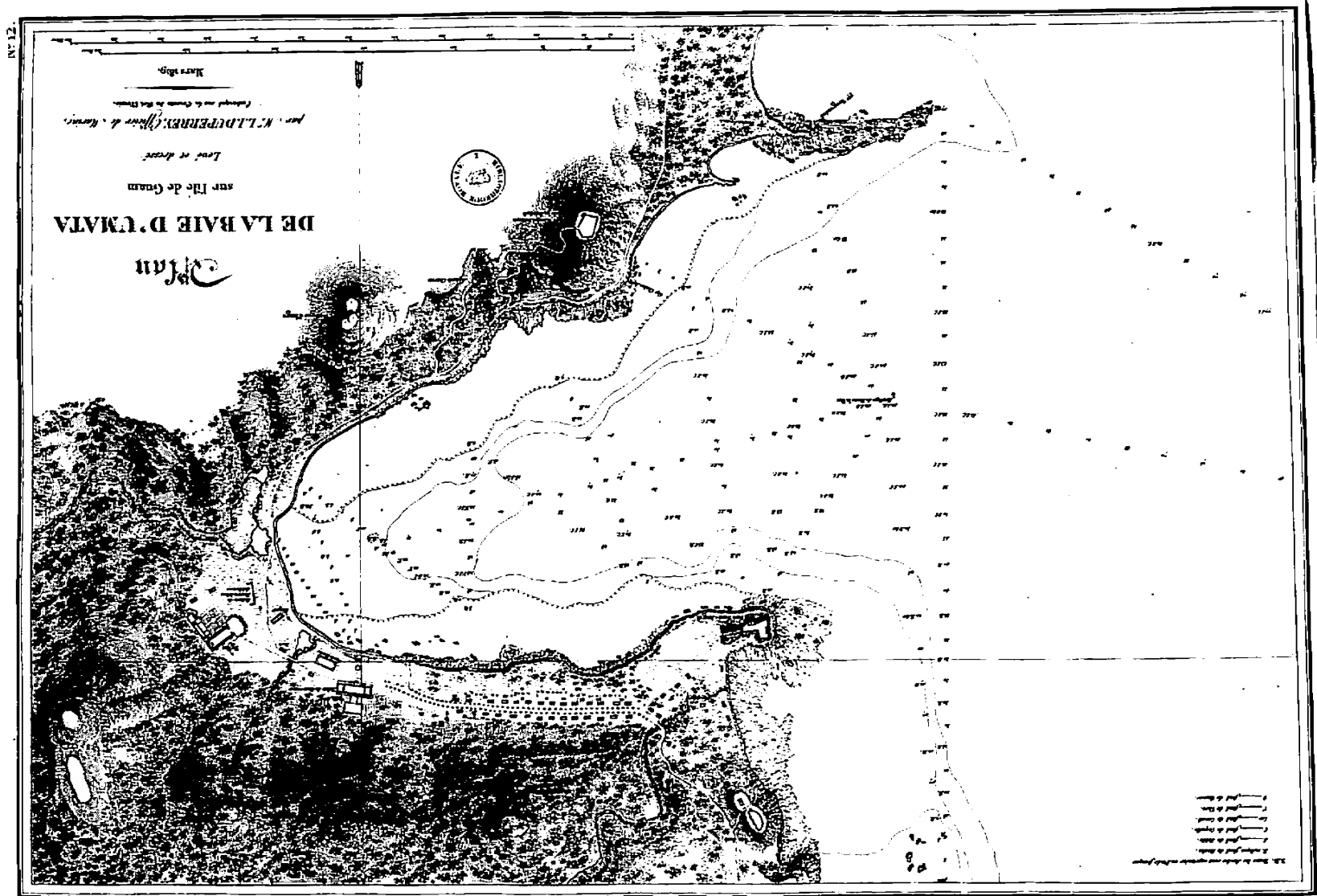
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“On top of Calalan Bank, I anchored at the end of all my runs, because it was important to determine the shape of this bank with a great accuracy.”

“From Fort Santiago and the summit of Tinkio Mountain, I was able to link all points of the north coast with those of the south coast of Guam. From this post¹ I could even distinguish rather well many landmarks on the eastern coast of the island, which allowed me to link them with those of the western coast.”

“I also did a special survey at Agat, and then linked it with the work done at Port San Luis, by measuring directly the width of the Orote Peninsula, which separates these two places.”

“The result of this first survey is the accurate determination of the whole coast comprised between Port San Luis and Cocos Island, and that between it and Niigo Point, located almost at the north end of Guam, as well as a few exterior points towards the north and NE of Port San Luis, have also been accurately determined.”

“To complete our operations, it was necessary for me to make a trip around the island in a boat. I undertook this voyage and, departing from Port San Luis, headed towards the NE.”

“The exterior points of this port and Niigo Point having been determined, I visited all the other points between these two, either to obtain their position relative to them, or to take relative bearings between them. By this means, I thus obtained the whole coast between San Luis and Ritidian Point.”

“Beyond the latter point, I could no longer take back sightings and relative bearings, but Patay Point² can be seen from Ritidian, and we had already observed this point aboard the *Uranie* upon our arrival and would do so again upon our departure; so, I was sure that I would be able to connect the points along this northern coast at the moment of building the map of the island.”

“Having rounded Patay Point, I continued to take the relative bearings of all the points along the coast, part of which had already been sighted from the top of Mt. Tinkio. Therefore, I had no problem fixing their position.”

“During my trip along the east coast of Guam, I made a detailed survey of the port of Tarofof. I also made rather accurate sketches of the indentations along the coast, specially those of the Bay of Inarahan, Agfayan and Ahayan, inlets that seemed to me of possible use by ships.”

“I began to construct my chart by making use of the distances measured with the micrometer, between Fort Santiago and Fort Santa Cruz, which can be considered to be the main baseline. However, this work needed checking; so, I made use of the whole of the astronomical observations carried out at the extremities of the island, ashore as well as on board, in order to be certain about the size of my scale. I was pleased to note that my first construction could be kept, because the differences, sometimes greater and sometimes smaller, between the two methods, never exceeded one minute of a degree.”

1 Ed. note: The peak of Mt. Tenjo.

2 Ed. note: The NE corner of Guam.

“On top of Calalan Bank, I anchored at the end of all my runs, because it was important to determine the shape of this bank with a great accuracy.”

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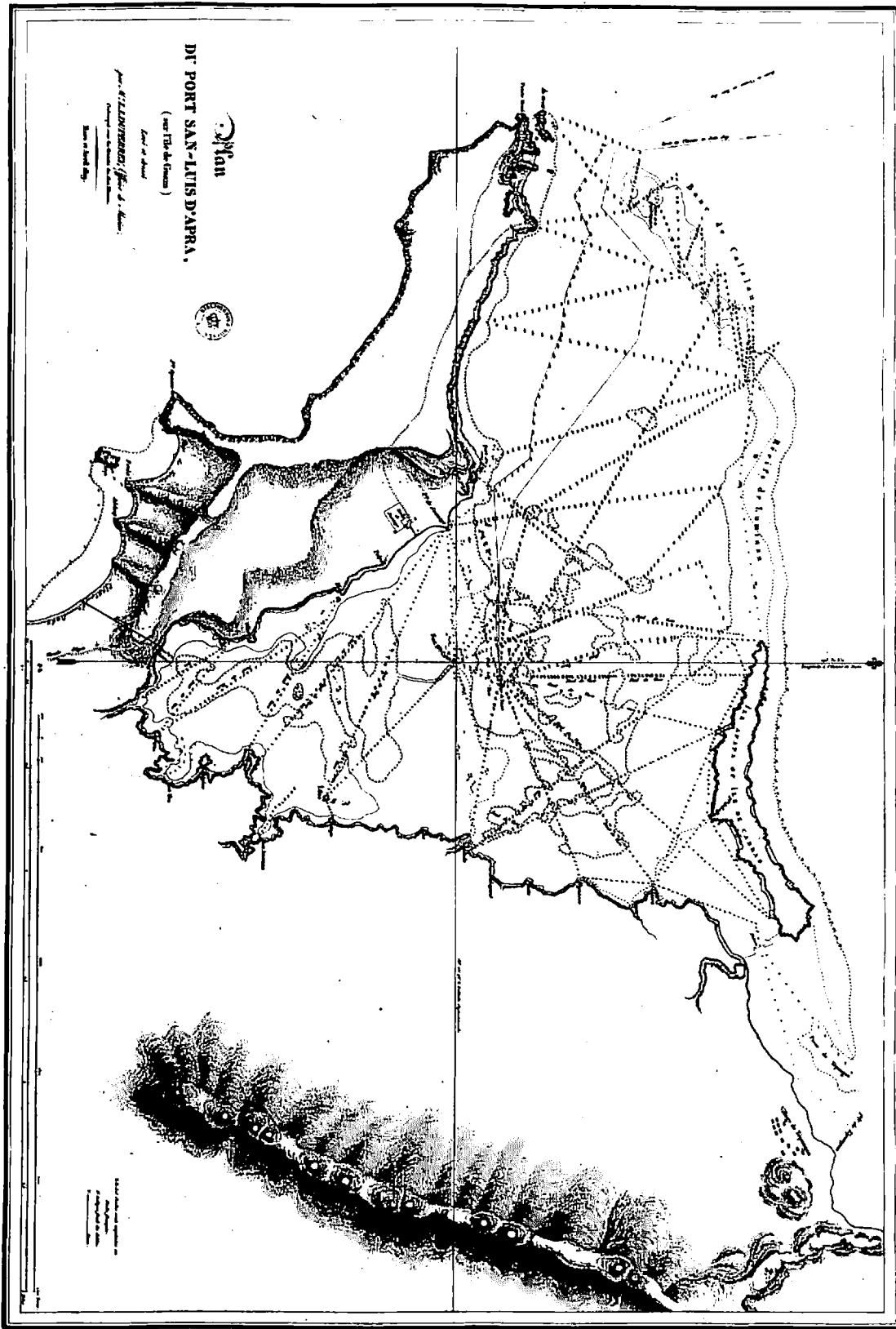
“Having rounded Patay Point, I continued to take the relative bearings of all the points along the coast, part of which had already been sighted from the top of Mt. Tinkio. Therefore, I had no problem fixing their position.”

“During my trip along the east coast of Guam, I made a detailed survey of the port of Tarofof. I also made rather accurate sketches of the indentations along the coast, specially those of the Bay of Inarahan, Agfayan and Ahayan, inlets that seemed to me of possible use by ships.”

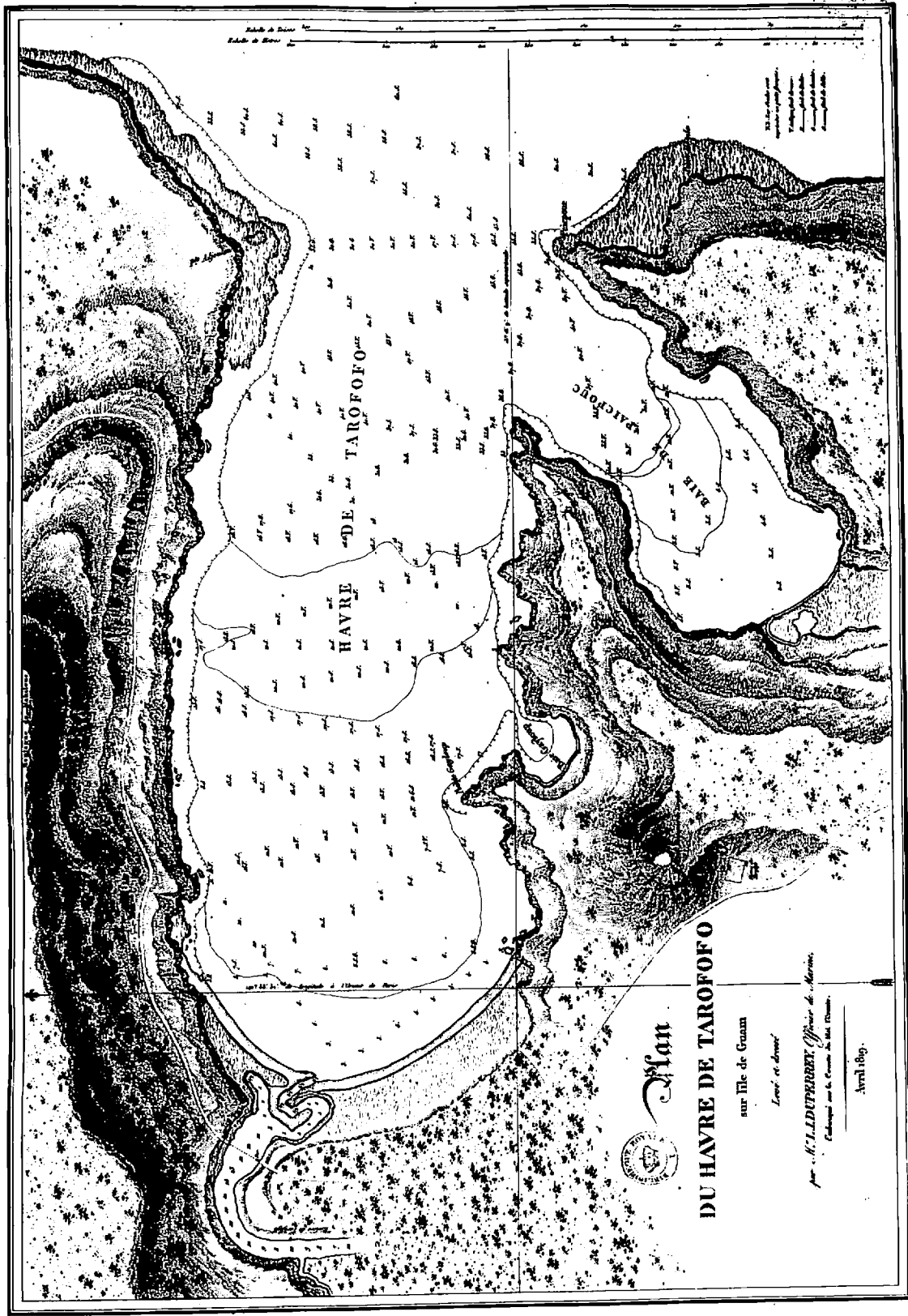
“I began to construct my chart by making use of the distances measured with the micrometer, between Fort Santiago and Fort Santa Cruz, which can be considered to be the main baseline. However, this work needed checking; so, I made use of the whole of the astronomical observations carried out at the extremities of the island, ashore as well as on board, in order to be certain about the size of my scale. I was pleased to note that my first construction could be kept, because the differences, sometimes greater and sometimes smaller, between the two methods, never exceeded one minute of a degree.”

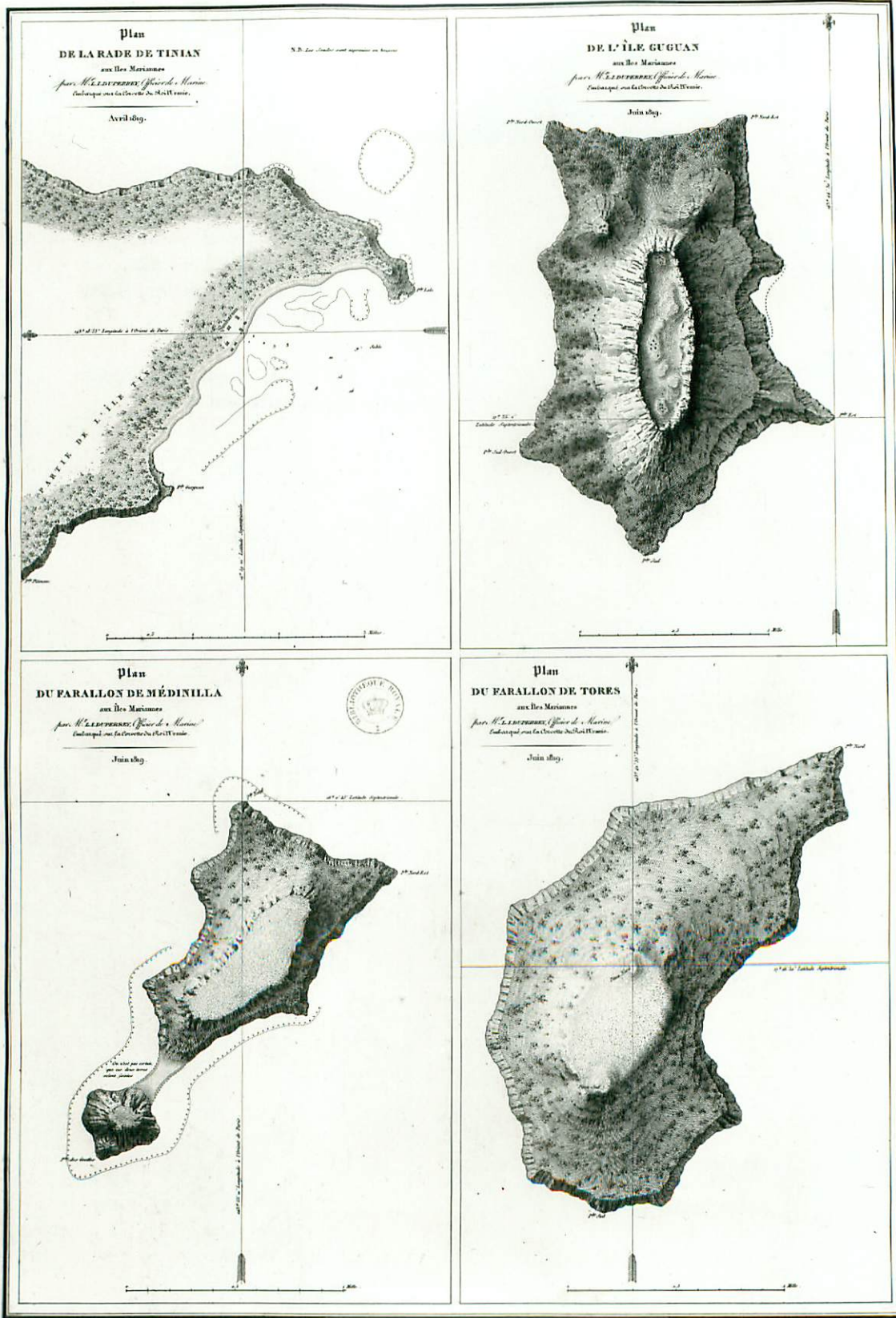
1 Ed. note: The peak of Mt. Tenjo.

2 Ed. note: The NE corner of Guam.









“The latitude of Ritidian Point, which is the northernmost point of the island, was determined by an observation made under sail on 6 June at noon; the corvette was then in the most favorable position for this purpose, because bearings taken on previously-determined points gave the relative situation of the ship with a great accuracy. This latitude was in perfect agreement with the whole triangulation.”

“Under similar circumstances, we had observed the latitude of the SW point of Cocos Island, when we were 1-1/2 miles from it, upon our arrival. This latitude connects rather well with the bearings taken at the same instant on a few points of the coast near Umata, of Cocos Island, and even of Ahayan Point, which is the southernmost point of Guam [proper]. Therefore, the extent in latitude of the Island of Guam has been determined accurately.”

“The observations of hourly angles, compared with Chronometer n° 144, have given results that are just as satisfactory. The wonderful uniformity of the diurnal movement of this chronometer, from Waigiu Island to the Sandwich Islands, had made me adopt it over the others, to fix the difference in longitude of some points of Guam, where triangulation had not given accurate results. To check the accuracy of this method, I also used it to find the difference of longitudes between points already well determined [otherwise], i.e. Agaña and Umata, the variation between these two results did not go beyond 8.3 seconds [of a degree]; however, I chose triangulation.”

“Mr. Bérard has made a specific map of the town¹ and another of the bay of Agaña; I have reduced the scale of the latter in order to include it in my chart of Guam; however, I have shaped the bay in question to agree with the points that I had determined myself.”

Specific chart of Rota Island. A few latitudes were taken ashore by Mr. Bérard, and specific bearings taken to fix the exact position of this island with respect to Ritidian Point on the Island of Guam, were the specific observations that, once added to those taken on board the *Uranie*, were used by Mr. Duperrey to draw the chart of this small island.

¹ This map of the town of Agaña can be found in the Historical Atlas of our Voyage.

Section X.

PLATE N° 15.

Chart of the Bay of Tinian.
Chart of Guguan Island.
Chart of Farallon Medinilla.
Chart of Farallon of Torres.

After what has just been said, few things remain to be said about the charts in this plate. The last three charts are part of the general work done on the geography of the Mariana Islands by Mr. Duperrey, which we have already noted. The first chart was sketched by Mr. Bérard during his trip to that island and is the result of observations made while he was ashore; for lack of a suitable boat, he was unable to take too many soundings.

(Next page) **Charts of some of the northern Mariana Islands.** *These islands have been mis-labelled by Duperrey and/or Freycinet.*

Documents 18190

The Freycinet expedition—The zoological collections, by Messieurs Quoy and Gaimard

Notes: The purpose here is simply to give an idea of the the scientific work done by some members of the Freycinet Expedition. Dr. Quoy's full name was Jean René Constant Quoy.

O1. The mammals and birds

Sources: (1) MM. Quoy et Gaimard: Partie Zoologique du Voyage autour du monde entrepris par ordre du Roi, exécuté sur les corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820 (Paris, 1825); (2) Article by E. Oustelet, entitled: "Les mammifères et les oiseaux des îles Mariannes." In Nouvelles Archives du Museum d'histoire naturelle, publiées par MM. les Professeurs-Administrateurs de cet établissement. Troisième série, Tome septième (Paris, Masson, 1895).

Translation of part of the analysis by Prof. Oustelet.

We owe this collection to Louis Desaulces de Freycinet, Commander of the corvette **Uranie** and to his collaborators, the physicians Quoy and Gaimard, and the pharmacist Gaudichaud who were also the naturalists of the expedition.

It was on 17 March 1819 that the **Uranie** anchored in the bay of Umata which is located on the southwest side of the Island of Guam. She remained there until 6 June and, during this visit, Mr. Bérard, a cadet officer who acted as midshipman aboard the vessel, Mr. Gaudichaud, botanist, and Mr. Arago, draughtsman of the expedition, made an excursion to the Islands of Rota and Tinian, while Mr. Freycinet, Messieurs Quoy and Gaimard, explored a part of Guam. Finally, from 5 to 16 June, the expedition visited the northern part of the archipelago.

To get an idea of the importance of the documents regarding the Mammals and Birds that were collected in the Mariana Islands by Messieurs Quoy and Gaimard, I cannot do better than give here an extract from the manuscript Catalog compiled at the time of the arrival at the Museum of the collections brought back by the **Uranie**, in December 1820.

Mammals.

- N° 3. *Fruit bat with reddish-brown collar*, Guyane and Marianas.—1 specimen.
 N° 4. *Fruit bat with yellow collar*, Guyane and Marianas.—4 specimens.
 N° 24. *Deer of the Mariana Islands*.—1 specimen.

N° 25. *Deer*, young of the preceding.—2 specimens.

Birds.

N° 24. *Owl*.—Marianas.—2 specimens.

N° 47. *Fly-catcher*.—6 specimens.

N° 48. *Fly-catcher*.—1 specimen.

N° 49. *Fly-catcher*.—1 specimen.

N° 50. *Fly-catcher*.—2 specimens.

N° 51. *Fly-catcher*.—1 specimen.

N° 73. *Fly-catcher*, new species.—1 specimen.

N° 108. *Warbler*, new species.—4 specimens.

N° 116. *Swallow*.—2 specimens.

N° 128. *Red grossbeak*, new species.—1 specimen.

N° 148. *Thamphocænus?*—1 specimen.

M° 150. *Raven*.—2 specimens.

N° 164. *Creeper*, new species.—9 specimens.

N° 178. *King-fisher*, new species.—3 specimens.

N° 179. *King-fisher*.—3 specimens.

N° 208. *Red-winged parakeet* (*Psittacus erythropterus*).—1 specimen.

N° 228. *Tinamou*, new type.—1 specimen.¹

N° 234. *Kurukuru dove*.—Marianas and Timor.—11 specimens.

N° 235. *Dove*.—5 specimens.

N° 243. *Dove*.—2 specimens.

N° 251. *Plover*.—2 specimens.

N° 252. *Golden plover*.—Hawaii and Marianas.—3 specimens.

N° 254. *Common lapwing*.—1 specimen.

N° 261. *Heron* (*Ardea cinnamomea* Lath.).—4 specimens.

N° 262. *Heron* (*Ardea equinoctialis*),—Marianas and Papua [sic].—3 specimens.

N° 263. *White heron*.—2 specimens.

N° 269. *Curlew* (*Scolopax phæopus*).—Papua, Marianas, Timor.—5 specimens.

N° 271. *Snipe, or sandpiper*.—Timor and Marianas.—4 specimens.

N° 272. *Green-footed snipe, or sandpiper*.—2 specimens.

N° 273. *Thrush snipe, or sandpiper*.—2 specimens.

N° 275. *Ruddy turnstone* (*Tringa interpres*).—3 specimens.

N° 278. *Tiklin rail* (*Rallus philippinensis*).—3 specimens.

N° 279. *Coot* (*Fulica ochropas*).—10 specimens.

N° 296. *Noddy* (*Sterna stolidus*).—Marianas and Seal Bay.—3 specimens.

N° 313. *Duck*.—Marianas.—1 specimen.

The above-mentioned mammals and birds had various destinies: a few, in bad condition, were destroyed; others were mounted for the galleries of the Museum where they can still be seen [in 1895]; still others were used to trade with various naturalists; yet

¹ Ed. note: See remark below.

others were sent to the Museum in Toulon. Among the latter was N° 128, *Red grosbeak*, which I therefore no longer have on hand, and cannot determine, for the moment at least. However, I think that it was not a bird from the Marianas; my feeling is that it was some kind of Tanager from Brazil. Moreover, it is not the only error contained in the Catalog, an extract of which is shown above. For instance, following a confusion between vampire bats and fruit bats, the fruit bats are listed as existing both in Guyana and the Marianas. N° 208, the red-winged parakeet (*Psittacus erythropterus*), had not been killed in the Marianas; in fact, it had been captured at Timor, and, after being kept on board for some time, had died when the *Uranie* arrived at the Mariana Islands; hence, the error. It is the bird that Quoy and Gaimard have described as their *Erythropterus* parakeet.¹ As well, the Tinamou is a Megapode, the bird that Quoy and Gaimard have described under the name of Megapode of La Pérouse.² Moreover, I will have to return to this species, as well as to other specimens of Mammals and Birds brought back by the *Uranie*, that are still part of the collections of the Museum.

[Follow-up work by Quoy and Gaimard in 1828]

A few years after the *Uranie*, in 1828, another French ship, the corvette *Astrolabe*, under the command of Captain J. Dumont d'Urville, returned to the Mariana Islands and the naturalists Quoy and Gaimard, who had also joined this expedition³ collected on the Island of Guam a few interesting specimens of Mammals and Birds. Here is the list of these specimens, extracted from the manuscript Catalog written by Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, in May 1829, at the time the collections brought back by the *Astrolabe* arrived at the Museum.

Mammals.

N° 3. *Keraudren fruit bat* (*Pt. Keraudren* Q. & G.).—Marianas.—1 specimen.

N° 4. *Fruit bat* (*Pt. Keraudren* var.? or *Pter.* new species?).—1 specimen.

Birds.

N° 6. *Mariana Falcon*.

N° 62. *Sturnus* belonging to the dove family (*St. columbinus*).—Guam.—2 specimens.

N° 237. *Short-legged snipe or sandpiper* (*T. brevipes?*) with feathers different from the other specimens from New Holland and Tikopia Island, n° 236.—Guam.—1 specimen.

To this short list, one should add a bird that is not mentioned, the Wren (*Tatare luscinia* Q. & G.) a male specimen of which was brought back by the *Astrolabe*.

The documents created by the above-mentioned French travellers were added to, in some cases, by the information obtained, in 1864, during the voyage of the Spanish cor-

1 Voyage de l'*Uranie*, Zoologie: Page 116 and Plate 27.

2 Voyage de l'*Uranie*, Zoologie: Page 127 and Plate 33.

3 Voyage published in 1830. The Zoology volume was by Quoy and Gaimard.

vette **Narvaez**, under the command of Captain Sanchez y Zayas, and, some data has been revised recently by the voyage of exploration to the Mariana Islands carried out by one of our countrymen, Mr. Alfred Marche, whom I am happy to recognize here. Mr. Marche had already visited Gabon [in Africa] in the company of the Marquis of Compiègne, when he returned, alone, in 1877, and made important collections, part of which I wrote about, in an article published in 1879 in the present periodical. From 1882 to 1884 he successfully carried out two voyages of exploration in the Philippine archipelago, from which he despatched to the Museum huge series of specimens of natural history, among which were types of many new species.¹ These types would have been even larger, had not an English naturalist, Mr. Everett, visited the same localities a few months earlier. Finally, in 1886, Mr. Marche was entrusted with a new mission and, after he was obliged to wait three months in the Philippines, he made it to the port of San Luis de Apra on the west coast of the Island of Guam on 22 April 1887. From that date until the first days of May 1889, that is, during almost two years, this tireless pioneer of science did not cease exploring, at the cost of much fatigue, not only the main island and the more important islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan, but a few of the islets of the Mariana archipelago, to add to his collections. Referring only to Mammals and Birds, the number of specimens collected reached 732, which gives a good idea of the thoroughness of his work that pretty well described all the existing fauna, its characteristics and affinities. Certain species, known to be very rare, are represented in the collections of Mr. Marche by 10, 20, 40 or 60 samples, of various ages and sex. With a care that I must praise, this traveller attached to each specimen precise information as to the place, date of capture, sex and age; the whole constitutes a precious collection of documents, thanks to which I was able to come up with the Catalog published below [not reproduced here] and throw light on certain points that had remained obscure in the history of the Mammals and Birds of the Marianas. In this catalog, I was also able to take into account the research work previously undertaken by travellers contracted by the Museum; thus, I included one or two species that had escaped the researches of Mr. Marche.

[Mammals and birds of the Carolines.]

By the way, I have also compared the samples collected by Mr. Marche with those of the same species from other places that were already part of the rich collections of the Museum of Natural History. So, either out of this comparison, or by the study of the results obtained in the course of recent explorations in Micronesia by some French or foreign travellers, I hope to have successfully arrived at the establishment of the geographic distribution of each species and the relationships of the Mammals and Birds of the Marianas with those of the neighboring archipelagos. Among the sources that I consulted, in this wise, I will quote, in particular, the *Fauna of Central Polynesia* by

¹ Among others, the superb pigeon that I have described under the name of *Thamphiculus Marcheii*.

Messieurs Finsch and Hartlaub,¹ the *Catalogue des oiseaux de la Polynésie* by Mr. Lionel W. Wiglesworth, the *Catalogues of the Birds in the British Museum* (1874-1895, vols. 1-23), and the *Notes and Notices* published by my colleague and friend, Dr. O. Finsch.² Indeed, this naturalist and scientist has had the opportunity of visiting the Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands, as well as New Guinea and New Britain during many voyages and has made numerous collections that I was able to see exposed in Vienna in 1884, during the first International Ornithological Congress. By completing through personal observations the study that he had first made of the collections gathered by Mr. J. Kubary, one of the agents of the famous House of Godeffroy of Hamburg, Mr. Finsch was able to arrive at a complete *Catalog of the Birds of the Caroline Islands...*

...

O2. The fishes

Source: Steven S. Amesbury and Robert F. Myers. *Guide to the Coastal Resources of Guam. Vol. 1. The Fishes. Published by UOG Marine Laboratory, in 1982.*

It is said that 15 new types of fish were described by Quoy and Gaimard, as a result of either the Freycinet Expedition or the first d'Urville Expedition. We still find 10 of them ascribed to them, as recorded in the modern catalog mentioned above, although no reference books, other than English ones, were quoted in its bibliography. The list is as follows:

1. *Scarida gracilis*, the Graceful Lizardfish; Pipipu in the local language (see page 25);
2. *Caranx sexfaciatus*, the Bigeye Trevally; Ee, or Tarakito (p. 47);
3. *Elagatis bipinnulatus*, the Rainbow Runner (p. 47);
4. *Megaprotodon trifascialis*, the Chevron Butterflyfish; Ababang (p. 77);
5. *Plectroglypidodon lacrymatus*, the Jewel Damsel; Fomho (p. 89);
6. *Coris gaimard*, the Clown Wrasse; Aaga (p. 93);
7. *Halichæres trimaculatus*, the Three-spot Wrasse; Aaga (p. 99);
8. *Ctenæchætus striatus*, the Common Bristle-tooth Tang; Hugupau (p. 112);
9. *Siganus argenteus*, the Fork-railed Rabbitfish; Mañahac Lesu, or Hiting (p. 117);
10. *Liza vaigiensis*, the Yellow-tailed Mullet; Pegui, or Aguas, or Laiguan (p. 123).

1 Beitrag zur Fauna Centralpolynesiens, Ornithologie der Viti, Samoa und Tonga-Inseln (Halle, 1867).
 2 "Aves Polynesiaë," in Abhandlungen und Berichte des K. zoologischen und antropologisch-ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden, 1891, n° 6.

Document 1819P

The ship Paz, Captain Rocha, bound to Acapulco but turned back

Sources: AGN Fil. 49/18-19; LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 97.

Note: The pilot of this ship was an English-speaking foreigner by the name of Douglas, and we learn from Freycinet, who met him at Guam, that this ship had followed the southern route, and crossed the Carolines by way of Uranie Bank, just one month before the French ship. Lafond says that she went back to Luzon in distress (Doc. 1820C).

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno—Nº 220.

M. Y. S.

A las siete de la mañana del día 14 del último mes de Marzo me dieron parte los Vigías de haver avistado un Buque de tres Palos por la Caveza Norte de la Ysla, y que hacia rumbo con direcion al Cerro de Orote, lo que dio motivo à que sin dilacion huviese pasado à la playa de donde lo divisè como en distancia de diez à doce Millas, y determinè que el Sargento Mayor de la Plaza acompañado del Practico, è Ynterprete se embarassen en el Bote para hirlo à reconocer, y à su regreso me trajo Carta del Capitan Don Antonio Rocha en la que me decia ser procedente de esa la Fragata Paz con ochenta y cinco días de Navegacion, y que tratava de dar fondo en el Puerto de San Luis de Apra en donde me havia de dever le remitiese con urgencia al Maestro Constructor con todos los Calafates, y Carpinteros que huviese en la Ysla por serle preciso recorrer el Buque, respecto estar haciendo mucha agua, y que à mas necesitava de hacerla, Leña, y Viveres para seguir su Viage al Puerto de Acapulco, por lo que sin perder instante, determinè que el citado Constructor con beinte y siete hombres de ambos exercicios saliesen para el Castillo de Santa Cruz de los Dolores, y que en el acto de que diese fondo la expresada Fragata pasasen à su Bordo y presentasen al indicado Don Antonio Rocha, que me dispusè, y pasè al citado Castillo, y como à mi legada, huviese visto de que la Fragata por aversele escarceado el viento no obstante las diligencias que hizo no le huviese sido facil tomar Puerto, que se dirigia para verificarlo en el de la Villa de Umata, marchè luego en donde le encontrè dada fondo, y el dia diez y seis le proporcionè la Lancha que fuè de la Fragata Naufragada, y sobre ella tumbaron y recorrieron al parecer todos sus daños, y en la noche del veinte y dos sarpó para su destino habiendolo proporcionado sin el mas leve interez desde el dia de su arrivo hasta el de

su salida todos los auxilios de viveres que le fueron de necesidad para la subsistencia de alimento de la Oficialidad, y Tripulacion mas por separado el Rancho para el Viage que se manifiesta por la Lista que con el mayor respeto acompaño à V.S.

El dia treinta y uno bolvio de arrivada haciendo una agua desmedida, y con solo una Bomba por haversele descompuesto la otra en terminos que el Calafate de su Bordo no abia sido capaz à remediarla, y habiendo logrado, aunque con mucho trabajo y riesgo dar fondo en la Caldera del Castillo de Santa Cruz, y pasado hacer el reconocimiento mas prolixo el Constructor hallò ser el daño de la mayor consideracion, y que pudieran no haverlo contado, pues desde los trancaniles hasta mas abajo de las cintas por ambos costados en la roda estaban las tablas distantes del Alafris(?) dos y media pulgadas, y sin señal de Estopa por haverla bufado(?), de que resultava que estando en Puerto no se hechava de ber el agua, pero en la Mar con el Cabeceo hacia un acopio extraordinario lo que fuè reparado con el mayor esmero, como asimismo compuesta la Bomba: empalmados dos Masteleros, recorridas tres embarcaciones menores, y otras circunstancias, y habiendo realizado los acopios necesarios de viveres, dio la vela para seguir su Derrota el treinta de Abril, y lo comunico à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Mayo 10 de 1819.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Lista que manifiesta el Rancho que sin el mas leve interez franqueo este Gobierno al Capitan de la Fragata Paz en su primera arrivada para hacer la Travesia al Puerto de Acapulco, y ès, A saver:

Cinco Reses Bacunas.

Diez y ocho Puercos.

Quatro Zurrones de Carne de Baca hecha Tapa.

Una Cabra.

Un Zurron de Pescado seco.

Quinientos Pescados secos en dos Aras.

Dos Tinajas de Carne frita.

Uno Yd. de Manteca.

Dos Yd. de Pescado en Salmuera.

Dos Tinajuelas de [pescado en] Escaveche.

Una Tinaja de Azeyte.

Doscientas, y cincuenta Aves.

Trescientas y cincuenta Huevos.

Diez y seis Cavanos de Arroz limpio.

Una Rara [=Arrobas?] de Ajos.

Una Yd. de Cevollas.

Ciento y cincuenta Sandias.
Diversas Verduras.
Quatrocientos Cocos.
El mantenimiento de la Camara, Tripulacion, y obreros desde el dia de su arrivada hasta el de dar la Vela.
San Ygnacio de Agaña, y Mayo 10 de 1819.
Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Translation.

Superior Government—Nº 220.

Most Illustrious Lordship:

At 7 a.m. on the 14th of last month of March, the lookouts advised me that they had sighted a three-masted ship off the north point of the island, and that she was headed for Orote Point, reason for which I went to the beach and saw her about 10 to 12 miles in the offing. I decided to send the Sergeant-Major of the garrison, accompanied by the local pilot, and interpreter, aboard the boat to reconnoiter her. Upon his return, he brought me a letter from her Captain, Don Antonio Rocha, in which he told me that he came from overthere with the frigate **Paz** after 85 days of sailing and that he was trying to anchor in the port of San Luis de Apra where she needed repairs urgently, and he would be obliged if I were to send him the Master Builder with all of the caulkers and carpenters who could be found in the island, because the ship had to be given a full inspection, since she leaked badly and furthermore, needed water, wood, and food supplies to pursue her voyage to the port of Acapulco. Without losing one moment, I decided to send the above-mentioned builder with 25 tradesmen to Fort Santa Cruz de los Dolores. There they were to wait until said frigate had anchored and then go immediately on board to present themselves to said Don Antonio Rocha. I prepared myself and soon followed them to said fort. At the time of my arrival there, it was realized that the frigate was in trouble, not being able to get into the port, in spite of efforts to make it, on account of the wind having died down, and that she was diverting to the Town of Umata. I proceeded overthere and found her already anchored when I arrived. On the 16th, I loaned them the launch that had belonged to the shipwrecked frigate. With it, they carried out an inspection and it appears that they have found where all of the problems are, and on the night of the 22nd, she sailed to her destination. Counting from the day of her arrival until her departure, and at no cost whatever to them, I provided them with all the food supplies that they needed for their subsistence, the food for the messes of the officers and crew, in addition to the rations for the voyage, as shown on the list which with respect I enclose for Y.L.

On the 31st, she returned in distress, leaking too much, and with only one pump working; the other pump had failed and the caulker on board had not been able to repair it. After much labor, they succeeded in making it as far as Fort Santa Cruz where they anchored. After a thorough inspection, the Master Builder found the source of great damage, one that had not been suspected before; indeed, from the waterways

down past the wales on both sides in the stem the boards were 2-1/2 inches off the *alafris* (?) and without any sign of oakum that had been eaten up. The outcome was that, though it port the water was not seen to come in, at sea it would let water leak in in an extraordinary manner every time she pitched forward. This was repaired with the greatest of diligence, as well as the pump. In addition, two masts were spliced, her small boats inspected, and other things done. After some more food supplies were taken on board, she set sail to pursue her voyage on the 30th of April. I report this to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, 10 May 1819.

Most Illustrious Lordship.

JOSé de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

List of the rations provided without the least cost by this Government to the Captain of the frigate Paz at her first visit, to make the crossing to the Port of Acapulco, to wit:

- 5 cows.
- 18 pigs.
- 4 pouches of dried beef in the form of jerk beef.
- 1 goat.
- 1 pouch of dried fish.
- 500 dried fishes in 2 baskets.
- 2 jars of fried meat.
- 1 jar of lard.
- 1 jar of salted fish.
- 2 small jars of pickled fish.
- 1 jar of oil.
- 250 chickens.
- 350 eggs.
- 16 cabans of clean rice.
- 1 arroba of garlic.
- 1 arroba of onions.
- 150 watermelons.
- Various vegetables.
- 400 coconuts.

Plus the subsistence of the officers and crew, and workers, from the time of her arrival until she sailed.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 10 May 1819.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Documents 1819Q

The ships Carmen and Santa Rita returned to the Philippines

Q1. Arrival of the Carmen at San Blas in 1817

Source: AGN Marina 214, fol. 443-444.

Note: The Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Captain José Nicolas Yrastorza, had a capacity of 400 tons, carried 2,120 bundles of Asian goods, had a crew of 54 men and 17 passengers on board, and had left Manila on 4 January 1817.

Original texts in Spanish.

Gobierno N° 124.

Participa á V.E. haber llegado en S. Blas la Fragata Nuestra Señora del Carmen procedente de Manila.

Excmo. Sor.

El Sor. Comandante de S. Blas Capitan de Navio Don Josef de Lavayen, con fecha 6 del corriente dice al Sor. Brigadier D. Pedro Celestino Negrete lo que sigue:

*“En este dia há fondeado, procedente de Manila la Fragata particular nombrada **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**, á cargo de su Capitan D. Nicolas de Yrastorza, con el Capitan de Artilleria de transporte D. Miguel Rosales, y los individuos pasajeros de aquel Comercio D. Miguel Garcia, D. Marcos de los Reyes, D. Josef Ordezua y D. Felipe Velez conduciendo de registro dos mil y pico de bultos entre grandes y pequeños.*

“Durante su navegacion de ciento veinte y dos dias no ha tenido ocurrencia alguna, comunicando solamente de noticia el fallecimiento del Sor. Governador y Capitan General de Manila D. José de Gardoqui.”

Y lo traslado á V.E. para su debido superior conocimiento.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Guadalaxara 10 de Mayo de 1817.

Excmo. Sor.

Josef de la Cruz.

[A] Excmo Sor. Virey D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Gobierno N. 127

Participa á V.E. haver fondeado en San Blas la Fragata Nuestra Señora del Carmen procedente de Manila.

Exmo. Sor.

El Ministro principal interino de S. Blas D. Marcelo Croquer me dice con fecha de 8 del que rige lo que sigue:

*“Exmo. Sor.—El 6 del corriente dió fondo la Fragata particular Española **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**, procedente de Manila, a cargo de su Capitan D. Josef Nicolas Yrastorza, con dos mil ciento veinte y ocho bultos de efectos Asiaticos de aquel Comercio, aunque descarga no han principiado por estar indecisos los Consignatarios de si la verifican en este Puerto, ó se dirigen á Acapulco, cuyo resultado avisaré á V.E. oportunamente.”*

Y lo traslado á V.E. para su debido Superior conocimiento.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Guadalaxara 14 de Mayo de 1817.

Excmo. Sor.

Josef de la Cruz

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Virey D. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Translation.

Government N° 124.

He reports to Y.E. that the frigate **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** has arrived at San Blas proceeding from Manila.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of San Blas, Navy Captain José de Labayen, in a letter addressed to Brigadier Pedro Celestino Negrete dated 6th instant says the following:

“Today arrived, proceeding from Manila, the privately-owned frigate named **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**, under the command of her Captain, Don Nicolás de Irastorza, and transporting Artillery Captain Don Miguel Rosales, and individual passengers belonging to that trade, Don Miguel García, Don Marcos de los Reyes, Don José Ordezua and Don Felipe Velez, and carrying as registered freight 2,000 and some bundles of various sizes.”

“During her voyage of 122 days, nothing unusual has occurred. The only news from Manila is the death of the Governor and Captain General, Don José de Gardoqui.”

And I copy the same to Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Guadalajara, 10 May 1817.

Your Excellency.

José de la Cruz.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Government N° 127.

He reports to Y.E. the arrival at San Blas of the frigate **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** proceeding from Manila.

Your Excellency:

The principal interim Minister of San Blas, Don Marcelo Croquer, tells me in a letter dated 3rd instant the following:

“Your Excellency:—On the 8th instant there anchored here the privately-owned Spanish frigate **Nuestra Señora del Carmen**, proceeding from Manila, under the command of her Captain, Don José Nicolás Irastorza, with 2,128 bundles of Asian products belonging to that trade, although the unloading has not begun, on account of the Supercargos being undecided as to whether to do it in this port, or to continue to Acapulco. I will inform Y.E. of their decision eventually.”

And I copy same to Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Guadalajara, 14 May 1817.

Your Excellency.

José de la Cruz

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.¹

Q2. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, wondering why the *Santa Rita* did not return in 1818

Source: *AGN Fil. 50, fol. 247-248.*

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*Por el Oficio de V.E. de 11 de Febrero de este año, quedo impuesto de las Providencias que tubo á bien expedir para que la Fragata **Santa Rita**, emprendiera su retorno á estas Yslas del 20 al 25 del mismo mes de Febrero, con el duplo valor del cargamento que condujo en su último y anterior viage, y con la parte de los caudales que pertenescan á la expedicion de la **Magallanes**, habiendo V.E. dejado á la eleccion de los Compromisarios y dueños de buques el repartimiento de los intereses, arreglandose á la instruccion del Consulado de esta Ciudad, pudiendo la **Rita** completar su registro con barras de plata, en lo que no alcanzase en numerario, aunque con la precisa obligacion de torna guia, y demas que V.E. me refiere, por contestacion á quanto le manifesté en Oficio n° 4 de 21 de Julio de 1817.*

*Consiguiente á este aviso de V.E. hemos permanecido el Comercio y Yó, en la espectiva del arrivo de la citada Fragata **Santa Rita**, y de la nombrada **Carmen**; pero hasta la fecha no se há verificado, que dificultades en adquirir el completo de su regis-*

¹ Ed. note: The traders on board the *Carmen* decided to unload their goods in the port of San Blas, instead of proceeding to Acapulco.

tro, puede haver motivado su detencion, pero ello es, que la tal detencion, resulta contraria à lo contratado por el Dueño de la *Rita* con este Comercio, y que esta novedad há influidos los perjuicios mas enormes à los fondos publicos y particulares, juntamente en la ocasion mas critica y angustiada, por la consternacion en que há puesto à las Yslas la circunstancia de Buques Ynsurgentes que hán venido à cargar sobre sus costas.

El adjunto Extracto que acompaño à V.E. le impondrà de las operaciones de la Fragata *Argentina* de Buenos Ayres, y de las disposiciones que yo arbitré para su persecucion y medidas que he tomado para conseguir que los buques que existen en ese Reyno, den fondo en Marianas, y se impongan de quanto les conviene practicar para que arribando à Palapa, obtengan las prevenciones que este Gobierno há hecho y hará, y consigan asegurar los caudales que transporte: por lo tanto, suplico à V.E. que impuesto del referido Extracto, tenga la bondad de mandarlo comunicar inmediatamente al Sor. Comandante general de la Nueva Galicia, para que disponga se enteren de él los Capitanes de las embarcaciones que existan en San Blas, y que V.E. se sirva ordenar lo mismo à los que existan en Acapulco.

Afortunadamente vuelve la *Maria* à ese Reyno, y tengo la proporcion de comunicar à V.E. esta ocurrencia, añadiendole que desaparecida de estas costas la *Argentina*, ha recalada en ellas otra Fragata, al parecer de mayor porte, que aunque hasta la presente no há presentado hostilidad alguna por donde se acredite de Ynsurgenta, és indudable lo sea, pues anda con vanderas Olandesa, sin duda en la expectativa de esperar alguno de los buques que deben retornar de Nueva España, los quales és importantisimo, navegan à su regreso con las precauciones debidas, y que impuestos de todas la medidas que he adoptado, y adoptarè en adelante, para que obtengan, tanto en Palapa, como en los demas puntos de recalada de estas Yslas, las noticias convenientes de la existencia, ó inexistencia de buques insurgentes, hayan sus derrotas con esta prevision y procuren evitar ser sorprendidos; tomando Puerto donde juzguen mas acertado, asi para asegurar los Caudales que conduzcan, como para dirigirme executivos avisos, y que el Gobierno les prevenga lo que fuere mas acertado en la epoca respectiva; asi como lo ha verificado con el Bergantin *Feliz* que, haviendo entrado el 27 de Mayo ultimo en el Estrecho de San Bernardino, fondeó en Sorsogon, y aseguró en tierra los Caudales de su registro por haverse impuesto su Capitan Don Fernando Cuervo de los avisos y prevenciones que Yo tenia anticipados en aquel punto.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Manila 5 de Agosto de 1818.

Exmo. Sor.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Virrey de Nueva España.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

In the letter that I received from Y.E., dated 11 February of this year, I remain informed of the measures taken to despatch the frigate *Santa Rita* that was supposed to

have begun her return voyage to these islands between 20 and 25 February, with double the value of a regular load, considering her latest and previous voyages, and with part of the funds that belonged to the voyage of the [galleon] **Magallanes**, Y.E. having left the decision to the Supercargos and owners of the ships to divide their interests as they pleased, based on the instruction issued by the Hall of Commerce of this city; for instance, the **Rita** could complete her load with registered silver ingots, if there were not enough money in cash, although they would then be obliged to record same on her manifest, etc. that Y.E. told me, in answer to my Letter n° 4, dated 21 July 1817.

As a consequence of this advice received from Y.E., the traders and I have been awaiting the arrival of said Frigate **Santa Rita**, and the one named **Carmen**, but as of this date, neither has arrived. Perhaps they have been delayed, due to the difficulties in completing their load, but this is contrary to the contract between the traders and the owner of the **Rita**; this event has had the most prejudicial consequences upon public and private funds, at the most critical and anxious times for us, given the consternation created in these Islands by the arrival of Insurgent Ships that have come to carry out attacks upon our coasts.

The Summary, enclosed,¹ will inform Y.E. about the operations of the frigate **Argentina** from Buenos Aires, and of the dispositions that I took to pursue her, and the measures that I took to obtain that the ships of this Kingdom make a stopover at the Marianas, and get informed of the preventative measures already taken by this Government, and those that were to be taken, to have them head for Palapag, where they were to secure their funds carried on board them; consequently, I beg Y.E., once you have taken notice of said Summary, to be so kind as to order that the Commanding General of New Galicia be sent a copy, so that he in turn might inform the captains of the vessels then in San Blas, and that Y.E. be pleased to order the same for those then at Acapulco.

Fortunately, the **María** has just returned to this Kingdom, and I have the honor to report this occurrence to Y.E., but I hasten to add that, as soon as the **Argentina** disappeared from these coasts, another frigate appeared, seemingly of larger capacity; however, so far she has not done any hostility that would have marked her as Insurgent, but there is no doubt that she is; indeed, she goes around with a Dutch flag, no doubt expecting to intercept some of the ships that must return from New Spain. That is why it is important for the latter to exercise due caution during their return voyages, and to learn about all the measures that I have taken, and will take, to make them stop at Palapag, or at any of the other ports of these Islands, to receive appropriate news as to whether or not there are insurgent ships, and then plan the rest of their voyages accordingly, to avoid being surprised, by choosing the port that they will judge safest, not only to place their funds in safety but also to address to me their executive advices, the better for this Government to help them with the best measures in any given time period. This procedure was followed by the brigantine **Feliz** that came in on 27 May last in the Strait of San Bernardino, and went to anchor at Sorsogon, and placed her regis-

¹ Ed. note: The Summary in question was reproduced as Doc. 1818K.

tered funds ashore, after her Captain, Don Fernando Cuervo, received the advices and took note of the measures that I had previously addressed to that port.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 5 August 1818.

Your Excellency.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain.

Q3. Coast guard of Guam—Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 15 February 1819

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

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 217.

M. Y.S.

*La aseleracion de la Partida para esa de la Fragata de Nacion Rusa nombrada la **Kamtchatka**, y el haver tenido en Casa à su Comandante, y demas Oficiales hasta el ultimo momento de hir à dar la Vela, hizo que no huviese tenido tiempo para leer la correspondencia antes de firmarla, que por el mismo Buque dirijí à V.S., y à los doce dias de haver salido la Gavarra de S.M. la **Sonora**, haviendo hecho traer à la vista el Libro de Oficios quede sorprendido, y lleno del mayor pezar, à el haver visto que el Oficial que los pone en limpio, sin embargo de haverle advertido de que los confrontase con los borradores no huviese hecho tal, y si por torpeza, y abandono brincado en el de fecha siete de Diziembre N° 203, omitiendo el haver hecho presente à la alta consideracion de V.S. de que los indicados vigieros estavan advertidos de que el que primero descubriese algun Buque hiciese sin perder instante una grande candelada para que imitandole él inmediato siguiesen haviendo lo mismo los demas, y llegase à mi noticia sin otra dilacion que lo que tardasen en berificarlas; como asi mismo al Conocimiento del Alferaz graduado Don José de Castro, à quien tengo destacado desde la llegada de la Gavarra en el sitio que llaman de Jajayan (cita[da] al Sur de la Ysla) al cuidado de una Banca, y cuatro naturales de las Yslas Carolinas del Sur, en la cual hize montar un Pedrero Calibre de à 2., con beinte, y cinco cartuchos, una grande Vandera, y Orden para que en el acto que divise que hace fuego cualesquiera de las dos Vigias que tiene à la vista salga, y se enmare con la indicada vandera amorrónada, en el Tope del Palo, hasta que logre ponerse en Situacion capaz de poder hablar con facilidad à los del Buque avistado, y que si notase de que [no] se deja reconocer no deja de tirar tiros con el fin de que oidos por los de Abordo logre se ponga en espera, y ya à la voz pregunte que Buque ès, quien su Capitan, quien el primer Piloto, de donde viene, y à donde va, y cierto que es Embarcacion conocida suba à su Bordo, y le prevenga al primer Gefe de parte de este Gobierno, que por Orden del Superior de Filipinas, se lo hà mandado que precisamente arrive, y dè fondo en la Ensenada de la Villa de Umata, ò que sobre bordos se mantenga à la vista hasta tanto que se le instruya de quanto V.S. hà tenido à vien*

prevenirme para el intento, no omitiendo el hacer presente à V.S. que el expresado Oficial Castro, Situado en el indicado sitio de Jajayan, para el reconocimiento de las Embarcaciones que puedan recalar de N.E. tiene adelantado el que conoce à Don Joaquin de Elizaga primer Piloto de la Fragata Carmen, y al de igual clase Don Felix Dayot que monta la Rita, y à Don Francisco Varela dueño del Bergantin San Ruperto; y al Sur de la Ysla de Cocos desde el mismo tiempo, y con igual fin tengo puesto un otro Oficial de cuidado del Bote de la Villa de Umata, y dos Canoas con seis Yndios de las Yslas de San Duwich [sic] capaces de salir con ellas al reconocimiento de cualesquiera Buque por enmarado que se halle.

Hasta aqui lo que omitió de expresar el Escrivente en el citado Oficio, sin que me hubiese quedado mas advitrio de consuelo, que el de creer que el comandante de la Fragata Rusa, puede haver instruido à V.S. de la increíble distancia en que se hallava su buque de la Ysla, quando con las Embarcaciones referidas le salieron à reconocer los dos Oficiales expresados, no obstante de haver estado bastante alterada la Mar, y el dia bien tempestuoso; Como asi mismo el que el Alferes de Fragata Don José Navarrete pueda haver hecho à V.S. un de tál [sic] circunstanciado del todo de las Providencias que para el reconocimiento de los Buques que recalasen, y poner esta Ysla en el mejor estado de defensa posible vió realizar desde el siguiente dia de su llegada.

He de merecer à V.S. tenga la bondad de disculparme una tan grave falta seguro de que desde el principio de mi Carrera no hê anelado à mas que reducir à la practica las ordenes que han tenido à vien comunicarme mis Gefes.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Villa de Umata, y Febrero 15. de 1819.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 217.

Your Excellency:

The speed with which the Russian frigate named **Kamchatka** departed, and the fact that I had hosted her Commander and other officers in my house until the last moment of her sailing, resulted in my having no time to read the correspondence before signing it, the same one that was addressed to Y.L. aboard the same ship. About 12 days after H.M.'s tender **Sonora** had left, I had the Letter-book brought to me and was very surprised, and even more sorry, to realize that the officer who makes the clean copies, in spite of the fact that he was warned to compare them with the draft copies, did not do so. As it is, for sheer torpidity, and lack of care on his part, my letter dated 7 December, bearing N° 203, did not bring to the high consideration of Y.L. the fact that said look-outs were warned to be on their guard, and that the first man to see some ship was to make a giant bonfire without wasting any time, and the others were to imitate him immediately, one after the other, so that the news would get to my notice without any

other delay than the time taken to transmit the news to me, and also to the notice of Midshipman of substantive rank, José de Castro, whom I have detached since the arrival of the tender to the site called Jajayan (located on the south side of the Island) in charge of a canoe, and four natives from the Caroline Islands, aboard which I had mounted a mortar of 2-pound caliber, with 25 cartridges, one big flag, and an order to the effect that, once they spot a fire on either of the two lookout peaks that they can see from there, he was to go out to sea with said flag flying from the top of the mast, until he can manage to reach a spot from which he can clearly talk with those aboard the ship in question, and, in case he should notice that she does not let herself be recognized, he is to continue firing until those aboard lay to, and then he is to ask for: the name of the ship, those of her captain and first mate, where they come from, and where they are going. In case of her being a known ship, he is to board her, and tell the commander on behalf of this Government that by order of the Superior Government of the Philippines, he has been ordered to make a stopover, and anchor in the cove of the Town of Umata, or else, to lay on and off in sight of the island, until he has been instructed by me of whatever order Y.L. may have advised me of for the purpose, not omitting to report to Y.L. that said officer Castro, located as he is at the above-mentioned site of Jajayan, for reconnoitering the vessels that may be returning from New Spain, has the advantage of knowing personally Mr. Joaquín de Elizaga, first pilot of the frigate **Carmen**, Mr. Felix Dayot, the first pilot of the **Rita**, and Mr. Francisco Varela, the owner of the brig **San Ruperto**. To the south of Cocos Island, at the same time and for the same purpose, I have placed another officer in charge of the boat belonging to the Town of Umata, and two canoes with six Indians from the Sandwich Islands, able to go out with them to reconnoiter any ship, though she be far at sea.

Here ends the part that the clerk had omitted from said letter. To console myself, I have been hoping that the commander of the Russian frigate might have told Y.L. of the incredible distance at which his ship was from the island, when the two above-mentioned officers aboard said vessels came out to reconnoiter him, despite the sea being rather rough, and the day being stormy. Similarly, I hope that the Midshipman of the Frigate, José Navarrete, might have made a detailed report of everything regarding the measures taken for reconnoitering the ships and have them stop, and to place this Island in the best condition for defence, measures which he saw for himself from the day following his arrival.

I hope that I deserve the favor to have Y.L. forgive such a grave error on my part, as I am sure that from the beginning of my career, I have only desired nothing more than to carry out the orders communicated to me by my Superiors.

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

Town of Umata, 15 February 1819.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

 Documents 1819R

The voyage of the San Ruperto, alias Aventurero, Captain Varela

R1. Letter from the local commander of Monterey, California, upon her arrival there in 1818

Source: AGN Fil. 49, fol. 71-71v.

Original text in Spanish.

n. 1.

En virtud de aver Vm. arrivato à este Puerto a reparar el Buque de su mando, y refrescar la tripulacion enferma despues de etan dilatada navegacion en cinco meses, hallandose ya pronto para seguir su viage al dee su destino que es el de San Blas ó Acapulco, y conociendo no sele sigue atraso ninguno en el nuevo derrotero le estimaré se sirva admitir a su bordo unos cortos socorros para las Compañias de los Presidios de Santa Barbara y San Diego y tengo detenidos por falta de proporcion para su remesa, y estan dichas Compañias en extrema necesidad de ellos, cuya nota le acompaño: bien sea desembarcandolos en las Radas de Santa Barbara, San Pedro, o Puerto de San Diego en donde a Vm. mas le acomode: de cuyo servicio daré parte a los Exmos Sres Virey de Nueva España y Comandante General de Guadalaxara.

Dios guarde a Vm. muchos años.

Monterey 14 de Febrero de 1818.

Pablo Vizente de Sola.

[Al] Dor. Don Francisco Cagigas, Capitan del Bergantin San Ruperto.

Translation.

Nº 1

In view of the arrival of Your Grace at this port, to repair the ship under your command, and to refresh the sick crew after a long voyage of five months, and since you are now ready to pursue your voyage to the port of San Blas, or that of Acapulco, and with the understanding that you should not be impeded along your new route, I would be honored if you would please admit on board a few supplies for the Companies in charge of the garrisons at Santa Barbara and San Diego, supplies which I had kept in

sotre for them, because there was no occasion to forward them, though it was known that said Companies were in extreme need of them (as per enclosed list). They could be unloaded in the roads of Santa Barbara, or San Pedro, or the port of San Diego, wherever Your Grace sees fit. I will report same to their Excellencies the Viceroy of New Spain and Commanding General of Guadalajara.

May God save Your Grace for many years,

Monterey, 14 February 1818.

Pablo Vicente de Sola.

[To] Mr. Francisco [Varela] Cagigas, Captain of the brigantine **San Ruperto**.

R2. Letter of introduction dated Monterey 15 February 1818

Source: AGN Fil. 49, fol. 72.

Original text in Spanish.

N. 2.

*Haviendo llegado á este Puerto el Bergantin Español **San Ruperto** alias Aventnure-ro al mando de D. Francisco Cagigas que salio de Manila en Agosto pasado para San Blas y por el dilatado de su viage y temporales que han sufrido y escases de rancho y mal estado en que se hallaban que le obligaron á tomar puerto en esta Costa y me hizo presente la situacion de su buque y serciorado de ser asi y a peticion del expresado Capitan por si se hiciesen cargos ke de este cini ugyaknebte eb qye eb vurtud de duruhurse á S. Blas, y la seguridad que ofrece el buque toque en lla Bahía San Pedro en la Costa y condusca y entregue alli la remision que hago y de que carecen las Compañias que guarnezen aquellos puertos que en la actualidad deben de ser socorridos por todo nacional.*

Monte-Rey y Febrero 15 de 1818.

Pablo Vizente de Sola.

Translation.

Nº 2

On the occasion of the arrival at this port of the Spanish brigantine **San Ruperto**, alias Aventurero, under the command of Don Francisco Cagigas, that left Manila last August for San Blas and on account of her long voyage and the storms that she suffered from and the shortages of food and the bad condition in which they found themselves, they were forced to take port on this coast, and I was made aware of the situation of his ship and, after due verification, and at the request of said Captain I have given the present, allowing him to pursue his voyage to San Blas, or seek the shelter of the Bay of San Pedro along this coast, to carry and deliver there the goods that I am sending and that are needed by the Companies that garrison those ports, and which must in fact be assisted by any ship of our nationality.

Monterey, 15 February 1818.

Pablo Vicente de Sola.

R3. Letter from the Supercargo upon arrival at San Blas

Source: AGN Fil. 59, fol. 189-189v.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*Como compromisario del Bergantin Español nombrado **San Ruperto** (alias) el Aventurero su Capitan y Maestre Don Francisco Varela Cagigas, que dio la vela del Puerto de Cavite el 29 de Agosto del año proximo pasado, como asi mismo los Buques nombrado **Victoria** y [Santa] **Rita**, todos destinados al Puerto de San Blas ó Acapulco; debo [poner] á noticia de V.E. que aquellos hicieron derrota por el Sur, y este Bergantin por el Norte, cuya penosa y larga navegacion, nos puso en la necesidad de estar faltos de leña, y la tripulacion la mayor parte muy est[r]jemados del Escorbuto: por todo lo qual determinó el Capitan arriivar al Puerto de San Carlos de Monterey, adonde fondeamos á los cinco meses menos tres dias de navegacion del Puerto de nuestra salida.*

*Con los auxilios eficaces de refrescos, y leña que el Sr. Governador D. Pablo Vicente Asola [sic], franqueó eficazmente se restablecio la Marineria mui en breve; por lo qual provistos a dar la vela para San Blas, hizo presente el Sr. Governador, al citado Capitan del Bergantin, se hallava con el Situado que le dejó el Comandante del Bergantin **Activo** hace años para los Presidios de Santa Barbara, San Diego & los condujen á dichos Presidios, mediante a no extraviar su navegacion, y por convenir asi al servicio de S.M., se convino á ello el Capitan del citado Bergantin **San Ruperto**, a ponerlos en la Rada de San Pedro, y entregarlos al Gefe de la tropas de aquel sitio mas inmediato como asi lo verifico, y levamos de la referida rada de SAn Pedro el dia 12 de este de la fecha, todo lo qual elevo a la superior noticia de V.E.*

Adjunto hallará V.E. el escrito de los efectos, tanto de efectos extrangeros, como nacionales que conduce el referido Bergantin.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

San Blas 29 de Marzo de 1818.

Exmo. Sor.

B.L.M. de V.E. su mui atento servidor,

Juan Garcia Saenz

[A] Exmo. Sor. D. José M^a Apodaca, Virrey, y Capitan General del Reyno de N.E. Presidente de la Real Audiencia, y Capitanía General de la Real Armada.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

As Supercargo of the Spanish brigantine named **San Ruperto**, alias Aventurero, her Captain and Master, Don Francisco Varela Cagigas, that sailed from the port of Cavite on 29 August of last year, at the same time as the ship named **Victoria** and **Santa Rita**, all bound to the port of San Blas or Acapulco, I must report to Y.E. that the letter ships took the southern route, whereas this brigantine took the northern route, hence

her arduous and long voyage that made us run out of wood, and made most of the crew very sick with scurvy. For the above reasons, the Captain decided to put in at the port of San Carlos of Monterey, where we anchored after five months less three days of navigation from our port of origin.

With the efficient assistance received from Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola the sailors made an effective recovery very quickly. As we were about to sail for San Blas, the Governor made it known to the above-named Captain of the brigantine that he held the subsidy that had been left there by the Commander of the brigantine **Activo** years ago and meant for the garrisons of Santa Barbara and San Diego, asking him to take same to said garrisons, given that it was not out of his way. Since it was for the service of H.M., the Captain of said brigantine **San Ruperto** agreed to deliver them in the road of San Pedro, and deliver them to the officer in charge of the soldiers at the nearest place, and so it was done, and we departed from said road of San Pedro on the 12th of this month, all of which I report we departed from said road of San Pedro on the 12th of this month, all of which I report to the superior attention of Y.E.

Please find attached the list of the goods, foreign and national, carried on board said brigantine.¹

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 29 March 1818.

Your Excellency.

The most attentive servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Juan García Saenz.

[To] His Excellency Don José María [sic] Apodaca, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain, President of the Royal Audiencia and Captaincy General of the Royal Navy.

1 Ed. note: Not to be found in same file.

Note 1820A

Captain Samuel Hill in the Packet returned to Micronesia

Source: His logbook (same source as Doc 1816A).

Extract from the logbook of Captain Hill

...

[Observations]

1820 April 17: At 4:30 p.m. of the 17th, saw a small group of islands bearing NE by N dist. 20 miles. These are doubtless the Garden Isles, although none of the Charts or Books place any land in this position. They will be found in Lat. 22°00' North & Long. 149°03'30" East nearly.¹

...

1820 April 21: ... Passed to the north of Urac [i.e. Uracas] with a clear sea.

The aftermath.

The ship arrived at Macao at the end of April, visited Canton and was off again in May, reaching the Sulphur, or Iwo, group in June. All three islands of this group were seen and sketched. Then the ship went by the Bonin, or Ogasawara, group without seeing any island. Only then did the Captain consider himself as entering the Pacific Ocean proper. The **Packet** was back in Chile in September. From there, the ship undertook another voyage to China in July 1821. At Hawaii, they met two other U.S. ships on their way to China: the **William & John** of New York, Captain Ebbets, and the **Paragon** of Boston, Captain Meek. The logbook does not mention sighting any of the Mariana Islands this time. The **Packet** reached Canton in November 1821 and left for Boston in February 1822, arriving there in June.

¹ Ed. note: Since there are no islands in that position (Marcus was simply too far, at 24° N and 154° E), they must have seen some clouds.

 Document 1820B

The visit of the whaler Syren, Captain Coffin

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

Note: This ship was owned by Charles and Samuel Enderby of London and was registered in 1816. A Yankee, Frederick Coffin, was made captain on 8 July 1819 and sent to the South Seas. Upon the ship's return, she was sold to Thomas Davidson & Co. of South Shields (ref. Jones' Ships).

Report of the Governor of Guam, dated 5 September 1820

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 230.

M. Y.S.

*En la tarde del dia 8 de Agosto del presente año de las Mares del Japon de hacer la Pesca de Ballena con doscientas Toneladas de Azeyte à su Bordo apareció por el Norte de la Ysla la Fragata Ynglesa nombrada **la Syrena** con necesidad de hacer Viveres para pasar à la Ysla Molocus [sic] à continuar dicha Pesca, y sin el menor interès le franqueé à su Capitan Don Federico Coffin los que se manifiestan por la Relacion que para que si V.S. lo tiene à bien se instruya con el mayor respeto acompaño.*

Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Septiembre 5 de 1820.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda

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

Razon que manifiesta los Viveres que sin interez franqueó este Gobierno al Commandante de la Fragata Ynglesa llamada la Syrena para seguir su Derrota à las Yslas Molocus, y son A saver

Tres Reses Bacunas.

Doce Puercos.

Dos Aras de Pescados frescos.

Mil Nicas.

Beinte Chiquiguitos de Maiz desgranados.

Cien Aves.

Doscientos Huevos.

Ciento y diez Racimos de Platanos.
Sesenta Sandias.
Treinta Aras de Caxeles.
Diez y seis Yd. de Limones.
Ochenta y dos Condeles.
Diez y seis Aras de Berengenas.
Doce Yd. de Tomates.
Doce Yd. de Palmitos.
Dos Yd. de Frixoles frescos.
Quatro Yd. de Camotes.
Ocho Yd. de Pimientos.
Quatro Yd. de Calavazas.
Seis Cueros de Baca.
Un Caxon con treinta Manos de Tabaco.
Agaña, y Agosto 10 de 1820.
Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda

Translation.

Superior Government N° 230.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In the afternoon of 8 August of the present year, there came from the Japan Sea, where she had been whaling, the English frigate named **Syren** with 200 tons of oil on board, which appeared at the north of this Island, and needed food supplies to go on to the Moluccas to pursue said fishery. Without the least cost to him, I gave to her Captain, Mr. Frederick Coffin, the supplies shown on the list below, which I respectfully enclose in case Y.L. may wish to consult it.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 5 September 1820.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

List of the food supplies that this Government provided at no cost to the Commander of the English frigate named Syren to allow her to pursue her voyage to the Molucca Islands, to wit:

- 3 cows.
- 12 pigs.
- 2 baskets of fresh fish.
- 1,000 *Nica* roots.
- 20 *chiguquitos*¹ of corn kernels.
- 100 chickens.

1 Ed. note: Some kind of containers. Word not in dictionaries.

- 200 eggs.
 - 110 banana bunches.
 - 60 watermelons.
 - 30 baskets of sour oranges.¹
 - 16 baskets of lemons.
 - 82 long squashes.²
 - 16 baskets of eggplants.
 - 12 baskets of tomatos.
 - 12 baskets of hearts of palm.
 - 2 baskets of fresh beans.
 - 4 baskets of sweet potatos.
 - 8 baskets of peppers.
 - 4 baskets of squashes.
 - 6 cow hides.
 - 1 crate containing 30 handfuls of tobacco.
- Agaña, 10 August 1820.
José de Medinilla y Pineda

First whaling ship on the Japan Ground.

Source: Nautical magazine, April 1853.

...

The late Captain Winship of Brighton, on his voyage from China to the Sandwich Islands, observed large numbers of sperm whales; and, in consequence of this information, several ships were fitted for what is now called "the Coast of Japan." The ship **Maro** of Nantucket, Captain Joseph Allen, in company with the English ship **Syren**, owned by Messrs. Enderby of London, and commanded by Captain Frederick Coffin of Nantucket, were the first to reach that distant sea. The **Syren** struck the first whale on the 10th May 1820, the **Maro** the second on the 1st of June. Other ships followed, and nearly all obtained full cargoes in five months, taking nearly 2,000 barrels of sperm oil each.

³
...

1 Ed. note: Governor Medinilla used the Filipino name for this fruit, *Kahel*.

2 Ed. note: He used the Filipino word "kondol."

3 Ed. note: There is no doubt that the hospitality of Governor Medinilla toward Captain Coffin was responsible for the many visits by English and Yankee ships that followed over the next few years.

Document 1820C

The story of a Frenchman aboard the *Santa Rita*

The narrative of Gabriel Lafond, aboard the *Santa Rita* in 1820

Source: Capitaine Gabriel Lafond (de Lurcy). Quinze ans de voyage autour du monde (2 vol., Paris, 1840).

Dedications.

In Guam and the Marianas:

To General **Parreño**, who has carried out many great works in those Islands.

To Don José **Medinilla**, Governor.

To Don Francisco Ramón **de Villalobos**, Governor.

To **Robertson**, who had become ship captain in Peru and hijacked a ship full of money in the port of Callao and came to seek refuge with his booty in the Mariana Islands, where he drowned himself rather than reveal the place where he had hidden this treasure.

Foreword.

Before I begin to narrate my voyages, I believe that I must reveal the motives that made me decide, when I was still a very young man, to leave my parents and country and dedicate myself to the arduous career in the navy and sea voyages that I have pursued with determination during the most beautiful fifteen years of my life...¹

I decided to become a sailor, and follow the steps of my honorable grand-father, Guy de Mayet, since I could not successfully embrace that of my father [a soldier]. I was much more mature and wise than other young men of my age; I took my own counsel and, after a serious examination, decided on my vocation. It was not impelled by the need to satisfy a frivolous curiosity, nor a young man's fancy, or even a temporary exaltation that made me decide, but a firm and energetic plan that I had to become an honorable man, one who would emulate the great explorers.

1 Ed. note: The 15-year period in question was from 1818-1831. The author does not mention his visits to Micronesia in this book (see later, under 1822, 1828 and 1831).

My only problem was how to get the agreement of my mother, who could very well not be persuaded that I was destined to become another Captain Cook, or some other famous mariner. Nevertheless, after many tears, she agreed to my departure. A beautiful ship, the **Fils de France**, was about to leave for China. One of my comrades, Adolf Hummel, a relative of the ship-owner, arranged for me to be hired. I went on board her in the month of June 1818, as an apprentice seaman. My fifteen years at sea began on that date, and I served aboard the following ships:

1818	<i>Fils de France</i>	Apprentice pilot	From Nantes to Manila, China, & back. To Manila.
	id.	id.	
	<i>María</i>	Mate.	
1820	<i>Santa Rita</i>	Lieutenant.	From Manila to San Blas.
	<i>Mentor</i>	id.	From San Blas to Quayaquil.
1821	<i>Venturoso</i>	id.	Expedition to Choco. ¹
1822	<i>Santa Rita</i>	Captain	From Guayaquil.
	<i>Estrella</i>	id.	From Peru.
	<i>Aurora</i>	id.	Peru and Chile.
1825	<i>General Bolívar</i>	Supercargo.	Peru.
1826	<i>Infatigable</i> ²	Supercargo & owner.	Lima, Payta, Guayaquil, Chile.
1827	<i>General Pinto</i>	Captain & owner.	
1828	<i>Alzire</i>	Passenger.	To Hawaii and Manila.
	<i>María</i>	id.	Voyage to China.
	<i>America</i>	id.	Voyage to China.
1829	<i>Soledad</i>	Captain & owner.	Singapore, Macassar, Moluccas, Sulu, Manila.
	<i>Carmen</i>	id.	
1830	<i>Candida</i>	Captain & owner.	New Holland, shipwrecked in Tonga.
1831	<i>Lloyds</i>	Passenger.	From Tonga to Marianas.
	<i>Royalist</i>	id.	From Guam to Manila.
1832	<i>Laure</i>	id.	From Manila to Reunion Island.
1833	<i>Nayade</i>	Officer.	From Reunion to Nantes.
	...		

1 Ed. note: By claiming to have been a “foot” Lieutenant here, it appears that he may have led some soldiers during part of the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

2 This ship, whose name had been changed, was the former **Calder**, the ship that Captain Dillon had when he discovered the wreck of La Pérouse at Vanikoro.

Chapter 8.

Outfitting the Santa Rita for a voyage to New Spain.—I sign as Third Officer on board her.—Departure.—Falling back to Dirique.—Running aground.—Damages.—Forced visit to Salomague.—Visit to Cabugao.—To Lapog.—Young Ilocano girls.—Monks.¹

Mr. Felix Dayot, with Don Andrés Palmero and a few other Manila traders, outfitted a three-masted ship called [Santa] **Rita** for voyages to the coast of Mexico. He offered me the job of third officer, and I accepted willingly. Soon the ship was loaded and we were sailing toward our destination, at the end of March [1820].

The **Rita** was a ship that had been built in Bengal. She carried her sails well but was rather undistinguished while maneuvering; furthermore, like all ships made of teak wood, she did not move very rapidly.

Don Andrés Palmero, a former surgeon with the squadron of General Alava and now a Manila trader, was in command of the ship. He knew nothing about ships, but in Spain it is not necessary for the captain to be a mariner; it is only necessary to have a certified pilot on board. Don Felipe de la Peña, a native of Cartagena, was chief pilot; Mr. Richardson, an Englishman, the only proper officer on board, was second officer. Don Lucas Furneaux, a native of Acapulco and son of a Frenchman, and myself, jointly filled the post of third officer. Finally, a chaplain completed the staff officers. Then there were two apprentice pilots, Zuñiga and Garay, and three passengers, and they generally shared the cabin. The rest of the crew consisted of 40 men, ship officers and sailors from many countries.

The ship looked like Noah's Ark: the launch was full of cows, calves and goats; the quarter-deck and forecastle were full of coops holding hens, capons, ducks, turkeys. Below the launch were kept pigs of all sizes. The places under the sails, at the back of the ship, were provided with squashes, sweet potatoes, bunches of bananas, baskets of oranges. So, one can easily see how much space was left for the maneuvers.

Besides the huge wages received by the staff and sea officers, they still had the possibility, by virtue of their special permits, to load from 5 to 6 tons of goods, beyond those they could store in the cabin. In addition, at their arrival in America, they still received a good daily allowance for their food and lodging ashore. The chief pilot received 200 francs per month, and 3 francs per day while ashore. And so on, for the other officers, each one in relative proportion to his rank, whereas the sailors received 10 pesos in salary, the apprentices from 6 to 8, plus 7 to 8 for expenses ashore. Notwithstanding these excessive expenses and the exorbitant interest of 30% paid to the fraternities which, however, insured themselves for sea risk against total loss, but only from the time of departure until arrival at destination, such operations still produced very nice profits.

The S.W. monsoon had not yet begun; a few light breezes, variable from the S. could however be felt along the coast of Luzon, and with their help, we went rather easily up

1 Ed. note: All place names are in the Ilocos region of Luzon, Dirique is now in Ilocos Norte and the other places in Ilocos Sur. The latter places were first visited by another Frenchman, Captain Boisloré, in 1713 (see map in HM11:574).

as far as Cape Bojeador, but there, we faced strong N.E. winds that forced us to tack for many days; the breeze was so strong and the sea so rough that we did not make any headway. Mr. Palmero was seasick and, seeing that water running low, he got the idea of falling back behind the Cape, to visit a small port named Dirique. Consequently, one fine day toward noon, we fell back and followed the coast rather closely to spot the anchorage. As soon as we were in the lee of the cape, the sea suddenly became as calm as a lake. At about 2 p.m., the apprentice pilot acting as a lookout on the mizzen yard shouted: "Rocks ahead!" We tacked but the ship began to heel. From that moment on, everything was just confusion on board; everyone was giving orders, one wanting the boats overboard, another wanting the tackles brought up, yet others were loading the sails. It was a complete mixup. At that moment I was in the poop and I saw that the rudder was being hit hard. I called two men and, with two bars from the capstan, made a bipod to support the guy rope. I then grabbed a piece of rope and passed it through the head of the capstan (as we had a cross-bar, and the hole in the right bar was free. Suddenly, one more heel and the rudder jumped up, but, as we were ready, it remained suspended from the guy,¹ to which I had previously tied it, although the heavy rudder was making the guy bend down under the weight. It was a lucky event that I had found myself there at that time; otherwise, the flying rudder would have crashed down upon the poop of the ship and destroyed it, the boards would certainly have given way and the *Rita* would have remained forever at that place. Finally, the launch was cleared [of animals] but when it came time to put it overboard, it leaked everywhere; it had to be caulked before it could be used to go and drop a kedje anchor, the only way we could get out from on top of those rocks.

Meanwhile, the long boat was sent ashore with Zuñiga, the apprentice pilot, to find out exactly the place where we were, and if we would find at Dirique the objects necessary to repair the ship. The weather continued very nice. At about 5 p.m., we finally succeeded to get out of harm's way, but, while trying to replace the rudder, we noticed that two hinges had been broken, although luckily the bottom and the top hinges were alright. However, since we had some waves, it was a difficult task, to try and make them fit into one another again. I believe that we would never have succeeded without the help of a few Indian divers. Finally, we were offshore and the ship did not leak much.

Still, in such a condition, we could no longer pursue our voyage. A council was held between the captain, the officers, and the passengers; going back to Manila was out of the question, because the voyage would then be abandoned on account of the late season, and of the nature of the contracts with the fraternities for the venture.

Don Agustín Morgado, one of the passengers, who had been for a long time Governor, or Provincial Mayor, of the Province of Ilocos, told us that there was a small port near Vigan, where the small coastal boats came to load rice; that this port was called Salomague, and would be very convenient for us to repair our ship. Zuñiga came back during the middle of the night, and his report was not at all favorable to Dirique,

1 Ed. note: I visualize that they immediately pulled on the rope linking the contraption to the head of the capstan, as soon as the rudder became loose.

as it was situated in the middle of a desert, without any resources, and the nearest village was located over one league away. However, he added that he had met with a coastal boat, had gone on board it, and had contracted the *arraez*, its master, to give us assistance, something the latter promised to do as soon as the land breeze would begin. In fact, he came to anchor near the ship, helped us recover our kedge anchor, and provided us with a coastal pilot to guide us to Salomague. We set sail for that port at 2 a.m. and, two days later, we anchored behind a protecting reef that breaks the waves when the sea becomes agitated. We had hardly dropped the anchor that we were inspecting the coast to select the best place to set up some warehouses. Mr. Morgado left to go to Vigan, and I was put in charge of visiting a large village, named Cabugao, to inform the priest there about our arrival and to beg him to engage the men required to carry out our repair work.

Upon landing, I crossed a countryside covered with cotton trees, then after crossing a small mountain, covered with beautiful trees near the shore, I went down to flat lands dedicated to growing rice. The plains of the province of Ilocos are extremely fertile; they produce in abundance most of the rice that is exported to China. Soon I came to a large and beautiful village that seemed to me to contain a population of 3 to 4,000 souls. My guide led me to the house of the Curate, or, as it is said in the Philippines, the Father Superior. He lived in a superb convent next to the church. Our horses were taken to a building bearing the pompous name of *Casa Real* (Royal House), mainly dedicated to lodging the ordinary travellers who seek hospitality there. This house is also called the *Tribunal*, because the municipal sentences are passed there.

Upon entering the curate's house, I was led through the passage-way by my guide who made the sign for me to keep quiet: "Walk, walk, but as softly as possible," he told me in bad Spanish. Since all the windows were closed tight, I deduced that His Lordship was having a siesta. A servant begged me to stop in the great hall, and brought me some cigars and fire, "according to custom". A short time later, I heard someone shout: "Boy, who is there?" "*Castilla*, Sir, was the answer. This word *Castilla* [=Spaniard] is the name indistinctly given to all whites by the natives. Soon there appeared a good-looking monk, wearing the white robe of his order.¹ He seemed to be about 40 years old. His flush complexion announced that he did not sin by excessive abstinence or mortification. I handed the letter that I carried and, after having read it, he said: "I already know about your arrival, and I have ordered my hammock to be prepared to go and pay you a visit this afternoon, but, since you are here, I believe that my presence in the village will be better, as I will be better able then to send you the necessary assistance."

He asked me if I had had lunch. I answered in the affirmative. So, he invited me to take hot chocolate with him, while adding the banal formula used by civilized Spaniards: "Esta casa es[ta] a la disposicion de usted" (this house is your house). Without waiting for an answer from me, he gave his orders and soon the table was covered with preserves, biscuits, doughnuts, then came the chocolate.

1 Ed. note: The Augustinian Fathers were in charge of the parishes of Ilocos then (see below).

While we were drinking the chocolate, the headman of the village and his lieutenants were coming in and made to wait in the corridor or waiting room; every one of them had a cane in his hand, a shirt floating over loose-fitting pants, and on top of this shirt, a jacket of either silk, Madras or blue cotton; this is the necessary dress for any petty official in a Filipino village, because the "captain" of the village is its mayor, and his "lieutenants" are his assistants. They were squatting in the passage-way, chewing their *buyo* or betel nut, and looked like real monkeys.

When the curate had finished his chocolate, and had drank his glass of water, smoked his cigar and chewed his betel nut, he let them in, and, seated on a large leather-covered chair, spoke to them in an authoritative voice, the Indians answering to everything he was saying with *¡Sí, Señor! ¡Sí, Señor!*¹ After this conversation, which I had not understood a word of, he told me that I could leave in one or two hours, when the sun was set, and to report to Mr. Palmero, whom he knew, that he would go and see him "the day after tomorrow," as he had to take the next day to make some arrangements, but in the meantime, he would send about 100 men to assist us. I was really surprised to learn that the curate had so much influence upon the inhabitants. Although at Manila, I had often been told that the monks rule over the provinces like potentates, I would never have guessed the ease with which he could make himself obeyed; indeed, the officials of the village had received only orders, and during the whole conference, they had only approve what was said, without making the least recommendation.

When the sun was low on the horizon and the heat less intense, I took my horse and my guide once again, and went back to port. The village had come alive, as the visit of a Castilla was a rare event. The young girls who were pounding rice under the huts would stop to watch the European pass. Everyone stopped what he was doing, or looked out the window. Many of these Indian girls were really beautiful. We crossed the same plains, and saw many water buffalos enjoying their mud bath; they all left their muddy water holes upon seeing us, then would snortle and jump off upon seeing the stranger, as they no longer recognized the smell of the native. Indeed, although they are so tame as to let themselves be led by children, one of them pursued me over a long distance, during the time that I was separated from my guide, who had stopped at one of the houses along the road. The water buffalo, when he is surprised by something, turns his head in the direction whence the noise is coming, with his nose in the air and a fixed stare; in this stance, he is something rather frightening.

By sunset, we were already back at Salomague. I gave an account of my mission to Mr. Palmero who had landed and was then at the house of the rice warehouse keeper, the only building standing in the port. Everyone came back on board the next day. At daybreak, we indeed saw that some Indians had arrived, most of them on foot, and others on the back of their buffalos which they brought to do work. The work was assigned. One officer, Mr. Richardson, was ordered to stay on board with the boatswain. Mr. Furneaux went to assist Mr. Palmero to find the most suitable spot ashore to set up the shed, or warehouse, that would receive our freight, because the whole ship had

1 Ed. note: Because it took place in the Ilocano language.

to be inspected, and it had been decided to do the repairs in that place, and to send to Manila for any thing that could not be found locally. My mission was to assist the chief pilot, Mr. Peña, to take soundings in the harbor and figure out the best way to unload the merchandise.

This small bay is full of coral heads, very beautiful indeed; sometimes, they rise to within 10 to 12 feet from the surface, though they seem to be closer to it, and look like so many branches of a tree. There are all kinds of coral, some in the shape of embroidered works, with the charming appearance of the pink undersides of the beautiful mushrooms that we have at home. However, they are the enemy of our cables, which they cut in a very short time.

The rice warehouse was located on the side and on the edge of a small bay, at the end of a channel between two reefs, but this spot was not suitable at all, not only because fresh water was far away. We need a lot of water to give to our crew and workers, as well as to make provisions for the ship. We therefore chose the bottom of the bay where there was a stream of running water emptying into the bay. We cleared a space of the brush that grew there. The place was completely satisfactory, except that we needed a pier, so that the merchandise would not have to be transported on top of the reef.

This work took care of the first day. The next day we saw the curate come in, carried in a hammock borne by eight Indians. Sixteen other men followed him, as well as two servants in charge of the cigars, of the *pebete*, or burning Chinese match, and of two spare sun-shades. He looked like an important *Nabob* visiting his vassals. With him, we arranged all that we needed, that is, from 50 to 200 men per day, paid at the rate of half a real (25 centimes) each, excluding their food which was not very expensive, since one caban or picul of rice cost only half a peso (2 francs, 50 centimes) and that 3 cabans were more than enough to feed 100 men. By adding a little salted fish, some dried meat and a few vegetables for one peso, we had the budget for the daily expenditures for the workers, but each buffalo was rented at one real per day on top of that. Therefore, our costs for 100 men and 50 buffalos were:

100 men at 1/2 real	6 pesos 2 reals
16 headmen at 1 real	2 "
50 buffalos at 1 real	6 " 2 "
3 cabans of rice at 1/2 peso	1 " 4 "
Fish, etc.	1 "

Total:	17 pesos per day

So, for 85 to 90 francs per day we had 116 men and 50 beasts of burden at our disposal.

The Indians were employed, some to clear the ground, other to go into the wood to get some lumber necessary to build the sheds that would protect the merchandise, as

well as the huts for us to live in, and a pier or jetty, that was necessary to continue unloading during low tide. The small bay of Salomague soon took on the appearance of a new settlement. The boats were shuttling back and forth, the buffalos were dragging logs or bundles of bamboos. Some men were clearing land, others sinking piles. Finally the whole appearance of the work in progress gave an extraordinary life to this port. Firstly, the shed to protect the merchandise was raised. Once the ship had been lightened, we were able to see what would be required. A courier was despatched to Manila, in order to get the materials and the tradesmen that we were lacking; indeed, although we could find all the laborers we wanted at Salomague, there was not one carpenter or caulker to be found. They had to come from Manila, and they had to come by sea. While waiting for help to arrive, the ship was keeled and we noticed that we had lost the false keel and two hinges from the rudder. The copper near the keel and on the bottom was split near the seams, the oakum could even be seen in some places; careening was necessary. However, more than one month elapsed before the required supplies arrived, and although the rainy season began to be felt along the coast—a dangerous season in this port—we had to suffer this delay, willy-nilly. The officers spent their time hunting, fishing and making excursions to the neighboring villages; many had become involved with some women there.

Lapog, a village between Salomague and Vigan, was still unknown to us; however, wonderful things were being said about it; some said that it was nicely situated on the slope of a small mountain, overlooking a charming valley that led down to a pretty, but inaccessible, bay, because it was full of reefs. Richardson, Furneaux and I, who were almost always together, left one Sunday morning with a guide and some horses; we went around the south point of Salomague Bay and followed the beach around many small coves before we arrived at Lapog Bay, which we indeed found to be beautiful and wide, well sheltered, but its waters showed patches of different colors that told us that effectively they were not deep and contained many shoals. We went up a pretty brook, near which were a few rice and cotton fields; we climbed a small hill planted with coconut trees, gardens and pretty houses, surrounded almost all of them with coffee plants that were not cared for, as well as some beautiful mango trees that sometimes provided shade to the roofs of the houses.

Once at Lapog, we headed for the convent. As we could see some commotion going on near the church, as we got nearer we noticed a few women who appeared loaded with bundles. This surprised us, because we could not admit that Indian women would be working on a Sunday. Our surprise was even greater when we noticed that the workers were in fact some young girls, the oldest among whom was not yet 20 years old; they were all dressed in festive clothes and among them there were some ravishing ones.

Once at the convent, we asked for the priest. His servant led us to the church and we saw there a good-looking Augustinian monk, tall and majestic in appearance, who was about 50 years of age. From his armchair, he was issuing orders to the young girls; they were in fact piling dirt around the foundations of the church. He welcomed us with dignity and kindness and begged us to go up to the convent. We went overthere and, while

we were waiting for him, were served something to eat. A short time after he arrived, two other monks of the same Order came to join us at table. We spoke of the events that led us to make a stop on their coast. In the time we had left, we spoke of the life we had given to the neighboring villages, of Spain, of Europe, of the wars of the Empire, the irreverent Voltaire, and about Jean-Jacques [Rousseau]. These three monks seemed to have a well-rounded education...

...

[Vol. 2, Chapter 11 (cont'd)]

...

Two coastal boats brought us about twenty carpenters and caulkers from Manila, some oakum, nails, hinges for the rudder, and all that was needed. We had already set up a forge to fabricate the many iron tools that we needed. The ship needed some important repairs: the beak-head had been shaken a little, and had to be fixed; a new keel had to be made, and the rudder restored. The tasks were distributed as follows: Captain Palmero, assisted by the apprentice pilots Zuñiga and Garay, would take care of the merchandise. Richardson and I supervised the gang boss in charge of the careening; Chief pilot Peña and Furneaux were placed in charge of the chronometers and the workers ashore; Mr. Morgado and the chaplain were to take care of the provisions. Everyone went to his task, so as to get it over with as soon as possible, in order to avoid the S.W. monsoon season, that would soon hit this port, completely unprotected against such winds. The ship was turned around and all copper sheathings had to be removed to carry out the careenage. There was also a second protective layer of wood that had to be repaired. This old custom still exists in the Philippines, and even in some French ports, whereby the ships are finished in wood, rather than in copper. This practice, specially in countries where the wood is heavy, increases the volume and therefore lower the speed of the vessel, without making it stronger, besides the additional cost, whereas, if this finition were made with very light and thin wood, the copper would fit more easily and the careenage would prove more effective.

[The ship **Paz** returning in distress]

At the beginning of the month [of June], we sighted a large ship. We thought at first that she might be going to China, and following the coast closely, but when we saw her maneuver to head for the shore, we did not know what to think. Why would such a ship come to Salomague? Did she also need repairs, and could not go back to Manila, for the same reasons? To find out, the long boat was manned and Richardson, Furneaux and I went to meet this three-masted ship. When we had rounded the point, she hoisted her Spanish colors, and soon we recognized her to be the **Paz**, a large Manila ship, that had left for Mexico six or seven months earlier. Once on board, we recognized Captain Ramirez [sic]¹ and many of his officers. We learned that, having set sail to their destination during the N.E. monsoon season, they had first gone down along

1 Ed. note: Lafond did not remember well; the Captain was Antonio Rocha (see Doc. 1819P). Captain Pedro Ramirez commanded the brig Feliz instead (see Doc. 1821B).

the archipelago and rounded the south point of Mindanao, before rising again northward, in order to seek the variable winds off the coast of Japan, but they had struggled in vain against the very violent northeasterlies and had suffered damage to their masts. They then fell back toward the Moluccas, and headed for Amboyna, where they refreshed their provisions. They then came back northward but encountered some typhoon winds at the latitude of the Bashi Islands, when they suffered grave damages. Being further distressed by a lack of food and water, they decided to visit Salomague, not wishing to go back to Manila before they had received new orders from the owners. So, this ship had spent seven months just to go around the Philippines, without making progress eastward,¹ though she was a ship of 400 tons, one of the best sailers in this country!

During the breaks in our main work, Furneaux and I had made a chart of the port of Salomague. We had surveyed the reefs and passes, and determined its geographical position. When we arrived on board the *Paz*, we luckily had a copy of this plan with us and were thus able to act as pilots for this ship that we guided to the anchorage east of the south bank. Captain Ramirez hastened to go ashore to visit our Captain. These gentlemen made some agreement by which we were to turn over to them all the works that we had built in that port, and even to provide help while we remained in it. The *Paz* did not need a full careenage, but the captain had to make some urgent repairs, while news came from Manila, whither he sent a courier.

[A romantic interlude]²

The wedding of the daughter of the headman provided us with a distraction. Richardson and I were made to promise to attend the festivities. One can easily judge how quickly we accepted this invitation. I had befriended a brother of Dolores (that was her name) and it was he who brought me this message and insisted on a clear promise to go. I had been responsible to have this young man appointed gang boss of a brigade of Indians working on ship repairs. He was devoted to me, and I confided my innermost feelings to him; he received this news with the most lively joy, convinced that he would soon become the brother-in-law of a *Castilla*, something that is equivalent among the Indians to a noble title.

His sister was being watched carefully; indeed, she had been betrothed to the son of a headman and her family did not want her to lose her virginity before her marriage, when she could be delivered to a new husband intact. The reader can appreciate the fact that I was probably just lucky: a beardless Mona Lisa in Salomague! My attentions were directed, here as at Manila, at someone already reserved for someone else, rather than toward flower girls.

The reader would also be correct in assuming that we did not wait until her wedding day to have some secret rendez-vous. The woods, the groves, the glens, the coastal

1 Ed. note: However, they had gone as far east as the central Carolines and Guam.

2 Ed. note: To be compared with the love affair carried out by Jacques Arago in Guam the previous year.

beaches and all of the most mysterious spots in the neighborhood of Lapog all resounded with our sighs and promises. However, let me speak about this wedding that might be more interesting to the reader than our romantic adventure.

Whenever a family owns some wealth, these weddings, in the most obscure village of the Philippines are celebrated with an extraordinary show, or at least nothing is overlooked that could give them the biggest impact. Although we had arrived very early, a large number of invited guests were already there; they had arrived the day before. During the morning, the relatives kept on arriving one behind the other, each bearing a present, either a young cow, or a deer, or else a bag of rice, carefully cleaned; others carried a dozen or so fat capons, or some freshly-killed fowls, fruits, preserves, above all some *calamay* [sweet made of coconut milk and sugar] inside some coconut shells, a product that the province of Ilocos supplies to Manila a lot.

One can guess that, if the married couple have many relatives and that the latter have in turn many other relatives, the wedding cannot but be well supplied with food. The priest had, according to custom, been the first to be invited; the other white men, or *Castillas*, present were the Mayor, my two companions, and I.

Once everyone was in place, the procession began, with the sound of exploding fire-crackers and rockets, drums and the church bells. The beadle and the choir boys were waiting for us on the doorstep of the church. The priest then received his due; it consisted of a sort of tithe charged on all the presents received by the couple; such gifts were carefully and even elegantly wrapped in baskets that had been decorated with flowers, ribbons and gold paper.

The young couple were dressed in the European fashion, and they did not appear comfortable in such clothes. Thus dressed, they looked completely ridiculous; in fact, they had the appearance of puppets, rather more like monkeys that have been dressed up. Nevertheless, the young people who were dressed in the national costume did seem so much more at ease, and full of grace and charm.

The ceremony took place in the same manner as in the rich villages of the [Spanish] peninsula. The procession back to the bride's home went on with the same disorder and noise; everything was now ready for the feast. It was to be a rare and curious occasion for us, as we shall see.

The relatives and the old men and women of the village went with solemnity to unearth the jars containing old *bassic*¹ that had been buried when the young girl had been born, and this liquor was decanted into some clear glass mugs. It was from 16 to 18 years old and its taste and color were similar to wines from Rota and Alicante, or better yet, similar to an extremely-old currant wine.

The women had gathered with the bride in a room apart, where they were receiving their invited guests, while the men were gathered in the main room where, as food was being laid out, some cigars were being distributed, as well as betel nut, biscuits, fruits, cakes, chocolate, *bassic*, and coconut brandy, everything suited to whet the appetite of the guests. In the meantime, some people had organized a few cockfights before the

1 See explanation below.

house, in honor of a very common vice among the people of these islands; a special authorization had, of course, been obtained from the Mayor in advance and a fee had been paid to the supervisor of games; indeed, cock-fighting is an important source of public tax revenue, and not at all the least productive.

Once the tables had been laid out and the signal given, the Mayor and the priest took their places at the high end; after them came the married couple, then the *Castillas*, the present town headman, and the former headman, took their seats below us, then the other guests, all former headmen. Our table was covered with the beautiful canvas produced in this province; it is a cotton weave and sparkling white. The service was china-ware borrowed from some rich local inhabitants.

It would be difficult for me to accurately describe the profusion that characterized this monstrous feast; it consisted of at least fifteen successive dishes; there were entire quarters of deer meat and beef, prepared in various manners, some wild pigs, chickens, ducks, turkeys, fresh water and sea fishes, plovers, wild game of all kinds, then some creamy pastries, seasonal fruits. To drink, there was *bassic*, of course, but for us *Castillas* there were a few bottles of European wine, but this special care did not prevent us from partaking of the old *bassic*. I was amazed how the guests would attack the dishes, one dish at a time; I could only conclude that the digestive system of these men was built differently from ours, and Mr. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, who has made a study of the habits of monsters, should pay attention to the excentric ability of these stomachs.

*Lorsque l'on eut levé la nappe
On se mit à parler du pape.¹*

The priest next stood up to speak. He edified his listeners with some devout story about some marvellous unknown legend, a few household preoccupations of his; then he spoke of the harvests, the herds, then, by some magic stroke, he became jolly and, when the vapors of the *bassic* had taken hold of him, he reflected the joy of his neighbors. It was then that the local tricksters got the idea of addressing the couple with some of those daring compliments with double meanings, such as the idiots in Luzon can invent as well as those in Paris. St-Anthony of Padua might as well have been preaching to the fish; our young couple were not listening to the jokes at all. They were obviously uneasy in their fancy clothes and kept silent; they did not eat either, and looked unhappy to be there. They looked as if they were the chosen victims, about to be sacrificed in a ceremony in honor of the god of love.

The group around the first table represented the local high class. They too had maintained some decorum and their dignity during the daring speeches, but, presently they got up and went to the verandah to smoke cigars and watch the cock-fights. These leading men who, not long before had partaken the pleasures of good food, became even more excited at this new pleasure, a stronger but sadder passion. They began to make

1 Ed. note: Meaning: "When the meal was over, it was the Pope's turn."

bets on the featured champions rushing in the arena and their whole attention was devoted to this favorite spectacle.

The table which we had vacated was taken over by a second set of invited guests, all according to relative rank, men of lesser importance, such as the deputy mayor, the former deputy mayor, the constables and other persons who could not have been at the first sitting; however, the same abundant food was served them. Finally, a third serving took place, for the musicians and the servants.

The women did not sit with the men; they were served in a separate apartment, where they ate while sitting on mats that had been laid out on the floor.

As I was curious to see the place where all this food had been prepared, I went there to take a look, before the second serving. The kitchen had been specially built for the event; it was inside a lean-to adjoining the house and larger than the house itself. I saw more than fifty cooks at work, men and women, all very busy. Many barbecue fires were attended to, many dishes and pies were being cooked in many ovens. The kettles, normally used to make sugar, were now overflowing with various kinds of stews and sauces. Huge wooden troughs were filled with *morisqueta* (rice cooked in water, which the Indians eat instead of bread). Some banana bunches were hanging from the ceiling. In one corner dozen of fowls were being dipped into buckets of boiling water, so that their feathers could be removed more easily. In another, the suckling pigs were being chopped into plate-size morsels. In one word, if Sancho Panza had witnessed this scene, the wedding of Camacho would not have attracted his naive enthusiasm so much.

I had imagined that similar feasts must have cost excessive amounts of money, but I was mistaken; I learned that, far from being costly, they provided enough food for the family to live for the rest of the year. Indeed, the provisions of all kinds that the invited guests had brought with them were never consumed entirely; there was always enough left for a long-term supply, specially of barn-yard animals.

The successive meals went on until 9 o'clock in the evening, when some dancing girls made their appearance. The ball started with music from harps, guitars, one flute, a violin and ... a serpent which seems to provide a double role, as a profane and sacred object at the same time.

The young and pretty girls did not lack at this ball. However, Dolores stood out from among them all, and was like one of those water lilies adorning the side of a crystal-clear pond, standing clear of the grasses and multiplying their reflection upon the calm waters. Forgetting the metaphor, she was surely the prettiest and the most charming of them all. Now, after so many years have passed, I still wish to render her this compliment, although the magic of those beautiful days is gone and the sharpness of those juvenile affections has disappeared. We danced the whole night and the whole of the next day; fatigue seemed impossible, but everything has an end.

The pleasures of the feast, but mainly the pleasure of Dolores' company, had gotten to my head. I let my companions leave, while I hid for three whole days inside an abandoned hut, a short distance from the village. Dolores would come there to meet me and bring me food many times a day. During these episodes, she would put her candid elo-

quence to good use, to try and convince me to stay, and become her husband. My father is rich, she would say, he owns many horses, water buffaloes, and many rice fields; and, since you want to navigate and travel, he will build you a trading boat; you will go to Manila to sell the products of our province, but you will come back and I will be happy to kiss you when you return. While she was telling me all this, her voice was trembling with emotion, some big tears would escape the corners of her eyes and I could not help feeling as if my heart was torn apart; I was mullified and subjugated by the deep pain of this naive soul. If I had stayed with her, I think, and may God forgive me, I would have forgotten the sweet sky of my country and the last embrace of my dear mother. How many young men of my age would have been able to resist such seductions? I, for one, was able to; I reflected on the situation and boosted my courage; surely I must have earned much merit in this effort to control such an impetuous and rising passion.

I realized that, in order to get out of this situation, I would have to use some sort of stratagem. I invented the following story: at my last meeting with Dolores, I told her that, so as not to cause her some worry, I had not yet told her that I was about to make a voyage to Manila, but that I was to return soon and then it looked like I would have to take my dispositions and contact her family. Alas! far from calming her down, these hopes simply increased her sorrow. The poor girl could anticipate that they would not be fulfilled. Our separation was a tearful occasion. I left in the evening, and I do not mind saying that, many times, I was on the verge of turning back; nevertheless, I came out victorious from this struggle, and, having walked the whole night, was back in port by daybreak. The joy with which I was received by the staff officers and the crew was a salutary balm upon my wound. I had expected reproaches, but received nothing but signs of the most lively affection. Some had thought me lost, others thought that I had been killed; I pretended to have been sick at Lapog. This I could affirm without lying, because my face did show some signs of a tortured soul and the blows that I had suffered through.

As of that day, I remained on board and concentrated on my duty, working more vigorously than before.

I have already said that we careened the ship on both sides. She had suffered very much when she ran aground. The whole bottom had to be caulked, a new false keel rebuilt, the stem strengthened with new knees, the iron works of the beak-head replaced. All these tasks required much labor and above all much speed, as the S.W. monsoon season was fast approaching and the winds were already pushing the waters into this bay, completely exposed to westerlies. The speed in question resulted in some work being rather defective. Overall, the ship repairs were badly done, at a great cost, because I am convinced that this visit cost upward of 100,000 francs.

Once the merchandise was back on board, we loaded so many provisions that there was no room to move on deck. Finally, we set sail from Salomague at the end of June, leaving behind the *Paz* that was still waiting for an answer from the courier whom the captain had sent to Manila.

Before ending this chapter, I must add two words on the reasons why we decided to visit Salomague. The voyages between the Philippines and Mexico were made, as I said when I described Manila, with money loaned by fraternities, with insurance, at the gross rate of between 25% and 30%, for the return voyage, that is. However, if the ship was forced to turn back in distress, this could give rise to a law suit against the insurers for the whole of the loan, although the latter could keep the merchandise. It is possible that the issue might have been settled amicably, but Mr. Palmero, our Captain, in the interest of the owners, preferred to come to Salomague, and spend more, rather than return to Manila and run the risk to have to stay there. He was completely wise in doing so. In fact, upon our arrival in Mexico, we learned that the **Paz**, which we had left behind at Salomague, had received the order to return to Manila. Then, there were some conflicts regarding this voyage, between the traders on the one hand, and the owners of the freight, and the loan providers for their money. The ship was unloaded and the operation failed.¹

1 Ed. note: For the continuation of the narrative of Mr. Lafond, see Doc. 1822K.

 Document 1820D

The arrival of Carolinian immigrants from Lamotrek in 1819

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item 97.

Note: This was the first wave of immigrants. For the second wave, see Doc. 1821F.

Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 28 February 1820

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N^o 227.

M. Y. S.

El día 24 del mes de Marzo del año proximo anterior dieron fondo en la Caldera de esta Ciudad siete Bancas de las Yslas Carolinas del Sur, con cinquenta y cinco Yndios naturales de la nombrada Lamursa [sic], con mas una familia compuesta de Marido, Muger, Hijo, è Hija, que el Rey llamado Yequitip, para asegurarme mas su aprecio me mandó, diciendo que si lo tenia à vien los mandase hir à extablecer à la Ysla de Saypan, y que no me havia mandado mayor numero por la falta de proporcion respecto lo pequeño de las Bancas, pero que si estuviese cierto de que tanto las Mugerres como los Hombres anhelavan todos pasar à la citada Ysla de Saypan, pues tenian noticia del buen acogimiento que havian merecido, y lo vien que lo pasavan los que residian en ella, y que como le havia mandado decir de que en el mes de Febrero, le mandaria un Buque para hirlos trasladando (contando con el permiso de V.S., y la existencia de mi Bergantin) havia mandado hacer una famosa Casa, y Camarin para Hospedar à la Gente, à la expresada familia la hice vestir inmediatamente, y no separè de mi Casa, ni perdi de vista hasta tanto que logré ponerlos en un Estado Capaz de recibir el Agua del Santo Bautismo, y en efecto en la mañana del dia beinte y siete del ultimo mes de Septiembre, con la mayor Pompa, y Solemnidad fueron Bautizados, y por la tarde Exposados; y como huviese llegado de la Ysla de Tinian una Panga algareteada [sic] con quatro Mozos Sirvientes de aquella Administracion, y dos Carolinos del Sur de los que se hallan radicados en la Ysla de Saypan en estado por haverlos instruido el Alcalde, y con grandes deseos de ser Christianos, el dia 14. con todo el aparato posible fueron Baptizados; y asi Señor como fuese este un obgeto el mas precioso, y recomendable al Servicio de ambas Magestades, y que desde la Conquista ninguno de mis antecesores

Document 1820E

A short history of U.S. whaling in the Pacific

Source: Walter S. Tower. A History of the American Whale Fishery. University of Pennsylvania, 1907.

Note: The whaling activities of U.S. ships began in earnest in 1820 and virtually came to an end during the U.S. Civil War of the 1860s.

Extract from this book, by Walter S. Tower

CHAPTER v.

The Rise of Pacific Whaling.

Deep-sea whaling had been carried on in the Atlantic for nearly three-quarters of a century, before the whalers, led by their desire for more rapid returns and greater profits, rounded Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean. In 1791 six ships from Nantucket and one from New Bedford sailed for the Pacific on sperm whaling voyages. It was an epoch-making step in the history of whaling, since out of the abundance of these distant grounds was to grow a fishery of far-reaching commercial importance.

These first Pacific whalers found plenty of sperm whales along the coast of Chili and returned home with full cargoes after successful voyages. The news soon spread through the fleet, and each year saw an increasing number of vessels clearing for the Pacific grounds. Later voyages were extended farther and farther north along the coast until the equator was reached. The cruising grounds at first were confined mainly to the waters up to a distance of 100 leagues from land, and in this region whaling continued until the fishery was temporarily stopped during the war of 1812.

Whaling was resumed again in 1815 and the years following, and the fleet resorted to the old Pacific grounds. But with the increasing activity of the whalers, whales began to be scarce, and the voyages were extended in the search for new grounds. In 1818 the so-called "offshore grounds" were discovered with sperm whales in large numbers, and by 1820 upwards of fifty ships were cruising in that region. But in a short time those grounds were also practically exhausted, and the pursuit of whales led the adventurous whalers farther and farther into the Pacific. **Between 1820 and 1821 the first vessels went to the Japanese coast** and in the following year more than thirty vessels cruised there. From that time on the voyages were extended rapidly to other parts of the North and South Pacific, while some vessels, going out by way of the eastern route,

cruised for a time in the Indian Ocean, mainly about Madagascar and the mouth of the Red Sea.

The steadily increasing prosperity of whaling after the war was reflected in the growth of the Pacific fishery. About 1830 to 1835 the Nantucket fleet went mainly to the Pacific, and after 1840 they went there almost exclusively. The Nantucket fleet was also soon followed by the majority of the New Bedford fleet, and a large part of the New London and the Sag Harbor vessels. In fact, it was largely due to the vessels from these latter ports that the Pacific fishery was so rapidly and successfully extended. The Nantucket whalers, on the other hand, persisted in resorting to the older grounds often for many years after new grounds were proving more profitable to the vessels from other ports. This fact alone was an important factor in bringing about the early reverses in whaling enterprises from Nantucket.

About 1838 the great northwest coast whaling grounds were discovered. Five years later, whales were first taken along the coast of Kamtchatka and in the Okhotsk Sea, and ten years later, 1848, a Sag Harbor vessel made a very successful voyage in the Arctic Ocean north of Beering Strait. For several years previous to that date the chief cruising grounds in the North Pacific had been along the northwest coast and south of Beering Strait. Thus it had taken only a little over half a century from the time the first whalers entered the Pacific until they had penetrated as far as the Arctic. From the very first the value of the Arctic fishery was apparent, and the fleet frequenting the Arctic grounds increased rapidly in numbers. In the last few decades it has been the most important of all whaling regions, almost all the Pacific fleet cruising in Arctic waters.

Up to the time that whaling was begun in the Arctic, the whole Pacific fishery had been carried on from the whaling ports on the Atlantic. Though the whalers often put into Pacific ports, or wintered along the coast, it was from the New England ports that the vessels sailed and to them that they returned with their cargoes of oil and bone. Many months of valuable time were thus consumed in the long voyages out and in, around Cape Horn. Two years after the first whaler entered the Arctic region whaling was begun as a Pacific coast industry...

Though San Francisco first began as a whaling port in 1850, it was not until two decades later that the industry was regularly carried on. There are various references to whaling vessels sailing from that port during the years from 1850 to 1869, but there does not appear to have been any permanent fleet employed until 1869 and the years following. By 1869 the decline of whaling interests was well under way—in fact had gone so far that the Nantucket industry was finally abandoned in that year.¹ [The other New England ports,] Stonington, Mystic, Greenport, Cold Spring, Warren, Wareham, Fall River, Seppican, Falmouth, Holmes Hole, Providence, Newport, Lynn, Quincy, Matapoisett, Yarmouth and Somerset, mustering a fleet of 92 vessels in 1850, no longer sent out a single whaler. Thus whaling as a true Pacific coast industry was not regularly established until after the decline of whaling had become marked at the Atlantic ports, and whatever growth was shown was in the face of adverse conditions.

1 Though, according to Goode's table, there was a whaling fleet at Nantucket until 1873.

During the succeeding years there were spasmodic movements in the whaling business, as the result of some rise in prices or some new instance of a phenomenal voyage. But on the whole the San Francisco fleet alone showed any steady growth. From **1869 to 1880** the fleet from that port was never larger than eight sail, and during most of the time it numbered only one or two sail. But after 1880 the growth was fairly rapid for a number of years.

The **steam** whaling vessel was introduced into the fleet in **1880**, bringing about a sort of revolution in Arctic whaling. Up to this time the northern fleet had been accustomed to winter in San Francisco or at some other port in the Pacific, spending the time either in refitting or perhaps in short cruises for whales in the milder latitudes... With the introduction of the steam whaling vessel, however, arose the practice of remaining in the Arctic during the winter in order to be earlier on the grounds when the ice broke up in the spring. And by **1893** one-fourth the vessels whaling in the North Pacific and Arctic Oceans wintered off the mouth of the Mackenzie River...

The railroads from San Francisco changed all this and from a minor whaling port, San Francisco rapidly came to be the foremost whaling rendez-vous in the country. True it is that New Bedford still possessed a larger fleet, but a great many of its vessels carried on the business from San Francisco as their headquarters.

Still another favorable circumstance was the establishment of extensive refineries near San Francisco. For some years after the beginning of whaling from San Francisco all the manufacturing of whale and sperm oils had continued to be done exclusively in the neighborhood of the Atlantic ports—largely at New Bedford. In **1883**, however, refineries were built near San Francisco, thereby enabling the western owners to find a market for their manufactured products without paying the heavy costs of shipping them east to the refineries of New Bedford...

Under these favorable conditions the San Francisco fleet grew rapidly after 1880, increasing from 3 vessels in that year to 33 in 1893, about two-thirds of which number were steamers...

The fishery from the western coast has therefore almost entirely superseded that from the Atlantic ports. Since **1895** Boston, New Bedford, Provincetown and San Francisco have been the only ports from which whaling vessels were regularly registered, and in **1903** the business at Boston was abandoned. New Bedford and San Francisco alone are now [i.e. 1907] important...

Bibliography: The editor recommends these references on U.S. whaling ships:

- Alexander Starbuck's History of the American Whale Fishery, from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876;
- Reginald B. Hegarty's Addendum to "Starbuck" and "Whaling Masters;"
- Reginald B. Hegarty's Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing from American Ports, 1876-1928 (a continuation of Starbuck).

Document 1820F

The schooner San Juan, alias Espina

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item 97.

Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 5 May 1820**Original text in Spanish.**

Superior Gobierno N° 228.

M. Y.S.

*Con el fin de esperar con mas proximidad los Buques de la Carera que pudieran regresar del Reyno de N.E. el 17 del pasado Abril, pasè à la Villa de Umata, y el 19 como à horas de las doce y media procedente de Acapulco, con quarenta y seis dias de Navegacion por el N. de la Ysla; y con bastante inmediacion à la Barra de la Ciudad, lo berificó la Corveta **Espina**, sin que à su Capitan respecto la Ynstruccion que trahia, le huviese sido facil mantenerse sobre Bordo el preciso termino de diez horas con el intento de que, habiendome dado parte le huviese hecho entregar la correspondencia de Oficio para que la puciese en manos de V.S., cosa que causò en mi el mayor sentimiento, y mas quando supe por Carta que recivi de que con dificultad en la Estacion presente arivaría ningun otro Buque por temor de los muchos que infestavan las Costas, correspondientes à el Gobierno intruso de Buenos Ayres, y lo Comunico à Vmd. para su Superior inteligencia.*

Nuestro Señor conserve la importante vida de V.S. muchos años.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 228.

Most Illustrious Sir:

For the purpose of awaiting the ships of the run that might pass on their return voyage from New Spain, on the 17th of last April, I went to the town of Umata, and on the 19th, at about 12:30 p.m. there arrived from Acapulco after 46 days of navigation, and coming around the north end of the island and coming close to the bar of the

city, the corvette **Espina**. However, her captain, contrary to the instructions that he carried, maintained himself under sail and making short tacks for only 10 hours, during which he was told to wait for me and the official correspondence that he was to hand over to Y.L. personally. I was very disappointed, and even more so when I learned from a letter that I received that, on account of the present season, there would not come any other ship, for fear of the many ships belonging to the rebel government in Buenos Aires that infest the coasts overthere. I communicate the above facts to Your Grace, for your superior intelligence.

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

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, the Govenor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Documents 1821A

Changes in the Mariana Island Garrison

A1. Replacement of one officer

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

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 229.

M. Y.S.

El dia 9 del ultimo mes de Mayo fue Dios servido de llevarse para sí al Subteniente de la primera Compañía Don Juan Taytano y el treinta del mismo día posesion de su Empleo à el Cadete graduado, y Alcalde Administrador del Pueblo de Ynarajan, y Real Estancia de San José de Dandan, Don José Joaquin de la Cruz, y lo comunico à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia, Suplicandole se sirva si lo tiene à bien mandar sele libre al interesado su Nombramiento ò Despacho.

Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Junio 15 de 1820.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 229.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 9 May last, God was pleased to take to Himself the Sub-Lieutenant of the first Company, Don Juan Taitano, and on the 30th of the same month, I gave possession of his job to Cadet officer of substantive rank, and Mayor of Inarajan and Administrator of the Royal ranch of Dandan, Don José Joaquin de la Cruz. I report this to Y.L. for your superior intelligence, begging you to be pleased to order the issuance of appointment papers to the interested party.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 15 June 1820.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

A2. Spanish and Filipino convicts sent to Guam to teach trades

Source: PNA.

List of the individual prisoners of the Royal Fort of Santiago who voluntarily agreed last year to go to the Mariana Islands to teach the culture and processing of sugarcane, indigo and cotton, the spinning and weaving of cloth and salt-making.¹

Name	Hometown	Trades	Date of his release	Crime for which he is sent.
José Antonio Loreto	Guadalajara	Weaving & spinning	22 Oct 1823	Absent without leave.
José Estevan	Guadalajara	" "	23 Aug. 1823	Incorrigibly vicious.
Vicente Urrutia	Ermita	Sugarca & salt	10 Apr 1830	Theft of tobacco.
Antonio Briones	Tandag	Sugarcane & indigo	5 Jan 1830	Deserted.
Alexandro Guerrero	Quiapo	Sugarcane	2 May 1830	Deserted.
Francisco Durán	Malabon	Sugarcane & salt	16 Dec. 1829	Deserted.
Pedro Dunao	Calumpit	Sugarcane & indigo	19 Feb 1825	Deserted.
Juan Vidal	Aklan	Sugarcane & indigo	5 May 1825	Theft of money.
Tomás Evangelista	Coloocan	Weaving	20 Dec. 1824	Theft.
Luis Beltrán	Aparri	Sugarcane & indigo	17 June 1823	Theft of 2 beds(?)
Teodoro Cantaro	San Mateo	Sugarcane & cotton	6 Dec. 1829	Deserted.

General Command for the Army and Public Finance of Manila, 24 July 1821.
Fernandez Bastarrechea

A3. Guam subsidy limited to 8,000 pesos per year in 1822

Source: PNA.

Regulation for the present Government employees in the Marianas, and monthly salary to be paid to each one to make up the investment [sic] of 8,000 pesos per year which is allocated to that settlement, in accordance with the decision of the Superior Council of Finance taken on 14 August 1816 and confirmed by Royal order dated 24 September 1817.

¹ Ed. note: The use of the word "voluntarily" can be taken with a grain of salt. These wayward soldiers of the Manila garrison had been sentenced to prison terms, then selected for service with the Guam garrison.

Employees	Monthly salary	Yearly total
1 Governor	150 pesos	1,800 pesos
1 Sergeant-Major	25	300
2 Adjutants	9 each	216
3 Captains	12 each	432
3 Lieutenants	8 each	288
11 Sergeants	4 & 4 each	594
12 Corporals	3 & 4 each	504
3 Drummers	3 & 4 each	326
78 Soldiers	3 each	2,808
1 Field Captain	8	96
1 Artillery Captain	8	96
1 Supernumerary ¹	8	96
1 Clerk, Gov't Sec'y	8	96
1 Warehouse Guard	8	96
1 Blacksmith	6	72
1 Carpenter	6	72
Invalids		118

		8,010
		====

Main Accounting Office of the Army and Public Finance of Manila, 5 June 1822.
Manuel Barañao José María de Bastarrechea

A4. Revised organization, by Governor Montilla, dated Agaña 7 September 1822

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 97(?)

Statement showing the number of officers and soldiers established by a War Council, to remain for now, and until that Superior Government decides to increase it to the level of the Old Plan, or the Modern one, as Y.L. chooses. It also shows the present strength, according to the census taken of them, three days after they were advised to appear, on 28 August of the present year, in order to give them a pro-rated increase, in accordance with their rank. It also shows the number of Retired Officers who do not receive a salary, as well as the number of Invalids belonging to this garrison, and others, as follows:

¹ Formerly called Intendant.

Ranks	Number fixed by the Council	Number present positions	Salaries fixed by the Council
Sergeant-Major	1	1	25 pesos
Adjutants	2	2	8
Captains	3	3	12
Lieutenants	3	3	8
Artillery Capt.	1	1	8
Sergeants	6	5	6
Corporals	8	8	5
Drummers	2	2	5
Soldiers of 1st and 2nd Coys ¹	36	26	5
Soldiers of the Pampanga Coy	19	0	4
Field Captain	1	1	8
Supernumerary ²	1	1	8
Clerk. or Governor's Secretary	1	1	8
Carpenter	1	1	6
Retired officers without a salary:			
Captains 4	0	0	
Lieutenant 1	0	0	
Sub-Lieut. 6	0	0	
Invalids ---	9	0	
Totals:	11	64	118

Note.

Although the heading of the third column says Salaries fixed by the War Council, this applies only to the Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers, and Soldiers: indeed, the gentlemen officers who are listed, and other employees, only enjoy the salaries fixed by the last Regulation dated 5 June 1822 written by the gentlemen Ministers of the Royal treasury, and the deserving officers and employees who are excluded have agreed to continue to serve, until that superior government decides otherwise.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 5 September 1822.

Most Illustrious Lordship.

José Montilla

1 The present strength is 58.

2 Formerly called Intendant.

A5. Death and replacement of another officer

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

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 245.

M. Y.S.

Haviendo ocurrido Vacante el Empleo de Capitan de la tercera Compañia por haver fallecido el dia 10 de Septiembre del corriente año, Don Ygnacio Espinosa que lo obtenia, el 1° de Octubre tuve à bien nombrar para que le subcediese al Teniente graduado, y Ayudante segundo, Don Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, el qual llevaba mas de cinco años estava encargado de la expresada Compañia por los repetidos achaques ò imposibilidad del difunto, la resulta del indicado Ayudante la he provehido en el Cadete graduado Don Mariano Benito de Lima, y lo Comunico à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia y que si lo tiene à bien se sirva mandar seles expidan por esa Secretaria los Correspondientes Nombramientos ò Despachos.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Octubre 11 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

[Al] M. Y.S. Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 245.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 10 September of this year occurred the death of Don Ignacio Espinosa, who had been Captain of the third Company, and I have appointed to that post Substantive Lieutenant, and Adjutant, Don Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, who had in any case been in charge of said Company for the last five years, on account of the continuous illnesses or incapacity of the deceased. To succeed in the post of Adjutant, I have promoted the Substantive Cadet, Don Mariano Benito de Lima. I communicate this information to Y.L. for your superior intelligence and so that you may be pleased to order your Secretariat to issue the interested parties with documents proving their appointments.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 11 October 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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



Juan Donato

The last Viceroy of New Spain.

Documents 1821B

The frigate *María*, Captain Morgado, from San Blas to Manila

B1. Title and main documents of the Manifest file

Sources: AGN AHH 594-15; AGN Fil. 49/6 & 9.

Note: More administrative details than usual have been transcribed here, in order to show what was happening in New Spain on the eve of the Mexican independence.

Original text in Spanish.

*Año de 1821.—Registro original de Caudales y frutos de la Fragata **María** que sale de este Puerto para los de Manila en 15 de Enero de dho año.*

Su Capitan: Don Alonzo Morgado

Su Maestre: Don Alonso Auxilio Morgado¹

Ministerio de Marina y Hazienda publica de San Blas.

Con esta fha digo al Comandante de Marina de ese Apostadero lo que sigue:

*“En vista de la instancia de Don Alonzo Morgado Capitan y Dueño de la Fragata particular nombrada **María** que me remitió V.M. con oficio de 29 de Noviembre ultimo ácerca de licencia para regresar la expresada Fragata al Puerto de Manila de su procedencia; abriendo al efecto registro de caudales, he accedido á su solicitud con las calidades que refiere mi Decreto de esta fha y el de 15 de Junio ultimo que provee en la instancia de la parte de Don Pedro Ramirez, Capitan y Maestre del Bergantin nombrado el **Feliz** de que remití á V.M. copia certificada con oficio de la propia fha y se incluye ahora en la que le acompaño para su inteligencia, y efectos correspondientes.”*

Lo traslado á V.M. acompañandole igual copia que lo que se cita para su inteligencia y efectos correspondientes.

Dios guarde á V.M. muchos años. Guadalajara Diciembre 9 de 1820.

Josef de la Cruz.

[Al] Sor. Ministro principal de Marina de San Blas.

1 Ed. note: It appears that the captain has his son with him on board.

[Papel sellado de 1820-21, Fernando VII. "Sello tercero dos reales. Habilitado, jurada por el Rey la Constitucion en 9 de Marzo de 1820."]

Escrito

Exmo. Sor.—Don Ramon de Murua de Comercio de esta Ciudad à nombre y por encargo de Don Pedro Ramirez Capitan y Maestre del Bergantin nombrado el Feliz que procedente de Manila con registro de efectos correspondientes al permiso de aquellas Yslas se halla surto en el Puerto de San Blas, ante V.E. en la forma mas conveniente, dice: que el expresado Capitan y Maestre està listo à partir de regreso al referido Puerto de su procedencia con dicho Buque y à retornar en èl en moneda efectiva el duplo del registro del mismo Buque, ó la parte de èl que pueda recibir para su proxima marcha. Por tanto y en virtud de la Real orden de veinte y cinco de Setiembre de mil ochocientos diez y ocho con que se hallo V.E. autorizado para el despacho y demas ocurrencias tocantes al Comercio de Filipinas.—A V.E. suplico que se sirva conceder su licencia superior para los efectos expresados, y relativos à la salida de dho Bergantin, y duplo de su registro.—Ramon de Murua.—

Informe.

Exmo. Sor.—Supuestas las facultades que residen en V.E. por la Real orden de veinte y cinco de Setiembre que esta en esta representacion Don Ramon Murua de este Comercio à nombre de Don Pedro Ramirez, Capitan y Maestre del Bergantin nombrado Feliz, procedente de Manila, y con arreglo al Capitulo segundo del Reglamento de aquel Comercio, le parece à esta Administracion que V.E. si fuere servido, puede conceder el permiso que se solicita para embarcar en dho Buque, y retornar al destino de su procedencia el duplo del valor del cargamento que hà conducido en el presente viage, ó lo que pudiere reaaaalisar à cuenta de èl pasandose al efecto la orden correspondiente al Ministerio de SAn Blas para que con arreglo à las instrucciones de la materia, y previas las instrucciones, digo, las constancias correspondientes se abra el registro de caudales indicados avisando circunstanciadamente à este gobierno de las cantidades que se embarquen con expresion de los individuos à quienes correspondan. Guadalajara Junio doze de mil ochocientos viente.—Batres.

Parecer.

Exmo. Sor.—No hay en efecto inconveniente alguno, en que V.E. si fuere de su Superior agrado, se sirva acceder à la anterior solicitud de Don Ramon Murua, en virtud de las facultades concedidas à este Superior Gobierno por la Real Orden que se cita de veinte y cinco de Setiembre de mil ochocientos diez y ocho, y en los terminos que informa la Administracion general de Alcabalas con la adicion de que el embarque del duplo del registro que condujo el Bergantin Feliz, se verifique en moneda, y no en plata pasta [sic], arreglandose igualmente en lo demas el Ministerio de San Blas, é las otras ordenes expedidas sobre el particular; para lo qual se servirà V.E. librar las que corresponden al propio Ministerio, y à la Comandancia de Marina del expresado Apostadero, previa citacion del Sor. Fiscal de lo civil, y mandar asi mismo que se saque Testimonio de estas diligencias y se dê cuenta con el à la Superioridad del Exmo. Sor. Virrey para su debido superior conocimiento. Guadalajara y Junio catorce de mil ochocientos

veinte.—*Sor. y Ministro Velez.*—*Guadalajara Junio quince de mil ochocientos veinte.*—

Como parece al Asesor.—*Cruz.*—*Fernando Cambre.*—

Oficio.

Exmo. Sor.—*Acompaño à V.E. la adjunta instancia de Don Alonzo Morgado Capitan y Dueño de la Fragata particular nombrada María en que solicita emprender viage à la vahia de Manila de su procedencia con los caudales de que tengan permiso los consignatarios del cargamento introducido por dho Buque en este Puerto cumplida que sea su contrata en treinta y uno del proximo Diciembre, ó en lastre dado caso que el superior Gobierno ó consignatarios dhos hallen inconveniente en el referido embarco de numerario por ser perjudicial à los intereses del suplicante qualquier demora despues del precitado dia treinta y un del proximo Diciembre, para que en vista del informe marginal del Ministerio de Hacienda publica de este Apostadero, y de no haver inconveniente en esta Comandancia de Marina de mi cargo para lo expuesto, resuelvo la Superioridad de V.E. como sea de su agrado.*—*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años. Comandancia de San Blas veinte y nueve de Noviembre de mil ochocientos veinte.*—*Antonio Quartara.*—

Escrito.

Exmo. Sor. Don José de la Cruz.—*Sor. Comandante de Marina y Armas.*—

Don Alonzo Morgado Capitan y Dueño de la Fragata particular nombrada María à V.M. hace presente y suplica: Que con respecto à finalizar el dia treinta y uno del proximo Diciembre la contrata celebrada con los cargadores de la referida Fragata para trasladarse con los caudales correspondientes de dha y demas negociaciones de que se tenga superior permiso à Manila, y serle conducente en consecuencia la competente licencia para verificar el indicado viage precisamente desde el insinuado dia, que se sirva V.M. concederle su permiso de navegar bajo la inteligencia de estar solvente por medio de competentes y admitida fianza con la Hacienda publica, la parte respectiva del cargamento que condujo, y de que si por incidentes ó causas que el Superior gobierno y consignatarios considerasen justas, no pareciese deba abrir registro de caudales la insinuada su Fragata, ó que abierto yà, deba demorarse por causa de ellos; que desiste de su admision à bordo para seguir en lastre à Manila cumplida que sea la contrata en el expresado dia treinta y uno del proximo Diciembre por ser perjudicial à sus intereses, y carecer de arbitrios para el mantenimiento del Buque en qualquier demora.—*Gracia y Justicia con que pide, y juro no proceder de malicia, y lo necesario &c^a.*—*Alonzo Morgado.*—

Decreto.

Comandancia de San Blas veinte y nueve de Noviembre de mil ochocientos veinte.—*Pase à informe del Ministerio de Hacienda publica de este Apostadero; por lo respectivo à las funciones de su cargo.*—*Quartara.*

Informe.

Ministerio de Marina y Hacienda publica de San Blas Noviembre veinte y nueve de mil ochocientos veinte.—*No hay inconveniente por parte de este Ministerio en la sali-*

da para Manila del Buque de que trata esta instancia respecto de estar asegurada la Hacienda publica, como expone el Suplicante.—Rada.—

Decreto.

Guadalajara Diciembre seis de mil ochocientos veinte.—Pase à informe de la Administracion general de Alcavalas de esta Capital.—Cruz.—Fernando Cambre.

Informe.

*Exmo. Sor.—Supuesto que por parte del Ministerio de Marina del Apostadero de San Blas, no hay inconveniente para el regreso de la Fragata nombrada **María** à la Bahía de Manila de donde es procedente, en consideracion à estar competentemente asegurada la parte de la Hacienda publica; tampoco lo hay respecto de esta Administracion de mi cargo, y por tanto podra V.E. si fuese de su agrado, conceder la licencia que solicita su Capitan y Dueño Don Alonzo Morgado para abrir el registro de caudales; y en quanto al embarque de estos, que sea conforme al Reglamento del Comercio de Manila ó lo que à V.E. parece de justicia. Guadalajara Diciembre siete de mil ochocientos veinte.—Batres.—*

Decreto.

*Guadalajara Diciembre nueve de mil ochocientos veinte.—Concedido con tal de que el embarque de caudales sea precisamente conforme al Reglamento del Comercio de Manila, y à las demas prevenciones à que se contrajo mi Decreto de quince de Junio ultimo en la instancia de la parte de Don Pedro Ramires Capitan y Maestre del Bergantin nombrado **el Feliz**; comuniquese para todo las ordenes correspondientes al Comandante de Marina, y al MInisterio de SAn Blas, y remitase al Exmo. Sor. Virey testimonio de estas actuaciones para su debido conocimiento.—Cruz.—Fernando Cambre.—*

Es copia que certifico. Guadalajara Diciembre 9 de 1820.—Fernando Cambre.

...

[Al] *Sor. Ministro Principal*

*Fragata Maria N° 1 Maestre Don Alonso Auxilio Morgado
De San Blas para Manila.*

Embarca Don Alonso Morgado Capitan y Dueño de dha Fragata de cuenta y riesgo del mismo los caudales que à continuacion se expresan que corresponde al Duplo de la Manifestacion de efectos Asiaticos que en Abril del año anterior introduxo y desembarco dho Buque baxo la Poliza N° [blank] del registro de Entrada.

S.M. A Saber

Caxas Conts. 5 ... con 12000 pesos en todos ellos en Moneda Mexicana y Provisional de Sacatecas y Durango 12.000 "

F.M. 1 à 2

*2 Caxas con 5000 pesos de iguales cuños que los anteriores 5.000 "
cuya cantidad vino por la Guia de Tepic n°1048.*

Sueltos 760 de id. de id. 760 "

17.760 pesos

Bajo el correspondiente permiso concedido para el retorno por el Exmo. Sor. Comandante de la Provincia Don José de la Cruz. San Bals y Enero 13 de 1821.

Alonso Morgado.

Alonso Auxilio Morgado.

Libre por corresponder al Duplo segun expresan y consta de la Liquidacion de Entrada.

P.M.A. Naxina.

...

Translation.

Year of 1821.—Original Manifest of the funds and products of the frigate María departing from this port for those of Manila on 15 January of said year.

Her Captain: Don Alonso Morgado.

Her Master: Don Alonso Auxilio Morgado.

[To the] Ministry of the Navy and Public Finance of San Blas.

In a letter dated today, I tell the Commander of the Navy of this Naval Station the following:

“In view of the request made by Don Alonso Morgado, Captain and owner of the privately-owned frigate named **María**, that Your Grace has enclosed in a letter to me, dated 29 November last, regarding the permission for said frigate to return to the port of Manila, whence she came, having opened a manifest of the funds to that effect, I have granted his request with the conditions that are contained in my Decree of this date and that of 15 June last, following the request of Don Pedro Ramirez, Captain and Master of the brigantine named **Feliz**,¹ a certified copy of which I remitted to Your Grace, with a letter of that date, which you will find enclosed herein, for your information, and corresponding effects.”

I copy same to Your Grace, adding copies of the letters in question, for your own information and corresponding effects.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

Guadalajara, 9 December 1820.

José de la Cruz

[To] Chief Minister of the Navy of San Blas.

[Written on official sealed paper for 1820-21. 2 reals paid. Bearing following phrase: “Ferdinand VII signed the Constitution on 9 March 1820.”]

Writ.

Your Excellency:

¹ Ed. note: See next document.

Don Ramón de Murua, a trader residing in this city, on behalf and at the request of Don Pedro Ramirez, Captain and Master of the brigantine named **Feliz** proceeding from Manila with a manifest of goods corresponding to the permit of those Islands, presently at anchor in the port of San Blas, appear before Y.E. in the manner most appropriate, and declare: That the above-named Captain and Master is ready to leave on his return voyage to said port of origin with said ship and to carry on board her in cash money twice [the value of] the manifest of said ship, or the part that will have been received at the time of departure. Consequently, and by virtue of the Royal order dated 25 September 1818 authorizing Y.E. to issue the despatch and other documents regarding the Philippine trade:

I beg Y.E. to be pleased to grant your superior permission for the above-mentioned effects, and concerning the departure of said brigantine, and the Double [value] of her manifest.

Ramón de Murua.

Report.

Your Excellency:

Given the authority that Y.E. holds by virtue of the Royal order dated 15 September and mentioned in the above representation of Don Ramón Murua belonging to the Manila trade, on behalf of Don Pedro Ramirez, Captain and Master of the brigantine named **Feliz**, proceeding from Manila, and in accordance with Chapter 2 of the Regulation of that trade, it seems to this Administration that Y.E. may, if you please, grant the permission that he solicits for the loading of said ship and return home with double the value of the freight that he has carried in the present voyage, or what he might realize on its account, by issuing the corresponding order to the Ministry of San Blas, for them to follow the instructions regarding this matter, and in line with the corresponding statements, to open the manifest of the funds in question, and to advise this Government in great details of the sums that will be embarked eventually, with mention of the individuals to whom they belong.

Guadalajara, 12 June 1820.

Batres.

Opinion.

Your Excellency:

There is no inconvenient whatever to prevent Y.E., if it be of your superior pleasure, to accede to the above request of Don Ramón Murua, by virtue of the authority granted to this Superior Government by the above-mentioned Royal order of 25 September 1818, and in the terms suggested by the General Customs Administration, but with the stipulation that the embarkation of double the value of the registered freight brought by the brigantine **Feliz** be done in cash money, and not in silver bars, and the other orders issued regarding this subject to the Ministry of San Blas be adhered to. Consequently, Y.E. may be pleased to issue the corresponding orders to the Ministry in question, and to the Commander of the Navy of the above-mentioned Naval Station, after due consultation with the Fiscal for civil matters, and also order that certified

copies of these measures be made and a set of documents forwarded to the superior Government of His Excellency the Viceroy for his superior information.

Guadalajara, 14 June 1820.

[Minute]

[To] Doctor Velez, Minister.

Guadalajara, 15 June 1820.

We agree with the opinion of the Fiscal.

[Signed] Cruz Fernando Cambre

Letter.

Your Excellency:

I forward the attached request from Don Alonso Morgado, Captain and owner of the privately-owned frigate **María** in which he solicits permission to return to the bay of Manila, whence he came, with the funds that the Supercargos have been permitted to load aboard said ship in this port, once their trading will have been concluded, next 31 December. Y.E. may resolve what may be of your pleasure, in view of the report from the Ministry of Public Finance of this Naval Station, given that these Navy HQ in my charge have no objections.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Antonio Quartara

Writ.

[To] His Excellency Don José de la Cruz, Commander of the Navy and Armed Forces.

I, Don Alonso Morgado, Captain and owner of the privately-owned frigate named **María**, appear before Your Grace and beseech: That, for the purpose of finalizing, on 31 December next, the trading activities of the supercargos of the above-mentioned frigate to transport the corresponding funds for this and other business affairs, as allowed, to Manila, and it being necessary for me to hold the proper permission to undertake the voyage in question before said date, may Your Grace be pleased to grant me permission to sail, under the conditions that I am solvent by means of bonds deposited with Public Finance, for the part of the cargo that I carried, and if there be no reasons or just cause for the Superior Government and the supercargos to delay the departure of my frigate, or should the manifest be already opened, and a delay planned on account of such reasons, then I wish not to admit them on board, and pursue my return voyage in ballast back to Manila instead, on said date of 31 December next, given that any delay beyond that date will result in prejudices to my interests, and I lack the funds to maintain said ship otherwise:

A just favor which I request, and I swear that I do not act out of malice, but only out of necessity, etc.

Alonso Morgado

Decree.

Command HQ, San Blas, 29 November 1820.

I need a report from the Ministry of Public Finance of this Naval Station, concerning the matters under their jurisdiction.

Quartara.

Report.

Ministry of the Navy and Public Finance of San Blas, 29 November 1820.

This Ministry has no objections to the departure for Manila of the ship mentioned in this request, as far as Public Finance is concerned, in view of the bonds deposited by the Supplicant.

Rada.

Decree.

Guadalajara, 6 December 1820.

We need a report from the General Administration of Customs of this Capital.

Cruz Fernando Cambre

Report.

Your Excellency:

Given that the Ministry of the Navy of the Naval Station of San Blas has no objection to the return of the frigate named **María** to the bay of Manila whence she came, given that the interests of Public Finance have been secured by bonds, the Administration in my care does not have any objection either, and therefore Y.E. may, if it be of your pleasure, grant the permission solicited by her Captain and owner, Don Alonso Morgado, to open the manifest of the funds, provided that the embarkation of said funds be done in accordance with the Regulation of the Manila trade, or with any other condition that Y.E. may see fit.

Guadalajara, 7 December 1820.

Batres.

Decree.

Guadalajara, 9 December 1820.

Granted, provided that the embarkation of funds be precisely in accordance with the Regulation of the Manila trade, and the other conditions set by me in the Decree of 15 June last, as a result of the request made on behalf of Don Pedro Ramirez, Captain and Master of the brigantine named **Feliz**, the corresponding orders are to be issued to the Commander of the Navy, and the Ministry of San Blas, and a record of proceedings forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy for his information.

Cruz Fernando Cambre

This is a certified copy, Guadalajara, 9 December 1820. [Signed] Cambre.

...

[On 10 January 1821, Pedro de la Mora inspected the ship and found it loaded only with ballast and water, and ready to receive its load. On 13 January, the loading being completed, evidence of the "policies" were to be added to the manifest file, which contains 24 such policies, or separate entries. The first load belonged to Captain Morgado himself, as follows:]

[To] Chief Minister, Sir:

[Part] N° 1.—Frigate **María**, Master Alonso Auxilio Morgado.

From San Blas to Manila.

Don Alonso Morgado, Captain and owner of said frigate loads on his own account and risks the funds that are stated hereunder which correspond to double the value of the manifest of Asian goods introduced last year and unloaded from this ship under Entry N° [blank] of the manifest in question.

S.M. [shipping mark]. To wit:

5 Crates containing 12,000 pesos, all of them in Mexican money and provisional coinage from Zacatecas and Durango 12,000 p

F.M. 1 & 2

2 Crates with 5,000 pesos of same coinage as above 5,000 p
i/a/w Bill of Lading from Tepic, n° 1048.

Loose change totalling 760 pesos 760 p

17,760 pesos

Under the corresponding permission granted for the return voyage by His Excellency the Commander of the Province, Don José de la Cruz.

San Blas, 13 January 1821.

Alonso Morgado

Alonso Auxilio Morgado

Free on board, as it correspond to Double, i/a/w above statement of the liquidation at time of entry.

P.M.A. Naxina.

...

[Similarly, other Manila traders owned the following cargo on board the **María**:

—Francisco Maria Marcaida had, under Part N° 2 of the Manifest, a total of 81,042 pesos;

—Francisco Velasco, N° 3, had 8,353 pesos;

—Manuel Ainza, N° 4, had 12,500 pesos;

—Manuel Ainza, for José Ruperto de las Cagigas, N° 5, had 4,140 pesos;

—Juan Blanco Bermudez, N° 6, had 17,454 pesos;

—Successors of Cristobal Regidor, N° 7, had 16,008 pesos;

—Manuel Cacho, N° 8, had 15,000 pesos;

—José Ruperto de las Cagigas, N° 9, had 7,052 pesos;

—Doña Felipa Velez de Escalante, N° 10, had 10,000 pesos;

—Mariano Arrinda, N° 11, had 5,130 pesos;

—Antonio Ferrari, for Domingo Señeri, N° 12, had 14,225 pesos;

—Mariano Tuazon, N° 13, had 1,412 pesos;

—Alonso Auxilio Morgado, N° 14, had 1,449 pesos;

—Successors of Domingo Navea & Miguel Falero, N° 15, 4,984 pesos;

- Francisco Maria Marcaida, N° 16, had 186 pesos in goods;
- Jacobo Castañeda, N° 17, had 43 pesos in goods;
- Marcos Reyes, N° 18, had 38 pesos in goods;
- Alonso Morgado himself, under N° 19, also had 30 pesos' worth of "cajeta", which is chocolate caramel, no doubt meant as gifts;
- Alonso Morgado, N° 20, had 40 pesos' worth of "barros de Tonalá," which were clay pots;
- Alonso Morgado, for Felix Ruiz, N° 21, had a total of 1,338 pieces of copper jewelry totalling 2,000 quintals and worth 10 pesos per quintal, therefore total value 20,000 pesos;
- Juan Silva, for José Estrada, N° 22, had 443 quintals of copper, worth 4,430 pesos;
- Juan Silva, for Balthasar Mier, N° 23, had 92 quintals of copper, worth 920 pesos;
- the ship's food supplies for the voyage, as follows:
 - 2 jars of chocolate;
 - 1 jar of biscuit;
 - 4 barrels of salted cabbage;
 - 1 flask of lemon juice;
 - 1 crate of cheeses;
 - 2 small jars of lard;
 - 1 barrel of chicken eggs;
 - 5 bushels of beans;
 - 6 bushels of corn;
 - 1 small jar of butter;
 - 1 small jar of coffee;
 - 1 crate of sweets;
 - 1 bag and 1 sack of chick-peas;
 - 1 bag of beans;
 - 3 crates of chocolate caramels [cajeta];
 - 2 small crates of squash preserves.

B2. Final clearance from port

Original text in Spanish.

Don Alonso Morgado Capn. dueño de la Fragata Maria del Comercio de Manila: Reciví del Sor. Ministro Contador Principal del Ministerio de Marina, y Hazienda Publica de este Apostadero Don José Miguel de Rada el Registro de Caudales, y frutos embarcados en dho Buque para aver la veinte y quatro polizas de que se compone por el duplo retorno del importe del cargamento de [la] expresada Fragata vendida en este Puerto en Abril del año pasado de 1820, obligandome á entregarlas cerrado y sellado en los mismos terminos que lo he recibido al Sor. Administrador de la Aduana de aquella Capital. Y para que conste a los efectos convenientes firmo por duplicado el presente a un solo fin en San Blas á 15 de Enero de 1821.

Alonso Auxilio Morgado.

Translation.

I, Don Alonso Morgado, Captain and owner of the frigate **María** belonging to the Manila trade, have received from the Chief Accounting Minister of the Ministry of the Navy and Public Finance of this Naval Station, Don José Miguel de Rada, the Manifest of the funds and products loaded on board said ship, as shown in the 24 bills of lading that constitute it, being the Double return of the value of the freight that said frigate sold in this port in April 1820, obliging myself to deliver same, closed and sealed, under the same terms and conditions that I have received them to the Administrator of Customs in that Capital. And for whom it may concern I have affixed my signatiure, on duplicate copies, the present for a sole purpose, in San Blas on 15 January 1821.

Alonso Auxilio Morgado

B3. Stopover at Guam in March 1821

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

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N^o 238.

M. Y.S.

*Procedente del Puerto de San Blas dio fondo en el de la Villa de Umata el 4 del corriente la Fragata **María**, y de los auxilios de Viveres que le proporcioné à su Capitan con debido respeto acompaño à V.S. Razon que lo manifiesta.*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Villa de Umata en las Yslas Marianas, y Marzo 5 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Razon que manifiesta los auxilios de Viveres que he proporcionado sin el menor interés al Capitan y Dueño de la Fragata María, y esA saver:

Quatro Toretas

Doscientas Aves

Trescientos y ochenta Huevos

Sesenta y nueve racimos de Platanos

Sesenta y quatro Sandias

Seis Melones

Ocho Aras de Naranjas

Dos Aras de Camotes

Quatrocientos Cocos

Sesenta y seis Condoles

Beinte y ocho Calabazas

Siete Aras de Palmitos
Nueve Yd. de Tomates
Seis Yd. de Berengenas
Tres Yd. de Berdolagas
Dos Yd. de Pimientos grandes
Uno Yd. de Coles
Dos Yd. de Limones
Villa de Umata y Marzo 5 de 1821.
José de Medinilla, y Pineda

Translation.

Superior Government N° 238.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The frigate **María** arrived from the port of San Blas and anchored in the port of the Town of Umata on 4th instant. I respectfully submit the list of the food supplies that I have provided for free to her Captain.

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

Town of Umata in the Mariana Islands, 5 March 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

List of the food supplies that I have given to the Captain and owner of the frigate María, at no cost, to wit:

- 4 small bulls;
- 200 chickens;
- 380 eggs;
- 69 bunches of bananas;
- 74 watermelons;
- 6 melons;
- 8 baskets of oranges;
- 2 baskets of sweet potatoes;
- 400 coconuts;
- 66 long squashes;
- 28 squashes;
- 7 baskets of palmettos [sic];¹
- 9 baskets of tomatos;
- 7 baskets of eggplants;
- 3 baskets of purslane;
- 2 baskets of large peppers;

¹ Ed. note: Maybe they were federico nuts, or hearts-of-palm.

—1 basket of cabbage;
 —2 baskets of lemons.
 Town of Umata, 5 March 1821.
 José de Medinilla y Pineda

B4. The official mail sent from Guam to Manila aboard this ship

Source: Same as for B3 above.

Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 5 March 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno sin numero.

*Procedente del Puerto de San Blas en la mañana del día de ayer dio fondo en la Rada de la Villa de Umata la Fragata **María** dando la Vela en el día de la fecha para esa, y con el debido respeto acompaño à V.S. el Yndice que manifiesta la correspondencia de Oficios que para poner en las Superiores manos de V.S. he entregado à su Capitan Don José Molgado [sic].*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Abordo, y à la Vela de la expresada Fragata oy 5 de Marzo de 1821.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinila, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government, unnumbered.

Yesterday morning there anchored in the port of Umata the frigate **María**, proceeding from the port of San Blas and departing today for yours, and with all due respect I enclose for Y.L. the List of the official correspondence that I have handed over to her Captain, Don José Molgado [sic].

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

Aboard, while said frigate is under sail, today 5 March 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

¹ Ed. note: There follows the list of the numbers and titles corresponding to Letters N° 217 to 238.

 Documents 1821C

The brig Feliz Emprendedor, Captain José Ramirez

Source: AGN AHH 594-13.

Note: The name of this ship means "Happy Entrepreneur."

The Feliz returning to Manila from San Blas

Original texts in Spanish.

Año de 1821.—Registro original del Bergantin Filiz [sic] Emprendedor á cargo de su Capitan y Maestre Don José Ramirez, sale de este Puerto para el de Manila de su procedencia en [blank] de Julio de dho año.—Ministerio de Marina y Hazienda publica de San Blas.

Señor Ministro de la Hacienda Nacional.

D. José Ramirez, Capitan, y Maestro del Bergantin Filiz Emprendedor, surtyo en esta Bahía, ante V. parezco y digo: Que teniendo la Correspondiente Licencia para seguir viaje al Puerto de Manila, con los caudales que pertenecen al Duplo del Registro que he conducido de aquel puerto, necesito para verificarle, se me abra cabeza de Registro, para el embarque de otros caudales, y por tanto:

A V. pido y suplico, se sirve mandar como llevo dho pues es justicia &

José Ramirez.

...

José Miguel de Rada oficial primero del Ministerio de Marina, Ministro Contador principal de ella y de Hazienda en este Apostadero.

Certifico que hoy día de la fha, hallandose enteramente concluida la carga del Bergantin Filiz Emprendedor segun verbalmente expuso Don José Ramirez asi de caudales como de frutos, y en cumplimiento de lo dispuesto por la Superioridad pasé á dho Buque donde acompañado del citado Don Pedro de la Mora Guarda Almacen General del Arzenal, y de los Rondines Miguel Campos, y Fernando Salzedo se verifico la ultima visita de fondeo reconociendo todo lo interior de bodegas, y camarotes, no se encontró cosa de contrabando, siendo toda su carga arreglada a las polizas de su embarque. Y para que conste lo firmo conmigo por sí el expresado Mora, y arruego de los Rondines por no saver escribir.

San Blas 3 de Julio de 1821.
José Miguel de Rada.

Translation.

Year of 1821.—Original copy of the Manifest of the Brigantine **Feliz Emprendedor** under the command of her Captain and Master, Don José Ramirez, departing from this port of Manila, where she came from, on [blank] July of said year.—Ministry of the Navy and Public Finance of San Blas.

[To the] Minidter of National Finance, Sir:

I, José Ramirez, Captain and Master of the brigantine **Feliz Emprendedor**, anchored in this bay, appear before you and declare:

That, since I have received permission to pursue my voyage to the port of Manila with the funds that belong to Double the Manifest that I have carried from that port, I need, to make it official, for you to formally open a Manifest, for the embarkation of other funds, and terefore:

I beg and beseech you to please order what I ask, since it is simple justice, etc.
 José Ramirez

...

I, José Miguel de Rada, first official of the Ministry of the Navy, its Principal Accounting Minister and that of the Treasury in this Naval Station:

Do certify that on this date, given that the loading of the brigantine **Feliz Emprendedor** is complete, according to a verbal report given by Don José Ramirez, not only of the funds but also of the products, and in compliance with decisions taken by my Superiors, I went to said ship where, accompanied by said Don Pedro de la Mora, Guard assigned to the General Warehouse of the Arsenal, and of the Watchmen of the Arsenal named Miguel Campos and Fernando Salcedo, to carry out the final search, by inspecting the whole interior of the holds, and cabins. No contraband was found, and the load is in accordance with the bills of lading. And for whom it may concern I apply my signature, for myself, as well as on behalf of said Mora, and watchmen, since they do not know how to write.

San Blas, 3 July 1821.

José Miguel de Rada

Document 1821D

The second visit of the brig Osprey at Tinian

*Sources: Ms. logbook in the Rhopde Island Historical Institute, kept by E. T. T.; PMB 769.
Note: This is a continuation of the first visit (Doc. 1818A).*

Extract from Log Book E. T. T.

Thursday June 28 1821

Island of Tinian. At 1/2 past nine left the Brig with two whale boats, met the principal of the settlement coming off in his proa. Took him into the boat and rowed for the shore, went into his house & after going thro' the forms of registering the vessel &c &c dispatched men to pick limes, cocoanuts, papaws & to catch fowls, bring yams &c &c.

[The ruins (cont'd)]

A friend having requested information about the ancient remains in Tinian, I provided myself with a line, a measure and some iron tools and devoted all the time I could possibly spare to the examination of them. Incited by the assistance of directions from the Spanish resident, 6 or 8 of the nearest clusters of old architecture. They resemble the groupe described in my former visit; and there are beside many remains of different descriptions of stone work, and of all heights from 3 to 20 feet. I devoted some time to the search, and I could not find a single piece of rock or stone, of original (primitive) formation, every part of the Island at a short distance from the surface (and above it also in many places) is coral preserving(?) all its pores and fibres perfect, and retaining all its characteristic marks, where it has been worked by the sea. Of this coral are formed these remains, and appear to be hewn out of the solid rock, and age has given them the appearance (unless closely examined) of a soft granite. If they had been of masonry as the writer of Ansons Voyage supposes, and formed by cementing small stones together, the capital with which the pillars are generally surmounted would naturally be firmly attached & cemented to the pillar or built in with it; in no instance did I observe this to be the case[;] there was always a wide joint as tho' badly fitted and the edges generally worn off by time & the vines, (many of which of a large size cover the ruins) find room to take root between the pillar and cap; and always where the column has fallen the capital is detached from it. Many columns are standing and the capitals lying on the ground beside them, and the bottom of the capital and top of the pillar as smooth as if fitted by a modern architect.

The groupe which I before described appears to have consisted formerly of more columns than I then mentioned as upon examining some thick masses of brush wood and wines at the W. end of the group, I discovered three more columns nearly buried in the earth with three capitals beside them. The largest which I measured was 18 feet 4 in[ches] length by 7.2 in [i.e. 7 feet 2 inches] square. The circumference of the upper part of the cap[ital] was 27. feet. They were of various heights and sizes in different plans. I have marked (among those sketched in my old journal) what now remains. The long flat stone has doubtless been worked into the walls of a house built since my last visit. The present buidings are constructed -- entirely from the ruins, and more will be every day used for the same purpose. A piece of the material of which they are built, which I broke of[f] from one of the columns and a piece of what appeared to me, to be petrified wood I unfortunately left behind me in my haste to avoid a squall which arose as I was about leaving the Island.

When the Pacific Ocean becomes more frequented by scientific men, a great field will be opened to those, who are desirous of searching into the wonders of nature, in accounting for the formation of Islands on its surface. That coral is the production of an animal is generally granted, and that its labours frequently raise masses (which reaching the surface of the water collect in time vegetable mould sufficient for the Cocoa Tree to take root in and by its decay form more earth until it eventually becomes a low island,) we have many proofs. But when we see large islands raised high above the level of the ocean, & formed of the same material, we must ascribe their elevation to other causes than the labours of a minute insect which exists only in the water.

The opinion I shall venture is, that the whole Pacific Ocean has fallen considerably from its original height. In evidence of this I have remarked many parts which have plainly been washed by the ocean; from the port of Coquimbo to the town, you ride along a bank at 1/2 a mile distance from the shore, composed entirely of shells; marine substances: and the rocky point Tortugas, at the same height and all below it, is worn into holes and washed as smooth as that over which the tide now rises. At Huasco, at a still greater elevation, there is a **beach** composed entirely of shells worn fine and round, and exactly similar and directly in the rear of the beach now existing. It has become hard by long exposure to the air, but crumbles to sand between the fingers. This appeared to me so singular a fact that I followed that level for a considerable distance and found in all parts below it shells & stones worn smooth by attrition, in great numbers. What surprised me more, was to find also a great number of pieces of tile or coarse earthen ware smoothed in the same manner, which would make it appear that the water has not long deserted this part, or that the ancient inhabitants of the country formed and used earthen ware, similar to that at present used.

At the Island of Wahoo [i.e. Oahu], I also remarked that the land in the neighbourhood of the Indian village of Hanarooa [i.e. Honoruru], was founded on rocks of coral & I have little doubt that most of the lower lands of the Islands in the Pacific will be found to consist of coral rocks covered with a mould found from decayed vegetables and soil washed from the higher mountains. At Tinian the well which supplies most of

the water used by the inhabitants, is cut out of the coral. The water is brackish as is that of a large lake on the Island. This may be easily accounted for by its filtering thro' a mass of marine substances. There is no spring or rivulet on the island.

I should remark, that I have never been above the middle of the height of the island, and the highest parts may be differently formed, altho' I am inclined to think it is not. **Since I was at this place 3 years since, the Spaniards of Guam have formed a settlement on the neighboring island of Saypan. They have about 18 natives of the Caroline Islands there settled,**¹ and the planter of Tinian informed me with great glee, that they had made considerable progress in getting off the natives from those islands to make christians (alias slaves) of them. It is probable they have destroyed the immense population of the Marian Isles, and must look for other victims to cultivate the soil. Two of these natives I saw at Tinian. The harbour of Saypan is at the S.W. point, and produces many articles of refreshments as wild cattle, turtle, Cocos, and is a much superior island to Tinian.

I observed some bichos de la mar on the reef at Tinian.

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

Documents 1821E

The hurricane of 1821—Damages to schooner, etc.

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item 97.

E1. Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 5 July 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N^o 241.

M. Y.S.

La noche del dia 23 à amanecer el 24. del proximo mes pasado ha sido de las mas terribles que han experimentado los Avitantes de estas Yslas; desde las siete empezó à soplar Nordeste fresco, y continuó hasta las onze que pasó al Norte combiertiendose en Uraçan formidable, duró por esta parte hasta la una, y media, y habiendo brincado al Leste se hizo irresistible hasta el amanecer que calmó enteramente. La Goleta del Presidio que debuelta de la Ysla de Tinian el 22. havia Anclado en esta Caldera sin que aun se le huviese podido extraer el todo de su Carga, sobre bien asegurada con cinco Calabotes dos de Cañamo, uno de Cayro, y dos de Balibago recién hechos, pareció con solo una amarra, desarbolada è hida à pique, en el Cantil sobre la Vanda de Estribor, y de no haver sido porque encallaron las puntas de dos grandes Piedras, en la citada Vanda, y parte de la Cubierta huviera fracasado en el Golfo, pero à expensas de haver permanecido doce dias consecutivos sobe el trabajo, y balidome de barias Pipas, Bariles, Balsas de Cañas, y distintas operaciones que me ocurrieron logré salvarle.

Las Casas de Piedra asi del Rey como las de los particulares han padecido infinito; las Yglesias, y Comventos, han corrido igual suerte, pues unas quedaron destechadas en el todo, y otras la mayor parte con muchas Paredes desplomadas; y las Casas de los Naturales fué rara la que quedò parada, y de barias hasta el dia no han parecido muchas de las Maderas con que fueron construidas; hà aniquilado la mayor parte de las Rayces con que suelen alimentarse, como son el Dago, la Nica, y el Sune, pero en medio de tantas Extremidades tuvimos la suerte de que por la Estacion no se havian verificado las Sementeras de Maiz, como è igualmente el que no huviese ocurrido desgracia personal ninguna. En fin el Campo que en todas las estaciones del año se mantiene à la

vista frondoso, y deleytable lo hà dejado arido, y seco, y todo demuestra el espectaculo mas lastimoso que se puede ofrecer.

Las Yslas de Rota, Tinian, y Zaypan, fueron Castigadas igualmente, pues segun los Ynformes de los Alcaldes, no les quedó Casa (inclusas las del Rey), Sementeras, Puercos, Aves, arboles de Coco, Rima, y otros que no huviesen perecido, por lo que me hé visto en la necesidad de Administrar las Semillas, y otras especies indispensables para su mejor fomento, y desempeño.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Marianas, y Julio 5. de 1821.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 241.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The night of the 23rd of last month was one of the most terrible that the inhabitants of these islands have experienced: from 7 p.m. the N.E. wind began to blow fresh, and continued to do so until 11 p.m. when it veered north and became a formidable hurricane which lasted from this quarter until 1:30 a.m., when it jumped to east and its force was irresistible until daybreak when it became completely calm. The schooner belonging to the garrison, which had returned from the Island of Tinian on the 22nd, had anchored in this port and had not yet been completely unloaded, was extremely well moored with five cables, two of hemp, one of coir, and two recently-made of balibago, ended up with just one remaining, dismasted and with its starboard side under water and over the reef face. If that side and part of the deck had not become wedged between the points of two big [coral] rocks, it would have sunk in deep water; however, after spending 12 continuous days in the salvaging effort, and using various casks, barrels, bamboo rafts, and many operations that occurred to me, I managed to save it.

The stone houses belonging to the King, as well as those belonging to individuals, have suffered much damage. The churches, and convents, have suffered equal damage; indeed, they have lost their roofs completely, and most others have also had parts of their walls destroyed. Among the houses of the natives, if one was left standing, it was a rare exception; the wood from these houses has been blown off and has not been found. Most of the root plants used as food, such as the dago, nica, and suni, have been wiped out, but, amid such calamities, we were lucky that, due to the season, the corn had not yet been planted. We were also lucky that not one person died as a result. Finally, the fields that are usually so green and pleasing to the eye, have been left arid and dry; everywhere one can see a most desolate scenery.

The Islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan were also hit; in fact, according to the reports of the mayors, not one house was left standing (not even those belonging to the King), not one plantation, pig, chicken, coconut tree, breadfruit tree, and not one other

tree that did not die. That is why I was obliged to distribute seeds and other indispensable species to help them to recover.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of the Marianas, 5 July 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

E2. Letter dated 10 September 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 243.

M. Y.S.

El Baguio de que he instruido à V.S. en Papel separado, y el formidable temporal del Oeste que experimentamos el dia 1º del corriente han hecho determine la extincion total de la Administracion de Santa Rosa, y que los ciento beinte y cinco Puercos de todas especies (unico existencia que contenia) se consumiesen en las Raciones que se distribuyen de diario, con el mayor numero de los que havia en las demas Alcaldias, pues el estado lastimoso y deplorable en que han quedado los Cocales de la Ysla hacian no solo dificil pero sí imposible su subsistencia de alimento y conservacion, y lo pongo en la alta consideracion de V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Septiembre 10 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

[Al] M. Y.S. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 243.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The hurricane that I mentioned to Y.L. in a separate letter, and the formidable storm from strong westerlies that hit us on the 1st of this month, have made me decide to definitely close the station that the Administration owned at Santa Rosa; the 125 pigs of all species that were there (the only property there) were turned into rations that were distributed on a daily basis, along with most of the other animals belonging to the other districts; indeed, the pitiful and deplorable state in which the coconut trees of the island found themselves in, have made it impossible for life to be sustained otherwise. I bring the above to the high consideration of Y.L., for your superior intelligence.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 10 September 1821.

¹ Ed. note: Another copy of this letter was sent to the Royal Audiencia.

Most Illustrious Sir.
José de Medinilla y Pineda.
[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Document 1821F

The arrival of more Carolinian immigrants from Lamotrek, in 1821

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

Note: A copy of this letter was sent to the Audiencia of Manila on same date. The first wave of immigrants, that included families, came in 1819 (see Doc. 1820S).

Letter from the Governor of the Marianas, dated 10 September 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 242.

M. Y.S.

El dia 19 del ultimo mes de Marzo procedente de las Yslas Carolinas del Sur arrivaron à esta cinco Bancas con treinta, y quatro Yndios Naturales de la nombrada Lamurcep [sic], incluso un Tamor ò Capitan llamado Amatao [sic], el qual me hizo entender por medio de Ynterprete havia sido embiado de parte de sus Compañeros, y Principales de la ènunciada Ysla, en solicitud de que por este Gobierno sele embiase un Buque Capaz para con alguna comodidad poder trasladar à la Ysla de Saypan sus Mugerès è Hijos, y que todos anhelavan radicarse en ella, y ser Cristianos; pero como no hubiese tenido modo de poderles complacer segun sus hideas, y fuese para mi este un àsunto de la mayor importancia, tuvé el advitrio de darle Ciento, y ochenta Piezas de excelentes Herramientas, con el fin de que pasando à otras Yslas las Cambalachase con los Mayores, y Mejores Bancas que pudiera encontrar, y en ellas conduyese aquellas familias que à el mejor le acomodasen, y el 30 despues de haverles àgasajado con la mayor benevolencia dieron Vela, comprometido si el tiempo lo permitia à berificar su buelta à la quatro Pulan [sic] (nombre que dan à la Luna), pero Señor no me ès facil ni menos tengo voces con que significar à V.S. qual hà sido mi pesar al haver visto que el terrible temporal que experimentamos el dia 1° del corriente, y à los humbrales de la Ysla huviere hecho fracasasen todos sin que escapase uno que lo pudiese contar, segun lo han manifestado porcion de fragmentos de grandes Bancas que aparecieron à los pocos dias del tiempo barados en las Costas de Pago, è Ynarajan.

No omitirè decir que la Goleta del Presidio que mande construir para las Expediciones del Norte, ès muy adecuada para el intento de su Traslacion, y que si la Cristiana grandeza de V.S. tiene à vien mandar un primer Piloto para que lleve la derrota, à mis expensas, y sin el menor gravamen del Real Haver, me obligo poner un otro Segundo Piloto, famosa Tripulacion, y todos los auxilios de Viveres que puedan sèr de necesidad para los Viages que considero sèr preciso hacer.

La adjunta Certificacion del Cura accidental de esta Parroquia del Dulce Nombre de María dara à conocer à V.S. los progresos de adelantamiento que se vãn logrando en el gremio de nuestrs Sagrada Religion, con Concepto à los que se hallan establecido en la referida Ysla de Saypan.

Suplico à V.S. se digne si lo tiene à bien mandar se àgregue este Papel, y Certificacion à sus antecedentes.

*Nuestro Señor Conserve la importante vida, y Salud de V.S. los mas felices años.
San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de las Yslas Marianas y Septiembre 10 de 1821.*

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 242.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On the 19th of last March, there arrived, proceeding from the Caroline Islands to the south, five canoes with 34 Indian natives of the Island called Lamurcep [sic], including a *Tamor*, or Captain named Amatao [sic],¹ who made me understand through an Interpreter that he had been sent by his companions, and prominent men of the above-named island, to solicit this Government for the despatch of a sufficiently-large and comfortable ship to move their wives and children to the Island of Saipan, and that all of them longed to settle there, and become Christians. However, as I could not please them by accommodating their plans, but because I thought that the matter was very important, I took upon myself to give him 180 tools made of excellent iron, so that he would go to other islands and exchange them against the largest, and best, canoes that he could find, and use those to transport the families, as best as he could. On the 30th, after I had made them welcome with as much kindness as I could, they set sail. They had promised to return within four *Pulan* [sic] (which is the name they give to the Moon).² However, Sir, it is not easy for me, and I can hardly speak loud enough, to tell Y.L. that I have been very sorry to witness the terrible storm that hit us on the 1st of this month, and on the very threshold of this island they may have all been lost, with-

1 Ed. note: Once again, this is a misunderstanding, as he was simply introduced as the "deep-sea pilot," "metaw" in Carolinian meaning "deep sea," or "high sea."

2 Ed. note: Error, as "Pulan" is in Chamorro; moon, or month, is "Maram" in Carolinian.

out one escaping to tell the tale, according to the evidence provided by some fragments of large canoes that washed up on the coasts of Pago, and Inarajan, within a few days of the storm.¹

I will not omit to mention that the garrison schooner, that I had ordered built for the expeditions to the northern islands, is very adequate for this move, and that if the Christian greatness of Y.L. judge it appropriate to order a first Pilot who could undertake this voyage, at my expense and without the least encumbrance to the Royal treasury, I promise to provide a second Pilot, an experienced crew, and all the assistance by way of food supplies that would be required, for the voyages that I consider necessary to be made.

The attached Certification by the man who happens to be Curate of this Parish, named of the Sweet Name of Mary, will let Y.L. know about the progress made by our holy religion among the Carolinians already settled in the above-mentioned Island of Saipan.²

I get Y.L. to be pleased to order that this paper, and the certification, be filed with the previous documents regarding this matter.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 10 September 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

Editor's note.

A loose note found in the same file, but placed after Letter N° 227, states that the official census, dated 31 December 1821, mentions that there were 7 Carolinian houses in Saipan, and 8 in Tinian, inhabited by a total of 50 individuals.

1 Ed. note: In his next official letter, n° 243, Governor Medinilla says that this storm destroyed Agat completely, killing 124 pigs there, and felling many coconut trees all over Guam.

2 Ed. note: The certification itself is not recorded, but in the copy sent to the Audiencia, the Governor adds the following notes: "There were baptized with the best solemnity possible, in the afternoon of 28 August, two [Carolinian] adults from Saypan, and three babies born there."

Notes 1821G

Ship arrivals and departures from San Blas, at the time of Mexican Independence

G1. The Carmen, Captain Múgica, may not have returned to Manila

Source: MN Ms. 1777, fol. 145, 151v-153.

Note: The ship named Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias los Buenos Amigos, Captain Juan Ramón de Múgica, may not have returned from Mexico to Manila. Her Mate, Don Juan Manuel de la Mata, wrote his first-account observations of the Mexican Independence. However, could this be the mystery ship of Doc. 1821K?

...

G2. Summary of other ship movements

Source: AGN, various files.

Shipping Notices from San Blas.

—The frigate **Concepción**, alias **Preciosa**, Captain Martin de Yrazoqui, arrived at San Blas from Cadiz on 8 January 1821.

—The English frigate **Wellington** arrived from Lima on 31 December 1821 (captain not named, but supercargo was Lorenzo Tajonar).

—The English frigate **Sesostris** [sic], Captain James Waters, arrived from Barcelona on 8 January 1821.

—The schooner **Mercedes**, alias **la Prosperina**, Captain & owner José Antonio Chapantegui, arrived from Lima on January 1821, and returned on 7 April with a new Captain & onwer, Francisco Gamboa.

—The sloop **Pilar**, Captain & Owner Bartolomé Marquez, left San Blas for La Paz, Baja California on 26 March 1821.

—The Packet Boat **Jesús Nazareno**, alias **el Vizcaino**, Captain & Master Miguel Mitrovich, arrived at San Blas from Realexo on 19 January 1821 and left San Blas for Panama on 5 Dec. 1821.

—Brig **Señoriano**, Capt. & Master Juan Cubillas, arrived at San Blas from Upper California on 2 July 1821.

—Schooner **N.S. del Carmen, alias la Gallega**, Captain & owner Antonio Capó, arrived from Baja California on 5 April 1821.

—The schooner **Pájaro**, Captain & Master Antonio Capó, arrived at San Blas from California on 30 June 1821.

—Frigate **Santa Rita**, Master Manuel Coll, arrived San Blas on 11 May 1821.

—Another, but a brigantine, named **Santa Rita**, Captain & owner Santos Gao, arrived at San Blas from Arica, Peru on 19 April 1821, with part of the cargo that the English frigate **Mary London** had brought in from Cadiz.

—The brigantine **San Francisco Xavier, alias Alcion**, Captain & Owner Antonio Certaje, arrived at San Blas from Guaymas on 18 April 1821.

—Sloop **N. S. de Begoña**, Captain & Owner José Antonio Gabaraín, arrived at San Blas on 7 April 1821.

—The English brigantine **Tiber** [sic], Captain & Owner Juan Wad [sic = Ward] arrived at San Blas from Quayaquil on 3 February 1821.

—Brig **San Juanito**, i/c Pilot Jorge Banques [sic], arrived at San Blas from Mazatlan on 11 January 1821.

Document 1821H

The English ship Magnet, Captain Brown(?), visited Guam in October 1821

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Report of Governor Medinilla, dated 6 November 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 246.

M. Y.S.

*El día 24 de Octubre como à horas de las diez por el Norte de la Ysla apareció un Buque de tres palos, y habiendo mandado hacer el debido reconocimiento pareció ser la Fragata de nacion Ynglesa nombrada la **Magnet** [sic], su Capitan Don Tomas Buen [sic] que benia de la Nueva Olanda con necesidad de hacer algunos Viveres los quales le franque sin el menor interez, y al siguiente dia siguió su Derrota para Canton, y lo participo à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Noviembre 6 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 246.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 24 October, at about 10 a.m., there appeared at the north of the island a three-masted ship. Having ordered her reconnoitered, it turned out to be the English ship named **Magnet**, Captain Thomas Buen [rather Brown?] that came from New Holland and needed to refresh her food supplies, which I provided her free of charge. On the next day, she pursued her voyage to Canton.

I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 6 November 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.
José de Medinilla y Pineda
[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

¹ Ed. note: This ship seemed to have been an early whaler, although Jones' Ships (p. 219) states that her captain in 1820 was John Chapman Grant. Besides, there was a Captain Thomas Brown, a few months later, aboard the ship *Paragon*. Was he the same man, and was he American?

Documents 1821I

Census of the Marianas, for 1820 and 1821

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Note: The actual census results are not to be found in the above file, and may perhaps be found in PNA.

I1. Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 31 December 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 247.

M. Y.S.

Dirijo adjunto à manos de V.S. el Estado que instruye del numero de Casas, Castas, y Sexos de los Avitantes de estas Yslas Marianas, segun el Padron que practiqué este presente año, y en el que se manifiesta el Alta que à havido cotejado con el del año proximo pasado ànterior, no omitiendo el hacer presente à V.S. de que no se me expuso por los Naturales de los Pueblos la mas leve queja contra sus respectivos, è inmediatos Gefes, y antes si por el contrario observè vivir todos llenos del mayor gusto al cuidado de sus Casas, Sementeras, y Familias.

Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.S. muchos años.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 247.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I am sending to Y.L. the attached report on the number of houses, ethnic group, and sex, of the inhabitants of these Mariana Islands, as per the Census that I carried out this year, and in which can be seen the increase from last year's census, given for comparison purposes. I hasten to add that no complaint whatever was made to me by the natives of the towns against their respective, and immediate, superiors; rather, I observed in all of them the greatest of happiness, as they take care of their houses, plantations, and families.

May our Lord save the important live of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 31 December 1821.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

I2. Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 30 August 1822

M. Y.S.

He recibido el Estado que V.S. há tenido á bien incluirme que comprende los vecinos de que se componen estas Yslas; el qual lo há corregido, y rectificado; por lo que resulta que cotejado el Padron que existe en esta Secretaria correspondiente al año de 1821, se ha aumentado la Poblacion en numero de quatrocientos cincuenta y siete Almas de diferencia; y de consiguiente se hicieron las Juntas Electorales de Parroquia, con arreglo al numero que se ha aumentado, cuyo total se compone hasta fin de Diciembre del año de 1821 de 5802 Personas, lo que comunico á V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Agosto 30 de 1822.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla.

[A] *M. Y.S. Governador, Capitan General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Marianas.*

Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I have received the census report that Y.L. has been pleased to address to me, which gives the numbers of the residents of these Islands, with corrections and rectifications made to them, with the result that, once the master table that is found in the office of the Secretary here has been amended, the population has increased by 457 souls; consequently, the election councils have been held in the parishes, in line with these increased numbers in mind, whose total, at the end of December 1821, was 5,802.

I forward same to Y.S. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 30 August 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General, and Political Judge for the Mariana Islands.

¹ Ed. note: A copy of this letter was also addressed to the Royal Audiencia of Manila.

Document 1821J

Mystery ship reported in trouble off Guam

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

Letter from the Governor of the Marianas, dated 12 September 1821

Note: A copy of this letter was also sent to the Royal Audiencia of Manila on same date.

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 244.

M. Y. S.

Como à horas de las diez de la mañana del día cinco del corriente Mes, me notició el Alcalde Administrador de la Villa de Umata, que el Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo de Merizo, y otros barrios le havian informado de que al Amanezar, y al Sur de la Ysla de Cocos havia aparecido estar un Buque desarbolado, y que sin perder instante salio en el Bote à Reconocerlo, y à las ocho de la noche me Escribió diciendo haverle sido imposible por lo muy enmarado que estava; y lo empollado de los Mares, y que havia estado en Eminente Riesgo de perderse à su buelta por haverle sido el Viento Nordeste por la Proa, y haverse separado de la Ysla en su prosecucion como tres Leguas, pero que sí su Esposa, y otras muchas personas que le acompañavan en la Pesca de Tiao en la indicada Ysla de Cocos le havian asegurado, que el expresado Buque havia estado muy inmediato à Tierra, y visto estar todo desarvolado con solo el Baupres, y parte del Palo del Trinquete, y en èl una pequeña Vela, que à primera vista le havian observado estar à su Bordo de diez à doce Hombres con mucha àseleracion extrayendo un grueso Cable de la Bodega, el que hivan enrollando sobre Cubiertas, y que como à la media hora havian parecido mucho mayor numero; cuos àntecedentes, y el de no haver tratado de dar fondo ò mantenerse al abrigo de la Ysla hasta tanto que el Viento lo huviera cambiado para lograr tomar Puerto, y àntes por el contrario para separarse de èlla, balidose de la indicado Vela, y Velocidad de las Corrientes que hacian para el Oeste, me dieron à conocer que el referido Buque no hera de buena feè, y sí perteneciente alguno de los Gobiernos intrusos; Tampoco estuve distante de creèr fuese el motivo el que àntes de haver desarvolado, huviese hecho presa el Buque, y Efectos que segun mis Ordenes devia remetirme en las primeras Collas Don Angel de la Fuente mi Apoderado

en esa, y así sin pérdida de tiempo determiné que en los parajes mas Eminentes se àpostasen distintos Vijilantes, que se aprontasen los tres Cañoneras, y que la Goleta del Presidio que estava lista, y en espera de Viento favorable para pasar à las Yslas del Norte, no saliera, con el fin de que si se bolvia à ver, haverle hecho montar las dos Cubebrinas de Bronce, Calibre de à ocho, y vien Armada, y Tripulada con treinta Hombres de todas Armas embarcado en èlla, sino se dejava reconocer con exactitud, haverle àtocado en toda forma, y de haverme sido permitido el separarme de la Ysla no huviera esperado tál, pues estoy cierto que el segundo dia, ò antes que huviese logrado berificar su arrivo à las de las Palaos que ès à donde infero se dirijiria, le huviera dado alcance, y hecho presa.

No omitiré el expresar à V.S. que al tercer dia ocho, en la reventazon de las Mares de Ynarajan, parecia recien roto, la parte Superior de un Cantaro, del tamaño como de una Arrova, con la Voca semejante en un todo à la de las Botijuelas de Azeyte con solo una Asa, bastante grande, y plana, bedriado de Verde la parte interior, y la interior recien dado de Brea, lo que dió motivo à que hiciese reconocer todas las Costas del Leste, y Sur, por sy se hallavan algunos otros Fragmentos que àtrivuiasen sin èquibocacion la perdida de algun Buque. Todo lo que me à parecido indispensable poner en la alta consideracion de V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

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

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Septiembre 12 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 244.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 10 a.m. on the 5th instant, the Mayor-Administrator of the Town of Umata notified me that the Mayor of the Village of Merizo and others had informed him that at daybreak, and South of the island of Cocos, a dismasted ship had appeared, and that he went out immediately in the boat to reconnoiter her. At 8 p.m., he wrote to tell me that he did not succeed, on account of the ship being far out to sea and the rough seas; and he had been in imminent danger of becoming lost while he was coming back, because the NE wind had been dead ahead, and he had gone as far as three leagues away from the island in her pursuit. However, his wife and many other persons who had been fishing for *tiao*¹ with him at Cocos Island, have assured him that said ship had come very near the island, and they had seen her to be completely dismasted, except for the bowsprit and part of the foremast on which there was a small sail, that at first sight they had observed 10 to 12 men aboard, busy quickly pulling a thick cable from the hold which they were coiling on deck, but that a larger number of men had appeared with-

¹ Ed. note: Local name of the goatfish.

in half an hour. With this information as background, and because they did not try and anchor, or to maintain themselves in the lee of the island until the wind changed and they could have entered the port, but, to the contrary, they got away from it, making use of said sail and the speed of the currents that run westward. This makes me think that their intentions were not good and they may belong to one of the rebel Governments. I was not far from believing either that, before they became dismasted, they might have captured the ship and the effects that, according to my orders, my agent in that capital [i.e. Manila], Mr. Angel de la Fuente, was to remit to me with the first blasts of the [SW] monsoon. Therefore, without losing any time, I decided to post various watchmen on the highest points, made ready the three gun emplacements, and had the schooner belonging to the garrison, that was ready to sail to the northern islands, desist, so that, if the [unidentified] ship should return, I would have the two bronze culverins mounted on the schooner and manned with 30 men from all forces placed on board, and if she should refuse to be recognized, to attack her in due form. If I were allowed to leave the island, I would not have waited at all; indeed, I think that on the second day of sailing, or before she arrived at the Palau Islands where she was bound, I think, I would have caught up with her and captured her.

I will not omit to mention that on the third day, the 8th, in the breakers off Inarajan there appeared, recently broken, the upper part of a jug of about 1 arroba, with the mouth like that of oil jugs, with only one handle, rather big, and smoothly glazed in green on the outside and its inside recently covered with tar. For this reason, I had all of the east and south coasts reconnoitered to see whether or not some other fragments could be found that might indicate positively the loss of some ship. All of this I thought indispensable to bring to the superior attention of Y.L.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 12 September 1821.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

1 Ed. note: A copy of this letter was also sent to the Royal Audiencia.

Documents 1822A

The last letters of Governor Medinilla's first term of office

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item 97.

A1. Letter dated 4 February 1822

Originala text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 251.

M. Y.S.

Con motivo de haverse conchado á la virtud el Ayudante mayor de la Plaza D. Antonio Fernandez de Cárdenas, se le transtornó el juicio en terminos que á instancia de su familia, Padre Cura y otras personas que le cercavan con inmediacion me ví precisado hacerle arrestar en la Guardia de Prevencion el dia doce de Enero del año proximo pasado, hasta el quince de Julio, que en vista de su desenfreno en vertir desverguenzas, y faltas de subordinacion le hise trasladar á un Calavozo en donde permanece hasta la fecha, y el dia treinta y uno de Enero del presente año por considerar ser una Plaza supuesta le suspendí del Empleo; lo que comunico á V.S. para que si lo tiene á bien se sirva determinar lo que sea de su Superior agrado.

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Febrero 4. de 1822.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 251.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Because of his having acted against virtue, the Senior Adjutant of the garrison, Don Antonio Fernandez de Cárdenas, was given a trial, instigated at the instance of his own family, of the parish priest and other persons among his acquaintances. I was obliged to have him arrested and held preventively in the guard-house on the 12th of January

of last year, until the 15th of July, when, in view of his unruliness, shamelessness, and lack of subordination, I had him taken to a prison where he remains until now.

On the 30th day of January of this year, considering his post as if it had been vacated, I fired him from his job, and so advise Y.L., so that you may be pleased to determine what is of your pleasure.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 4 February 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir:

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

A2. Letter dated 11 August 1822 announcing the arrival of the brigantine Dolores with a new Governor

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 252.

M. Y.S.

*Como á horas de las 6. de la tarde del dia 7 del presente mes, procedente de esa, Ancló en la Caldera de San Luis de Apra el Bergantin **Dolores** conduciendo á mi Subcesor el Capitan de la Reyna D. José Montilla, el dia 9 pasó á esta Ciudad, y hasta la presente por no haver trasladado de Abordo sus Baules no he recibido la correspondencia de Oficio, motivo el por que no la contesto, y lo hago presente á V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.*

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.S. muchos años.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 252.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 6 p.m. on the 7th of this month, and coming from Manila, the brig **Dolores** anchored in the basin of the port of San Luis de Apra. Aboard her was my successor, Don José Montilla, Captain of the Queen's Regiment. On the 19th, he came to this city, but so far he has not removed his trunks from the brig; that is why I have not received the official correspondence and therefore cannot answer it. I therefore let Y.L. know about this, for your superior intelligence.

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

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

A3. Official mail sent to Manila aboard the English ship *Rebecca*

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno [sin numero]

M. Y.S.

*Como á horas de las cinco de la tarde del dia de ayer procedente del Puerto de San Blas, Ancló en el de la Villa de Umata el Bergantin Yngles nombrado la **Reveca**, y al cuidado de D. José Arismendi, remito á las Superiores manos de V.S. el presente Despacho.*

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Agosto 11 de 1822.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

Translation.

Superior Government [unnumbered].

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 5 p.m. yesterday the English brig named **Rebecca**, coming from the port of San Blas, anchored in the port of Umata. I have entrusted Don José Arismendi with the duty of delivering the present despatch to Y.L.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 11 August 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.¹

A4. Letter dated 27 August 1822—Young Chamorros sent to Manila to learn trades

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N^o 253.

*Noticia que manifiesta el numero de Colegiales que se embarcan en el Bergantin **Do-lores** al cuidado de su Capitan Don Domingo de la Mar, con expresion de los Exercicios ó Artes que cada uno se inclina á emprender, y son ... A saver.*

Francisco Gogui, desea emprender la Carrera Eclesiastica su edad ... 22 años.

Luis Quitano: id. 18.

Carlos Tedguatano: id. 18.

¹ Ed. note: The attached index was for Letters N^o 239 to 252.

Oficios

<i>Miguel Guiguina</i>	<i>Zapatero</i> ...	19.
<i>Josá Atoygui</i>	<i>Carpintero</i>	21.
<i>Benancio Aloc</i>	<i>Yd.</i>	23.
<i>José Taytano</i>	<i>Tenedor</i>	15.
<i>Ygnacio Gogo</i>	<i>Yd.</i>	17.
<i>José Peredo</i>	<i>Yd.</i>	13.
<i>Ramon Dueñas</i>	<i>Cirujano</i> ...	16.
<i>Mariano Guijilo</i>	<i>Herrero</i>	22.
<i>José Guidachay</i>	<i>Pintor</i>	34.

A los Yndividuos que preceden se les administró por via de auxilio á cada uno, tres pares de Calzones, tres Camisas, un Chaleco, una Chaqueta, una Savana de genero blanco, dos Pañuelos, un par de Medias de Algodon, un Sombrero de Bejuco, Sinta de Algodon para el Sombrero, un par de Ligas, y un Rosario.

Agaña y Septiembre 1º de 1822.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 253.

Notification of the names of the college boys who are boarding the brig **Dolores**, under the command of Captain Domingo de la Mar, and the occupations or trades to which they aspire, as follows:

Francisco Gogui, wishes to become a priest, he is 22 years old;

Luis Quitano: id. 18.

Carlos Tedguatano: id. 18.

Trades

Miguel Guiguina Shoe-maker 19.

Josá Atoygui Carpenter 21.

Benancio Aloc id. 23.

José Taytano Store-keeper 15.

Ignacio Gogo id. 17.

José Peredo id. 13.

Ramon Dueñas Surgeon ... 16.

Mariano Guijilo Blacksmith 22.

José Guidachay Painter 34.

Each of the above individuals were provided for free three pairs of pants, three shirts, one jacket, one white bed-sheet, two handkerchiefs, one pair of cotton stockings, one straw hat with a cotton band, one pair of garters, and one rosary.

Agaña, 1 September 1822.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

A5. Letter dated 31 August 1822—Schools of Guam in 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 254.

...

Yslas Marianas. Año de 1821.

Relacion de los Pueblos de Yndios en que se extablecieron Maestros de Escuela, en cumplimiento de Real Cedula de nueve de Noviembre de mil setecientos setenta y quatro, dirigida con Orden del Superior Gobierno de quince de Septiembre de setenta y cinco. Numero [hole in paper] Muchachos que hay en el dia en la de esta Ciudad, y Colegiales en el Seminario de San Juan de Letran, y razon de los Salarios que han devengado los referidos ocho Maestros, desde primero de Enero del expresado año hasta fin de Diciembre del mismo, ha pagado la Caxa Real del Presidio.

<i>Pueblos.¹</i>	<i>Num° de Muchachos.</i>	<i>Ymporte del Gasto.²</i>
<i>Anigua, y sus Agregados.</i>		
<i>Asan.</i>		
<i>Tepungan.</i>		
<i>Munmun</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Sinajaña</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Agat</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Umata</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Merizo</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Ynarajan</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Pago</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Ysla de Rota</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>15 p.</i>
<i>Total en las 8 Escuelas de Yndios</i>	<i>183</i>	<i>120 p.</i>
<i>Escuela de la Ciudad</i>	<i>237</i>	<i>84 p.</i>
<i>Colegio de S. Juan de Letran</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>52 p.</i>
<i>Total de Muchachos</i>	<i>511</i>	<i>256 p.</i>

Translation.

Superior Government N° 254.

...

¹ *Ynmediatos á la Ciudad. [y] Pueblos de los Partidos.*

² *Que há pagado la Caxa Real del Presidio desde el dia 1° de Enero hasta el ultimo de Diziembre.*

Mariana Islands. Year of 1821.

List of the towns of Indians where school teachers have been established, to comply with the Royal Order dated 9 November 1774, enclosed with an order of the Superior Government dated 15 September 1775. The number of boys presently studying in the school of this city, and in the College of San Juan de Letrán, and the amounts spent in salaries for the eight teachers, between the 1st of January and the end of December of said year, have been paid out of the garrison funds.

Towns. ¹	Number of Boys.	Expenditure. ²
Anigua, and its suburbs.		
Asan.		
Tepungan.		
Munmun	38	15 p.
Sinahaña	15	15 p.
Agat	19	15 p.
Umata	20	15 p.
Merizo	26	15 p.
Inarajan	21	15 p.
Pago	16	15 p.
Island of Rota	28	15 p.
Total in the 8 Schools for Indians	183	120 p.
School in the City	237	84 p.
College of S. Juan de Letran	31	52 p.
Total number of boys	511	256 p.

¹ Near the City, [and] towns in the Districts.

² Paid out of the Garrison funds, between 1 January and 31 December.

Documents 1822B

The official appointment and record books of Governor Montilla, 1822-1823

B1. Appointment of Captain José Montilla as interim Governor of the Marianas

Source: LC Mss. Division, Spanish Colonial Government, Item 16.

Original text in Spanish.

El M. Y. S. Capitan General con fecha de ayer me dice lo siguiente, que traslado à Vmd. para su inteligencia.

*“Respecto à que està ya finalizado el Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas que lo obtiene el Teniente del Regimiento Real de Lima [rather Linea] Don José Medinilla, y Pineda, que interinamente se posecioná en veinte y seis de Junio de mil ochocientos y doce; y mediante à que en el referido Gobierno se le há mantenido hasta la presente por el buen concepto que lo há merecido à este Superior Gobierno, y habiendo presentado su renuncia por medio de su Apoderado en esta Capital, há venido esta Superioridad en admitirsela, y como sea indispensable nombrar persona que reune el merito, conocimiento, y circunstancias que se requieren para servir y desempeñar el expresado Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, particularmente en la actualidad en que se trata de formar un nuevo arreglo administrativo de las mismas, en cumplimiento de la Real Orden de veinte y nueve de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y nueve se nombra por tál Governador de dichas Yslas en Comicion al Capitan del Batallon titulado Reyna Don José Montilla, quien deverá aprontarse para pasar à relevar al citado Medinilla, en el Bergantin nacional nombrado **Dolores** que deve Navegar à las Yslas Marianas, y desempeñar el empleo que sele confiere en Comicion, y hasta tanto que se presente à servirlo el provisto por S.M. Don José Maria del Yerro, Capitan de Ynfanteria, y del Regimiento Provincial de Sevilla, pues constando asi por el Artículo de Oficio incerto en la Gaze-ta de Madrid de veinte y cinco de Septiembre de mil ochocientos diez y nueve no deve esta Capitania General proveerlo en otra forma, y por lo tanto cesará el expresado Montilla en el empleo que en Comicion se le confiere à la llegada del provisto por S.M., ó quando este Gobierno Superior lo disponga.*

Ynsertese esta Providencia à la Audiencia Territorial, al Señor Yntendente General, al Governador de Marianas Don José Medinilla, al Comandante accidental del Batallon Reyna para que la traslade al interesado, enterandose al Apoderado del mismo Medinilla.

La que comunico à Vmd. para su noticia, y que la traslade al Capitan Don José Montilla.

Dios guarde à Vmd. muchos años.

Manila veinte de Mayo de mil ochocientos veinte y dos.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.

[A] *Señor Don Eustaquio Hernando.*”

[A] *Señor Don José Montilla.*

Nota.

Se tomó razon del nombramiento, y diligencia que anteceden.

Manila y Junio quatro de mil ochocientos veinte y dos.

Rubricado.

En el Palacio Nacional de Manila à cinco de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte y dos años. El M. Y. S. Capitan General interino de estas Yslas Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras: habiendo comparecido Don José Montilla con el Superior Decreto en que se nombra Governador interino del Presidio de Marianas, le recibió Juramento por ante mi el presente Escrivano que lo hizo à uso, y estilo Militar, con la mano derecha puesta en la Cruz de su espada y bajo su palabra de honor só cuyo cargo ofreció guardar, y hacer observar la Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Española, observar las Leyes, ser fiel al Rey, cumpliendo religiosamente las obligaciones de su Cargo, y tener en buena guardia, y fiel Custodia el Presidio de su mando, defendiendolo de qualquiera imbacion de enemigos hasta morir ó à lo menos haver hecho una vigorosa defenza en honor de las Armas nacionales, y de su propia reputacion, y de no entregarlo à persona alguna sin expreso mandato del Rey, ò de esta Capitania General. Y à la absolucion de dicho juramento dijo.

Asi lo juro y prometo. Con lo qual se concluyó esta diligencia y lo firmó con dicho Señor Muy Ylustre de que doy feè.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.

José Montilla.

Patricio Mondragon.

Auto de Posecion.

En la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña à quince de Agosto de mil ochocientos veinte y dos: El Señor Don José de Medinilla, y Pineda, Condecorado con las Medallas de las Magestades de Alexandro 1º Emperador de todas las Rusias, y de Luis XVIII, Rey de Francia, Teniente del Regimiento de Ynfanteria de Linea del Ynfante Don Carlos, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico, Militar, y Capitan General de estas Yslas Marianas:

Haviendo combocado al Sargento Mayor de la Plaza Don Luis de Torres, Oficiales, y Tropa que guarnezen al Real Presidio, me entregó à mi el Secretario del Gobierno, y Guerra, un Superior Decreto del M. Y. S. Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras, Menendez de Godan, Fernandez del Reguero Valea Flores, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, Brigadier de los Reales Exercitos, Teniente de Rey de la Plaza de Manila, Cavo Subalterno del Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas, Sub-Ynspector General de las Tropas de las mismas, y actualmente Ynterino Governador, y Capitan General de ellas; que en virtud de dicho Superior Decreto le hizo merced de nombrar para el Empleo de Governador en Comicion de estas Yslas al Capitan del Batallon titulado Reyna Don José Montilla, me ordenó leyese, y hiciese notorio en alta voz todo lo relacionado al Sargento Mayor, Oficialidad, y Tropa citada, lo executé y yncontinenti, y en su consecuencia reconocieron al referido Señor Don José Montilla por Governador interino de estas citadas Yslas, el cominado Sargento Mayor, Oficiales, y Tropa, y le entregó el Bastón de tal Governador; y luego usando dicho Señor de su Jurisdiccion, Ordenó, y Mandó se retirasen unos y otros à sus respectivos destinos, lo que executaron sin la menor dilacion en señal de ovedecimiento, y Posecion; con lo qual se concluyó este Auto y asi mismo mandó sirviere esta Diligencia de toma de Razon [sic], y demás que le preceden en el Libro de Gobierno que está à mi cargo, y que se saquen testimonio por Duplicado de este Auto para dar cuenta al Superior Gobierno, y lo firmaron dichos Señores de que doy feé.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

José Montilla.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Translation.

In a letter dated yesterday, His Excellency the Captain General advises me of the following, which I copy to Your Grace, for your intelligence:

“Given the expiry of the term of office of Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of the Line, Governor of the Mariana Islands, by interim since 26 June 1812, a post in which he has been maintained ever since, on account of his good performance and at the pleasure of this Superior Government; given that he has presented his resignation through his agent in this capital, this Government has accepted same; given that he must be replaced by a person whose merit, experience, and background are adequate to serve and fulfil the post of Governor of the Mariana Islands, specially at this time when a new administrative arrangement must be implemented, to comply with the Royal Order dated 29 September 1819: Don José Montilla, Captain of the Queen’s Battalion, is appointed Governor of said Islands by commission. He is to be ready to go and replace said Medinilla, by boarding the Spanish brig named **Dolores** which is about to sail to the Mariana Islands, and to fulfil the post that has been conferred upon him, by [special] commission, and until the arrival of the proprietary governor appointed by H.M., Don José María del Yerro, Infantry Captain of the Provincial Regiment of Seville. Indeed, such an appointment has been

published under the appropriate heading in the Gazette of Madrid dated 25 September 1819, and the Captaincy General here cannot make an appointment under a different manner. Consequently, said Montilla will cease to act in the post that he is provided with on a commission basis when the man provided by H.M. arrives, or whenever this Superior Government so decide.

Please forward copies of this measure to the Territorial Audiencia, to the Intendent General, to the Governor of the Marianas, Don José de Medinilla, and to the Commander of the Queen's Regiment for the attention of the interested party, and to the agent of said Medinilla.

The present, which I send to Your Grace, is to be copied to Captain José Montilla. May God save Your Grace for many years.

Manila, 20 May 1822.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.

[To] Mr. Eustaquio Hernando.”

[To] Capt. José Montilla.

Note.

The apointment and measure that precede have been duly recorded.

Manila, 4 June 1822.

Countersigned.

In the National Palace of Manila, on the 5th of June 1822, there appeared before His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras, interim Captain General of these Islands, Don José Montilla, bearing the superior decree in which he has been appointed interim Governor of the garrison of the Marianas. He was sworn in before me, the present Notary, which was done in the customary manner for military men, with his right hand placed over the cross [in the hilt] of his sword, and, under oath, he swore to observe and have others observe the Political Constitution of Spain, to observe the laws, to be loyal to the King, to comply religiously with the duties of his post, and to keep a good guard over and faithful custody of the garrison under his command, to defend it from any invasion on the part of enemies until death or at least until he has put up a vigorous defence in honor of the national arms, and of his own reputation, and not to surrender it to anyone without an express order from the King, or from this Captaincy General. And, to accept such obligations under oath, he declared:

I so swear and promise. Once this formality was concluded, the present was signed by him, and by His Most Illustrious Lordship, of which I vouch.

Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.

José Montilla.

Patricio Mondragon.

Act taking possession.

In the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 15th of August 1822, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, holder of Medals received from His Majesty Alexander I, Emperor of all of Russias, and from Louis XVIII, King of France, Lieutenant of the Infantry Regiment of the Line named after Infante Don Carlos, Senior Justice, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands:

Having convoked the Sergeant Major of the garrison, Don Luis de Torres, the officers and the soldiers of the Royal garrison, the Secretary for Administration and War handed me a Superior Decree received from His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras, Menendez de Godan, Fernandez de Reguero Valea Flores, Knight of the Order of St. James, Brigadier General of the Royal Armies, King's Lieutenant of the garrison of Manila, Delegated Head of the Captaincy General of the Philippine Islands, Sub-Inspector General of the forces there stationed, and presently their Governor and Captain General:

Whereas by said Superior Decree, Don José Montilla, Captain of the Queen's Battalion, has been appointed to the post of Governor of these Islands by commission, he ordered me to read its whole contents, in a loud voice, and make them notorious, to said Sergeant Major, the officers and soldiers: I did so, and as a consequence of it, the above-said Sergeant Major, officers and soldiers immediately recognized said Don José Montilla as interim Governor of the above-mentioned Islands, and I handed over to him the Baton of Governor. Then, said gentleman made use of his jurisdiction, by ordering said parties to disperse, which they did without delay as a sign of their obedience, and submission. This done, the ceremony was concluded, and he ordered that this writ, as well as the previous documents, be recorded in the appropriate government books that are in my care, and that duplicate copies be made of this writ, to send with a report to the Superior Government. Said gentlemen affixed their signatures to it, of which I vouch.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

José de Montilla.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretary for Administration and War.

[Governor Montilla promptly confirmed Nicolas de Borja in his position as Government Secretary; he named his son, Augustin Montilla, a Second-Lieutenant at best, as the new Senior Adjutant of the local garrison; Salvador Angoco was named "celador", i.e. watchman, of the town of Anigua; Corporal 2nd class Onofre Pangilinan became Administrator of Inarajan and of the Royal Ranch of San José of Dandan; he promoted Corporal 1st class Luis Arceo to Sergeant 2nd class; José de Torres became Second-Lieutenant of the Third Pampanga Infantry Company; Sereno Atoygui was named Mayor of Pago; Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank, Francisco Arceo, became Mayor of Rota, his assistant becoming Lieut. Felipe de la Cruz; Pedro Tedpaogo became Mayor of the natives of Merizo; Domingo Charguani replaced Dionisio Meno as Mayor of the natives of Inarajan; Miguel Diego, Mayor of Anigua.]

B2. Administrative record book used by José Montilla, containing documents dated from 20 May 1822 to 13 May 1823

Source: LC Mss. Division, Span. Col. Gov't, Item 97; cited in B&R 53: 378.

Note: Captain Montilla arrived at Guam on 7 August 1822 and left in February 1824.

Description of the contents.

The full statement on the title page reads as follows: "Administrative record book in which is copied the superior decree appointing Don José Montilla Governor, Political Judge of the Lower Court, and Sub-delegate of the Public Treasury for these Mariana Islands... Also to be used as a register of the titles, despatches, or appointments to be made by the said person during his term of office.

Original texts in Spanish.

Año de 1822.—Oficios que se remitieron en el Bergantin Nombrado Dolores que me condujo à estas Yslas, haviendo dado la Vela de las inmediaciones de la Barra de Manila el dia 18 de Junio, y llegado al Puerto de San Luis de Apra el 7 de Agosto, su Capitan, y dueño de dicho Buque Don Domingo de la Mar, por primer Piloto Don Camilo de la Peña, y por segundo Don Benito Viera.

Superior Gobierno N° 1.

M. Y.S.

Con el mayor respeto pongo en noticia de V.S. mi feliz llegada al Puerto de San Luis de Apra el dia 7 del corriente, el 9 pasé à la Ciudad, y el 15 del mismo tomé Posecion de los Empleos que V.S. tuvo à bien conferirme, lo qual acredita el testimonio que acompaña del Secretario de este Gobierno, y Guerra.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, en las Yslas Marianas, y Agosto 17 de 1822.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla.

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

Superior Gobierno N° 2.

M. Y.S.

Por el Oficio de ese Superior Gobierno de 3 de Noviembre del año proximo anterior he visto haver V.S. tenido à bien mandar se contexte lo combeniente al Señor Yntendente General sin perjuicio de que se expidiese la Orden circular que solicitava dicho Señor sobre la observancia, y puntual cumplimiento de las Soveranas, y Reales disposiciones yà repetidamente circuladas acerca del uso del Papel Sellado en toda expecie de negocios judiciales, Escrituras, Compulsas, Certificaciones &c. todo lo que he hecho

notorio en estas Yslas en la forma acostumbrada, en cumplimiento de lo que en el se previene.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Agoto 18 de 1822, etc.

Superior Gobierno N° 3.

M. Y.S.

En oficio de 21 de Octubre de 1820 que me comunicó ese Superior Gobierno, se insertan dos Exemplares de la Proclama que tuvo V.S. à bien dirigir à los Naturales de esas Yslas, y con expecialidad à los del partido de Tondo los mismos que he hecho traducir en idioma del Pais, y Copias en Castellano, y con la solemnidad devida publicar tanto en esta como en los demas Pueblos de mi Jurisdiccion, fijandose los Exemplares correspondientes en los lugares acostumbrados sin haver omitido el pasar uno autorizado à cada uno de los PP. con el fin de que en sus respectivos Pueblos y en los días de domingo despues de la Misa lo hagan entender à sus feligreses, y lo participo à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Agosto 18 de 1822.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla.

[Al] M. Y.S. Governador, Capitan General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.

...

Superior Gobierno N° 13.

M. Y.S.

*Por el Oficio de 21 de Julio del año proximo anterior; he visto la determinacion que tuvo à bien tomar esa Superioridad, sobre que el Comandante de la Corveta **Fidelidad** no admitiese ni recibiese à su Bordo efectos, ni cosa alguna, ni aun con Título de Rancho sin precedente guia firmada por uno de los propios Ministros de Hacienda Publica, ò por el Guarda Almacen en razon de que todos los particulares devian pagar el flete que se regulase.*

Nuestro Señor, etc.

Agosto 26 de 1822.

...

Superior Gobierno N° 15.

M. Y.S.

Adjunto Yncluyo à V.S. el Testimonio por Triplicado de haverse Jurado en esta Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y demas Pueblos de su Jurisdiccion, la Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Española en los días 24, 25, y 26 de Agosto de 1822, segun previene el Mandamiento de la Regencia del Reyno para su observancia, con arreglo al Art° 1° del Soverano Decreto, dado en Cadiz à 18 de Marzo de 1812, como lo manifiesta el Art° 2° del mismo Soverano Decreto, leyendose toda la Constitucion en alta

voz como está mandado en el Artículo 4º del mismo Decreto, habiendose colocado en el mismo día 24 en la Plaza Mayor de esta Ciudad frente del Palacio Nacional sobre una preciosa Columna la Lapida con la Ynscripcion de **Plaza de la Constitucion**. Al frente de esta Columna se formó un Magnifico Tablado adornado de varias Flores, Enramadas, y Damascos en lo interior, y exterior, en el centro de este formava quatro Columnas que sostenian una hermosisima Corona imperial, colocandose debajo de esta el Retrato de Nuestro amado Soverano el Señor Don Fernando Septimo (que Dios guarde) y con muy poca diferencia se formaron otros dos en los parajes mas publicos, como son los Barrios de Santa Cruz, y San Nicolas.

El 27 dispuse que el Sargento Mayor de esta Plaza, y un Ayudante pasaran con Comision de publicarla, y Jurarla en todos los Pueblos de estas Yslas, y de haverlo verificado me remitió testimonio quedando Archivado en esta Secretaria de Gobierno para su Constancia.

Nuestro Señor, etc.

Agosto 27 de 1822.

...

Superior Gobierno N° 25.

M. Y. S.

Los siete Presidarios que por disposicion de V.S. han venido à estas Yslas, en clase de Artesanos, seles ha examinado por algunos Naturales de aquí, que tienen yá algunos aunque medianos principios, como es en texer, hilar Algodon, hacer Añil, Azucar, Arar, y demás cultivo de la tierra, y solo uno hay que save alguna cosa en el veneficio de Añil, aunque mui poco, el qual cuyo nombre, y apellido es Teodoro Candaso: este he tenido pensamiento el que permaneciese aqui para ver si con el tiempo se puede Generalizar la Ynstruccion, dado caso que pueda veneficiarlo (que lo dificulto) por que aunque ha ècho un poco de tinte ò Pasta del Añil no lo ha sacado perfecto, respecto à que no hera tiempo, y no se hallava en sazón la Mata (segun dijo dicho Yndividuo). Por lo que respecta à los seis restantes dispuse retornarlos à la disposicion de V.S. para que dispusiera lo que tuviese por combeniente por el engaño de el que los examinó.

Tambien me resolví à debolverlos por ser unos hombres de una relajadisima conducta; de suerte que en los pocos días que ha que estan aqui, continuamente han estado dando motivo de arrestos (lo que nada de esto basta) por ser unos hombres incorregibles, y en esta virtud pasé dos Oficios al Capitan del Bergantin **Dolores Don Domingo de la Mar**, cuyas contextaciones à V.S. adjuntos incluyo para su Superior inteligencia.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Agosto 30 de 1822.

M. Y. S.

José Montilla, etc.

...

Superior Gobierno N° 27.

M. Y. S.

*En Oficio fecha 24 de Julio de 1821 se sirve V.S. hacerme entender, que para la Administracion de estas Yslas, havian sido destinados tres Religiosos Agustinos Descalzos, los quales à no haver sido por el fuerte temporal que sufrió la Corveta **Fidelidad** que los conducia, ya estarian al cuidado de sus Ministerios, y que segun aviso que le havia comunicado à S.S. el R.P. Provincial de la misma Religion no podian venir mas que los R.R. P.P. Fr. Juan Valles de San Nicolas, y Fr. Matias del Rosario, por no hallarse en estado de berificarlo Fr. José Maria de la Virgen del Carmen.*

Nuestro Señor guarde, etc.

Agosto 31 de 1822.

Josè Montilla, etc.

...

Superior Gobierno N° 35.

...

Señores Ministros de Hazienda Publica.

*Yncluyo à Vmds. una Noticia de los Cañones, Fusiles, y Sables que han sido reconocidos y dados por inutiles segun lo manifiesta la misma Relacion que acompaño, en la qual expresa los Calibres, y Metales, cuyos Efectos ha sido entregado al Capitan del Bergantin **Dolores** que va à dar la Vela para conducirlos à esa, y entregarlos à quien corresponda.*

Dios guarde à Vmds. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Septiembre 1° de 1822.

Josè Montilla.

Noticia de los Cañones, Fusiles con sus Bayonetas, y Sables que por Orden del Señor Gobernador, hemos reconocido, y los damos por inutiles [=unserviceable], cuyas Armas se remiten à Manila à disposicion de los Señores Ministros de Hacienda Publica, y son al tenor como sigue.

Cañones.

<i>De calibre de à 6., nueve</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Yd. de à 8., uno</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Yd. de à 4., tres</i>	<i>3</i>

<i>Total</i>	<i>13.¹</i>
	==

...

Todo lo que expresa la presente Relacion lo hemos reconocido, y se haya inutil sin admitir composicion. Y para que conste lo firmamos en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña à 23 de Agosto de 1822.

Josè de Castro.—Mariano Luxan.—

Visto Bueno.—Montilla.

¹ *Estos Cañones son de Fierro.*

...

Superior Gobierno Nº 39.

M. Y.S.

*Como à horas de las ocho de la mañana del dia 13 del proximo mes pasado se dejó ver por la Caveza Norte de esta Ysla un Buque de tres Palos con direccion su Proa asia el Puerto de San Luis de Apra, y habiendo salido el Bote con el Capitan de la segunda Compañia Don Antonio Guerrero à hacer el devido reconocimiento pareció ser de Nacion Ynglesa la Fragata **Maria** su Capitan Don Pedro Esteven, que venia en solicitud de hacer Aguada, Leña, y Viveres para seguir su Expedicion en prosecucion de Balle-
nas, y habiendosele auxiliado sin el mas leve interez con todos los Articulos que fueron de necesidad, dió Vela de la Caldera del Castillo de Santa Cruz el 2 del corriente, y en cumplimiento de mi dever lo noticio à V.S. para su mayor inteligencia.*

*Dios guarde, etc.**Septiembre 5 de 1822.**Josè Montilla, etc.*

...

Superior Gobierno Nº 46.

M. Y.S.

*Por el Bergantin **Dolores** que sale para Manila remito à disposicion de V.S. trece Cañones inutiles nueve del Calibre de à 6., tres de à 4., y uno de à 8., como igualmente cincuenta y cinco Fusiles inutiles que no admiten composicion, con veinte y tres Sables tambien inservibles; y por el Estado Adjunto se hará cargo V.S. del Armamento util y disponible que tiene esta Plaza, pues que de doce Cañones que es el total unico seis se hallan colocados en el Puerto de Apra, y quedando sin ninguna Artilleria el de Umata por haberse traído la inutil que se remite, y asi he dispuesto se trasladen dos à Umata, y colocarlos segun e ha informado mi Antecesor en el Castillo del Santo Angel, y luego que pase à hacer el reconocimiento de los Castillos, y Baterias de estas Yslas que será la mayor brevedad informaré à V.S. en primera ocasion de todo quanto ocuriere en mi Visita; pues con motivo de los muchas ocupaciones en Contextar la Correspondencia à todas las autoridades la Publicacion de la Constitucion de la Monarquia Española, la creacion de Ayuntamiento, y las muchas ocurrencias que han acaecido en el corto tiempo que ha que me he hecho cargo del Gobierno, y la pronta salida del Buque, no me ha dado lugar para que mi Antecesor me huviese hecho una formal entrega de todo el Armamento, y demás pertenecientes à la defenza de estas Yslas; y aunque remito el Estado adjunto no ha sido mas que haver dado yo orden al Maestro Armero, y al Sobrestante mayor de Reales Obras hiciesen un reconocimiento de las Armas segun llevo ya explicado.*

Asi mismo espero de la bondad de V.S. que con la mas posible brevedad disponga el remitirme igual numero de Cañones, y Armas que se mandan inutiles, pues de otra manera no tengo de que hechar mano en qualesquiera Urgencia de que sean necesarios armar Gente en el caso de presentarse algun enemigo.

...

manera no tengo de que hechar mano en qualesquiera Urgencia de que sean necesarios armar Gente en el caso de presentarse algun enemigo.

...

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Septiembre 9 de 1822.

Josè Montilla, etc.

...

Translation of above letters.

Year of 1822.—Official letters that were remitted aboard the brig named **Dolores** that brought me to these Islands, and had departed from the vicinity of the bar of Manila on 18 June, and arrived at the port of San Luís de Apra on 7 August, under the command of Captain Domingo de la Mar, with Camilo de la Peña as Pilot, and Benito Viera as Pilot's Mate.

Superior Government N° 1.

Most Illustrious Sir:

With all due respect I advise Y.L. of my arrivbal at the Port of San Luís de Apra on the 7th of this month, of my going to the City on the 9th, and on the 15th of the same month, I took possession of the duties that Y.L. was pleased to confer upon me. This all appears in the enclosed record of proceedings from the Secretary for Administration and War.

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

San Igancio of Agaña, in the Mariana Islands, 17 August 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General, and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

Superior Government N° 2.

Most Illustrious Sir:

By the letter of that Superior Government dated 3 November of last year, I have learned that Y.L. has been pleased to order me to give a proper answer to the Intendent General without prejudice to the despatch of the circular order by which said gentleman solicits the observance, and prompt compliance with the Sovereign and Royal dispositions already circulated many times before regarding the use of Stamped Paper for all types of legal business, writs, transcripts, certificates, etc., and which I have made notorious in these Islands in the accustomed manner, in compliance with the dispositions contained therein.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 August 1822, etc.

Superior Government N° 3.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Enclosed with the official letter from your Superior Government dated 21 October 1820, there were two copies of the Proclamation that Y.L. was pleased to address to the Natives of the Philippine Islands, specially those of the District of Tondo. I have had it translated into the local language, and had it published, along with the Spanish text, in this town and the other towns of my jurisdiction, by posting the copies in the usual places. In addition, certified copies of same were given to all the Fathers for the purpose of publication in their respective towns and on Sundays after mass when they are to read it to their flock, and I let Y.L. know about it, for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 August 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General, and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.¹

Superior Government N° 13.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Through the official letter dated 21 July of last year, I have noticed the determination taken by that Superior Government, regarding the Commander of the corvette **Fidelidad** who is not to admit any merchandise, or goods of any kind, on board her, not even under the guise of food rations, without the previous permission from one of the officials in Public Finance, or from the Store-keeper, reason being that all private persons must pay freight charges according to the regulations.

May our Lord, etc.

26 August 1822.

...

Superior Government N° 15.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Y.L. please find enclosed the record of proceedings, in triplicate, regarding the oath taken in this Capital of the Mariana Islands, and in the other towns of its jurisdiction, to obey the Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, on the 24th, 25th and 26th of August 1822, in accordance with the edicts of the Regency of the Kingdom for its observation, as per Art. 1 of the Sovereign Decree given at Cadiz on 18 March 1812, as stipulated in Art. 1 of the same Sovereign Decree, by reading the full text of the Constitution in a loud voice, as per Art. 4 of the same Decree, and having posted a copy on the 24th in the city square in front of the national palace upon a beautiful column bearing a marker that says **Plaza de la Constitution**. Before this column a magnificent stage was built and adorned with flowers, and intertwined branches, with damask in-

¹ Ed. note: Many intervening letters had to do with a reaction to decrees from the Spanish parliament, and similar orders.

side and out; in the center of this formation there were four columns supporting a most pretty imperial Crown, below which was placed the portrait of our beloved Sovereign, His Lordship Don Fernando VII (may God save him) and almost exact duplicates were also set up in the most public areas of the suburbs of Santa Cruz and San Nicolas.

On the 27th, I gave a commission to the Major of this garrison, and one Adjutant, to visit all the towns of these islands to make the Constitution public and have the oath taken. They have given me an affidavit to this effect, and it has been filed in the Secretariat of this Government, for the record.

May our Lord, etc.

27 August 1822.

Superior Government N° 25.

The seven convicts that came to these Islands by order of Y.L., under the concept of tradesmen, have been tested by some local natives who already have some, though average, knowledge of such trades as weaving, spinning cotton, making indigo, sugar, ploughing and other agricultural tasks, there is only one individual, named Teodoro Candaso, who knows anything about making indigo, although very little. I am thinking of keeping this man here, to see whether in time he can teach everyone else, given the fact that he might learn to do it well (which I doubt) because, although he made a little indigo tincture or paste, it turned out to be imperfect, supposedly because it was not the right time, and the shrub had not matured sufficiently (according to said individual). As far as the remaining six convicts, I ordered them to be placed at the disposition of Y.L. for an appropriate decision, given that the man who tested them has been fooled.

Another reason why I am returning them is that they are men with very loose morals; indeed, during the few days that they were here, they were continually giving us reasons for arresting them (and that is unacceptable) as they are incorrigible men. To this effect, I have given two official letters to the Captain of the brig **Dolores**, Don Domingo de la Mar, which are answers to letters from Y.L. and which I enclose, for your Superior intelligence.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 30 August 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla, etc.

Superior Government N° 27.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In a letter dated 24 July 1821 Y.L. was pleased to make me understand that, for the Administration of these Islands, three Discalced Augustinian religious had been selected, and, had it not been for the strong storm that hit the corvette **Fidelidad** that was transporting them, they would already be caring for their ministries, and that, according to the letter you had from His Reverence the Father Provincial of that Order,

only the Rev. Fathers Juan Valles de San Nicolás and Matías del Rosario could come, as Fr. José María de la Virgen del Carmen was unable to do so.

May our Lord save, etc.

21 August 1822.

José Montilla, etc.

Superior Government N° 35.

...

[To the] Gentlemen Ministers of Public Finance:

Enclosed please find a List of the guns, rifles, and sabers that had been inspected and found to be useless, according to the details included in said list, in which appear their calibers, and metals. Said effects have been turned over to the Captain of the brig **Dolores** that is about to sail to carry them to that capital, and deliver to whom it may concern.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 1 September 1822.

José Montilla.

List of the guns, rifles with their bayonets, and sabers that, by order of His Lordship the Governor, we have inspected and found to be useless, said weapons being remitted to Manila at the disposition of the Gentlemen Ministers of Public Finance, as follows:

Cannon.

6-pounders	9
8-pounders	1
4-pounders	3
	--
Total:	13 ¹
	==

...²

Everything appearing on said list has been inspected by us, and found to be useless and unrepairable. And for the record we have affixed our signatures in this City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on 23 August 1822.

José de Castro.—Mariano Luxan.—

Approved: Montilla.

Superior Government N° 46.

Most Illustrious Sir:

1 These cannon are all of iron.

2 Ed. note: Also 55 unserviceable rifles, 17 gun barrels, and 23 sabres.

Aboard the brig **Dolores** that is sailing for Manila, I remit to the disposition of Y.L. 13 useless cannon of 6-pound caliber, 3 of 4-pound, and 1 of 8-pound, as well as 55 useless rigles that cannot be repaired, plus 23 sabers also unserviceable, and by consulting the enclosed report, Y.L. will find out the useful weapons that this garrison holds; indeed, out of the total of 12 cannon that we have, only 6 are found to be in the Port of Arpa, and the Port of Umata is left with no artillery, because the useless guns that were there have been brought back as useless and are among those being remitted. That is why I have ordered that two guns be moved to Umata, and placed on Fort Santo Angel, on the advice of my predecessor, for now. When I will carry out a visit of inspection to the forts and batteries of these Islands, which will be soon, I shall inform Y.L. at the first opportunity of everything I may find; indeed, on account of the many occupations occasioned by the correspondence to all the authorities, the publication of the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, the creation of a municipal council, and the many events that have occurred during the short time that I have been in charge of the Government, and the impending departure of the ship, I have not had time to go through a formal handover of all the weapons, and other equipment assigned to the defence of these Islands, from my predecessor, and although I am sending the enclosed report, it was only as a result of an order that I gave to the Master Gunner, and to the Supervisor of the Royal Works, for them to make an inspection of the weapons, as I have already explained.

In this connection, I rely on the kindness of Y.L. to please send me as soon as possible an equal number of cannon and weapons as those sent as useless, since otherwise I do not have anything on hand which I can use in case of emergency in which I would have to arm the men to oppose an eventual enemy.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

9 September 1822.

José Montilla, etc.¹

...

[Summary of other letters:]

Nº 43. Giving an answer to the Administrator of Public Finance, saying that the Store has not been opened.

Nº 44. Acknowledging the receipt of a letter dated 1 August 1820, remitted to him by the Interim Governor, Don Bernardino del Hierro, reproducing the Royal order dated 20 September 1817.

Nº 45. Reporting that this Government is enclosing a report on the present number of officers and soldiers for the defence of the Islands, as a result of the organization Plan drawn up by the Ministers of Public Finance on 5 June 1820.

¹ Ed. note: The table in question shows that the remaining, serviceable, guns were distributed as follows in 1822: 6 small brass guns of small caliber at Agaña; 4 guns left at Fort Santa Cruz in Apra, i.e. 2 iron 12-pounders, and 2 brass 8-pounders; 2 iron 12-pounders at Fort Santiago, Orote. There is no longer any mention of any gun left at Umatac, here; however, the list made at the end of 1822 does show that 2 brass 4-pounders were indeed moved from Agaña to Fort Santo Angel, but there was never any serviceable fixed guns at Fort Soledad.

N° 46. Enclosing a letter, and a statement, regarding the weapons carried to Manila by the brigantine **Dolores** and considered useless, and those that remain with this garrison (see full text above).

N° 47. Reporting, with a record of proceedings, that this Government has called a War Council, as a result of the garrison of these Islands having refused to accept the new Plan drawn up by the Ministers of Public Finance on 5 June of the present year [sic].

N° 48. Reporting the remittal of 12 college boys to that Capital aboard the brigantine **Dolores** to study all sciences.

N° 49. Reporting a proposal made by one of the Adjutants of this garrison, and the appointment of his first son, Agustin, as a cadet officer in the local infantry.¹

1 Ed. note: This first set of letters was mailed aboard the departing brig **Dolores**, on 11 September 1822.

Document 1822C

Appointment of new municipal officials in the Marianas

Sources: PNA; copy of the covering letter in LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Gov't, Item 97.

Note: I have translated some Spanish words thus: Alcalde = Mayor; Regidor = Alderman; Sindico procurador = [Government] Attorney; Gobernadorcillo = Village Mayor; Ayuntamiento = Town Council.

Statement giving the number of Mayors, Aldermen, Attorney, and Council Secretary who have been appointed to exercise in this City of San Ignacio de Agaña, and other villages of this Capital on 1 September 1822.

City of San Ignacio de Agaña:

Mayor: 1) Captain Justo de la Cruz.

" 2) Juan de Ribera.

Aldermen: Vidal Valenzuela;
Faustino de Borja;
José de Rivera y Palomo;
José de Borja y García;
Felipe Sanchez.

Attorney: José de León Guerrero.

Council Secretary: Nicolas de Borja.

Village Mayors of the Villages annexed to the City:

Anigua: Claudio Materne.

Asan: Francisco Namaulig.

Tepungan: Manuel Magofña.

Sinajaña: Nicolas Achaga.

Mungmung: Pedro Naputi.

Village Mayors of the outlying Districts of the City:

Pago: José de Torres.

Inarajan: José Joaquin de la Cruz.

Umata and Merizo: Luis Arceo.

Agat: Cornelio Eustaquio.¹

Island of Rota:

Mayor of the Island: Manuel de Torres.

Islands of Tinian and Saipan:

Mayor of the above: Ramón Matantaotao.²

San Ignacio de Agaña, 1 September 1822.

José Montilla

1 Ed. note: This is the odious man whose proceedings were described by Arago.

2 Ed. note: This man served for just one year, until he got his release from the new Governor Ganga Herrero; he was then 54 years old and had served for 8 years as a simple soldier.

Documents 1822D

Visits of the ship Arab, Captain Sinclair

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Note: Jones' Ships clearly identifies this whaler.

D1. Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 23 September 1822

Superior Government [Letter without a number]

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 4 p.m. on the 20th of this month, there anchored in the basin of San Luis de Apra the English frigate named **Arabia** [sic], with a need to repair the ship, take on water, wood and food supplies, before pursuing her voyage after whales, for the purpose of extracting their oil, and take that to London. I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 23 September 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla

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

D2. Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 18 January 1823

Superior Government N^o 62.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 6 December of last year, a three-masted ship was spotted off the north end of this Island. Upon being reconnoitered, she turned out to be the English whaler named **Arabia** [sic], which I had reported to Y.L. on 23 September last. She anchored in this bay, suffering from damage to the hinges of her rudder. Naturally, she was provided with all the help necessary and, on 16 January of the present month, she sailed off to continue whaling and return to London.

On this same day, two of her seamen died on the bar of this capital, on account of the launch having capsized while they were crossing it, as they were coming in to recover their Captain who was then ashore. These men were immediately assisted by two boats manned by members of this garrison. Three of them, out of the five who had manned it, were saved. I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 January 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Montilla

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

 Document 1822E

Visit of the Santa Rita in September 1822

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

Note: Lafond de Lurcy was on board this ship. See his account in Doc. 1822K.

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 23 September 1822

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno sin Numero.

M. Y.S.

*Por el Norte de la Ysla el dia de ayer como à horas de las nueve de la mañana al Oriente aparecio un Buque de tres Palos, y habiendo mandado en el Bote hacer el devido reconocimiento parecia ser Procedente de San Blas con destino à esa la Fragata **Rita** al mando de su Capitan Don Felipe de la Peña el qual para seguir su derrota se hallava en necesidad de algunas Cavezas de Ganado Bacuno, Puercos, Aves, Arroz, frutas y verduras, todo lo que le hice proporcionar sin dilacion, y que consta por la adjunta Relacion que con el devido respeto acompaño por si tuviese V.S. à bien el instruirse.*

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Septiembre 23 de 1822.

M. Y.S.

José Montilla

[Al] Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Razon que manifiesta el Rancho que por via de auxilio ha proporcionado el Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas al Capitan de la Fragata Rita para continuar su derrota à Manila. A saver

Dos Bacas.

Tres Puercos.

Veinte y seis Aves.

Doscientos Cocos.

Dos Cavanos de Arroz limpio.

Treinta Sandias.

Treinta y cinco Racimes de Platanos.

Catorce Melones.

Siete Aras de Caxeles.
Una Ara de Palmitos.
Distintas Aras con Calavazas, y Verduras barias.
Dos Aras de Rimas.
Quatro Aras grandes de Maiz.
Dos Bajadores con seis Gajos de Azeyte de Tica.
Agaña y Septiembre 23 de 1822.
Josè Montilla

Translation.

Superior Government [letter without a number].

Most Illustrious Sir:

Yesterday at about 9 a.m., there was seen coming from the north of the Island a three-masted ship. Having sent the boat to reconnoiter her, she turned out to be the frigate [Santa] **Rita** proceeding from San Blas, under the command of Captain Felipe de la Peña, who needed some heads of cattle, pigs, chickens, rice, fruits and vegetables. I ordered him supplied without delay, as per the attached list which I respectfully enclose in case Y.L. may wish to take cognizance of same.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 23 September 1822.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla

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

List of the rations provided by the Governor of the Mariana Islands to the Captain of the frigate Rita to allow him to pursue his voyage to Manila, to wit:

- 2 cows;
- 3 pigs;
- 26 chickens;
- 200 coconuts;
- 2 cavans of clean rice;
- 30 watermelons;
- 35 bunches of bananas;
- 14 melons;
- 7 baskets of oranges;
- 1 basket of palmettos [either federico nuts, or hearts of palm];
- Various baskets with squashes, and other vegetables;
- 12 baskets of breadfruit;

—4 large baskets of corn;
—2 *bajadors* with 6 *gajos* of oil of *tica* [sic].¹
Agaña, 23 September 1822.
José Montilla

1 Ed. note: This phrase is a puzzle, as two of the three basic words do not appear in Spanish dictionaries. However, “gajo” normally means a broken branch of some tree. I find that *gao* and *tika* in Chamorro mean “bamboo sections” and “coconut oil” respectively. Hence, this is a load of coconut oil, 2 bunches of bamboo tubes full of it, I think.

 Document 1822F

The English whaling ship Sir George Osborne

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 4 January 1823

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 59.

M. Y.S.

*El 24 de Septiembre de 1822 como à horas de entre ocho y nueve de su mañana por el Norte de esta Ysla se avistó una Fragata, y habiendo procedido à su reconocimien-to resultó ser de Nacion Ynglesa la nombrada [Sir] **George Osborne** que benia en prosecucion y Pesca de Ballenas, su Capitan Don Juan Stevers [sic], y teniendo necesi-dad de refrescar la Aguada, y Viveres, se le franqueo todo lo necesario, manteniendose sobre Bordos hasta el 7 de Octubre que siguió su derrota para Londres con todo su Car-gamento, y lo participo à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.*

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Enero 4 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

José de Montilla

[Al] M. Y.S. Gobernador, Capitan General y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 59.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 24 September 1822, between 8 and 9 a.m., a frigate was seen coming from the north of the Island. She was reconnoitered and turned out to be English, by the name of [Sir] **George Osborne**, after whales, her Captain being Mr. John Stavers, and there was need to refresh with water and food. She was given everything required, while she maintained herself under sail, until 7 October, when she pursued her voyage toward London with her load complete. I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 4 January 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José de Montilla

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

Editor's notes.

This is the first recorded voyage, 1821-23, of this English ship. According to Jones' *Ships*, pages 60 and 71, she had sailed from Gravesend on the Thames River on 26 April 1821, and arrived back at Gravesend on 15 July 1823.

Jones further notes (p. 231) that she was a former prize made in 1806, registered in London in 1821, that Stavers was then part-owner of this ship, described as a square-stern ship of 312 tons. She was to be re-registered in London in 1825.

Document 1822G

Visit of an unidentified ship

Introductory notes.

In November 1822, a mysterious brigantine stopped at Umatac for water. The name of the ship, and the name of her captain, began with the letter N.

Question: Was it the pirate ship **Peruvian**, Captain Robertson? However, many ships were sighted from Guam in that decade, which have remained unidentified.

Discussion as to possible identification of this mystery ship.

Although at the time the ship was suspected of being a former Spanish ship, from one of the South American rebel countries, if her name had been in Spanish, it might more easily have been remembered, even by an illiterate eyewitness. If we suppose that the ship was English, and her name began with the letter N, we can look into Nicholson's Log of Logs for some ships fitting these signs, i.e. being a brig and in Pacific waters in 1822. There existed an Australian brig named **Nelson**, but its record begins in 1844. In 1823, there existed a British whaler named **Neptune**; however, Log Inv. 3493 says that the Neptune, Captain Martin Munroe, had gone whaling in Greenland that year.

Continuing with the Log of Logs, there was a whaling brig named **Nereus** whose record starts with 1829. There was a whaler named **Nimrod** whose record begins with 1827, but this ship was familiar with the Carolines (see under 1833). Without more details, we simply cannot tell for sure what ship that might have been. Doc. 1823B below may hold a clue as to why this ship acted in a mysterious fashion.

As far as convict ships are concerned, Bateson lists no ship beginning with the letter N as arriving in NSW or Tasmania in 1822.

In conclusion, the Tahiti connection brings us back to the brig **Peruvian**, commanded by Robertson. This pirate captain, no doubt, gave wrong names, for himself and his brig. He might even have removed, or defaced, the name boards on his ship.

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 4 January 1823

LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 60.

M. Y.S.

Como à horas de la una del dia 6 de Noviembre de 1822 dio fondo en el Puerto de la Villa de Umata un Bergantin Yngles N. que benia de la Ysla de Otaeti [sic] al mando de su Capitan Don N. que pasava con destino à esas Yslas con su cargamento de Concha, cuya tripulacion constava de diez y seis, à diez y ocho hombres, y habiendo salido al reconocimiento de dicho Buque el Alcalde territorial de aquel Partido, cuyo Yndividuo no entendiendo el Ydioma [inglés] no pudo darme un parte circunstanciado del nombre del Capitan y el Buque, en cuya Virtud mandé al momento de recibir la noticia al Ynterprete que se hallava en esta, para que por este medio pudiese tener el conocimiento que es devido para dar à U.S. la noticia que corresponde, de lo qual y no pudiendo conseguirlo fueron frustradas mis esperanzas, pues en el momento que acabava de llegar dicho Ynterprete ya se havia hecho à la Vela, y aun perdido de vista, motivo por que no he podido saver el nombre del Buque, y el de su Capitan.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Enero 4 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla

[Al] M.Y.S. Gobernador, Capitan General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 60.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 1 p.m., on 6 November 1822, there anchored in the port of the Town of Umata the English brigantine N--- that came from Tahiti under the command of Captain N--- and was on her way to those Islands with a load of turtle shells, and was manned by 16 to 18 men. Having gone out to reconnoiter her, the Mayor of that District,¹ an individual who does not understand the [English] language, could not give me a detailed report containing the names of the ship or captain. As soon as I received this news, I despatched the Interpreter who was in this [capital], hoping by this means to acquire the information that I should rightly communicate to Y.L., but my hopes were frustrated. Indeed, she had just left, and could no longer be seen, at the time that he arrived there, reason for which I was unable to learn the names of either the ship, or the Captain.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 4 January 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

1 Ed. note: His name was Luis Arceo (see Doc. 1822C).

Document 1822H

The English whaler Reynard brought Carolinians to Guam

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, item 97.

Note: Jones' Ships had this ship in charge of a Captain Gradon, and leaving Gravesend on 14 February 1822, then arrived back at Deal (the pilot station close to the Downs) on 15 December 1823. Two and a half months later, she began another whaling voyage, under a Captain Harris.

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 23 January 1823

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N^o 63.

M. Y.S.

En 10 de Octubre de 1822 se avistó por el Norte de esta Ysla una Fragata Ynglesa en prosecucion de Ballenas nombrada el Reynard que benia de las Costas del Japon al mando de su Capitan D. Juan Gradon, y dio fondo en el Puerto de S. Luis de Apra como à las tres de la tarde del mismo dia, haviendole franqueado quantos auxilios le fueron necesarios y subsistio en dicho Puerto hasta el 17 de Diciembre que dio la Vela à continuar su Pesca haviendose dejado en tierra cinco Carolinos de las Yslas del Norte llamadas Matuïta [sic], el Cirujano Yngles llamado Frederico Chambers, y un Marinero de la Nacion Portuguesa, cuyos Yndividuos fueron desertados de dicho Buque, y refugiados en los Montes, en donde subsistieron escondidos hasta que se perdio el Buque de vista que al segundo dia se me presentaron; y por lo que hace à los mencionados Carolinos los he recogido para instruirlos y enseñarles la luz del Evangelio, y no les perderé de vista hasta que queden perfeccionados en la Religion Catolica; todo lo que participo à V.S. para su mayor inteligencia.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Enero 23 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla

[Al M. Y.S. Gobernador, Capitan General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 63.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On 10 October 1822 an English whaling frigate was seen toward the north of this Island. Her name was the **Reynard** and she came from the coasts of Japan under the command of Captain John Gradon. She anchored in the port of San Luis de Apra at about 3 p.m. of the same day. She was provided as much assistance as was required, and she remained in said port until 17 December when she set sail to continue fishing for whales. She left ashore five Carolinians from the northern Islands named Matuita [sic],¹ her English surgeon, Mr. Frederick Chambers, and a Portuguese sailor. Said individuals had deserted from said ship and taken refuge in the bush, where they remained hidden until the ship had been lost sight of. The next day, they appeared before me. As far as the above-mentioned Carolinians are concerned, I have welcomed them to instruct them and teach them the light of the Gospel, and I will not lose sight of them until they are a good knowledge of the Catholic religion. All of this I report to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 23 January 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

1 Ed. note: Since there are no islands called Matuita, this may be a misprint for Tinian where these Carolinians were probably picked up and brought to Guam. Or else, these Carolinians may just have been picked up at sea—*metaw* in Carolinian.

Note 1822I

**The ship [General] Hamilton, Captain William
Martin**

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

Extract from the log kept by Peter Allen, First Officer

**Ship Hamilton. Voyage from Boston to Northwest Coast of America
and China, 1819-23.**

...
[No reference found to any Mariana Island, although the ship went from Hawaii to
Whampoa in 1822.]

Document 1822J

The story of the pirate treasure buried in the northern Marianas**The story in a nutshell, as told by the Spanish Captain Sanchez y Zayas**

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1866, pp. 360-363.

...

Pagan has a kind of celebrity among the Marianas, on account of a treasure which is supposed to be concealed there. The history of it is rather curious, and might form the subject of an interesting novel, of which the outline may be stated in a few words.

About the year 1820 or 1822, the governor of the Mariana islands, being Señor Medinilla, an English schooner arrived at Agaña, with a very small number of hands for her crew. The captain represented that his vessel had fitted out at Sydney at the expense of a person who said that he had a treasure at the Mariana Islands; that he had come to recover it (the person himself being in the vessel); that once when he was at the islands they had attempted to assassinate the captain while on shore in one of the islands, and not having succeeded in doing so, the person had escaped with a boat, in which he had run to the northward in the archipelago. He added that he believed the treasure was concealed in the Island of Ascension, where he was with a large amount of money accumulated and some gold and silver ornaments which had been plundered from the churches of a town in South America.

It was said that this man had been in command of an English brigantine, which had anchored in some Chilian port during the war of Spanish independence. The place being on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy, many of their valuables were embarked in her for safety, with all of which the captain sailed one fine night without a word of communication to their owners. One bad deed is generally followed by another. Not trusting his own crew of the vessel, he is said to have hidden the treasure in the Island of Ascension with the help of one of them, whom he assassinated afterwards. He then took his vessel to the China coast, where he set fire to her, and thus got rid of the rest of the crew; and wandering about from place to place, he eventually stopped at Sydney, where he fitted out another vessel and came with her to the Marianas.

Such was the story of the captain of that vessel at Agaña. The schooner was manned by persons of bad character, who looked more like robbers than sailors. Nevertheless

she had been allowed to sail, and certified as all right by the authorities at Sydney as bound to the coast of China. Señor Medinilla, who considered this was an extraordinary affair, determined on detaining the vessel at Agaña, which he did in spite of the protestations of the captain. In Umata there was a merchant vessel of his own which made voyages between the Marianas and Philippine Islands, and he sent her in search of the man who was said to have escaped. This man was eventually taken by the vessel beyond Sarigan in a boat, with which he was running to the northward. He took him on board as prisoner; and being unable to make him confess where he had concealed the treasure, they adopted one of those proceedings which are not uncommon at sea, and the captain in fact gave him a good cudgelling.

He had found sewn up in the lining of his jacket a paper, which said that the plate was in a certain place mentioned, to be found by marks and distances; the former being cut in trees, and the place of landing was in lat. $18^{\circ}20'$. But all this was written in a vague, indistinct way, and wanted something more definite. However, he had confessed on undergoing the punishment that he knew the treasure was in Ascension; he further stated that the captain might take him to that island, and when he was there he would show the place where the treasure lay.

The vessel therefore went to Ascension, and having arrived a boat was lowered. The prisoner being invited to go in her, descended the ship's side as if to do so, but with one foot he pushed the boat aside, dropped into the sea, and never reappeared!

Soon afterwards it was discovered that some heavy weights which were in the vessel were gone, and it was concluded that he had concealed these about his person in order to sink it. Such is the history of this treasure; one which, like every other, has its epilogue.

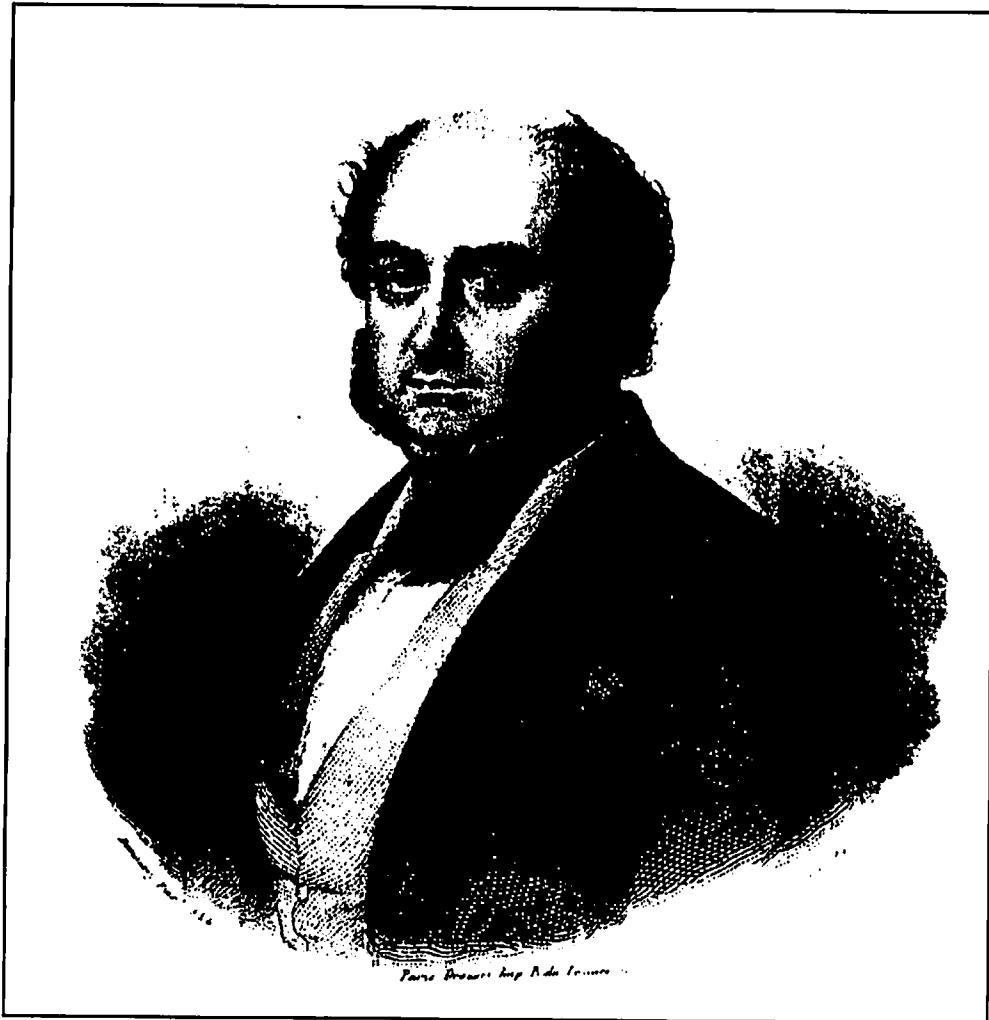
The paper which had been obtained from this man mentioned the trunks of cocoanut trees in lat. $18^{\circ}20'$. The Island of Ascension is quite deficient of those trees, and there is no island in the latitude mentioned. But in consequence of Pagan having plenty of those trees, it has been supposed that this was really the island. Señor Medinilla sent persons to search, but without success. Other attempts to find it have also been made, but with the same result; and with all the investigation nothing has been discovered. The secret, if one there be, is preserved by a corpse in the sea.

This story is said to be so far authentic, that it cost the governor of the Marianas, as I am told, the sum of twenty-four thousand pounds for injuries which the English schooner sustained: the proprietors of which vessel claimed the expense of her detention and employment in the business, as having been declared illegal. Such in fact was the final result of the whole affair.

I have had in my possession for some time the translation of the paper in the possession of the Englishman when he was taken, and the instructions which Señor Medinilla gave to the person whom he sent in Pagan to seek for the treasure. These documents were brought on board the *Narvaez* by the present governor of the islands, in case, during our excursions among the islands, we might see anything that would correspond with them.

I must confess that I have not given any attention to the affair. I am rather of an incredulous habit, and I do not believe that a second Monte Cristo is to be found in the wilds of the Pacific Ocean. But having examined the paper, one must believe that the treasure consisted certainly of something, which could not be concealed in Pagan but might be in Agrigan. Now Pagan has been searched, tree by tree and rock by rock, in this part for forty years without anything having been found; while the desert isle of Agrigan has been frequently visited by whalers, who have gone there to embark pigs and to salt down their fish. It is not impossible that, if ever the treasure existed, it may have been carried off by some whaler. When I showed Señor de la Corte that it was more likely the treasure was concealed in Agrigan than in Pagan, he remembered having heard said that a whaler had found a barrel of salt fish in a cave of Agrigan!

This, in fact, was the treasure. A barrel of silver, in money, was what the Englishman hid in one of the northern islands of the Marianas. A barrel of forty or fifty thousand dollars is certainly a treasure for a sailor. It is probable that some one in America entrusted the barrel to the captain of the brigantine, and that he was tempted to plunder; that would explain the whole history. The rest is most likely an invention, about the church utensils and other valuables supposed to have formed part of it; for if this were true, the proprietors of the church property would have published to the world such a sacrilegious transaction. The tragic end of that man is another proof that the affairs of this world are watched over by a righteous Judge, and that His justice reaches individuals in a manner beyond our comprehension. And I consider that the barrel of dollars found by the whaler seems to show that he would be losing time who could persuade himself that there is yet anything concealed, or would give himself any trouble about it.



Captain Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy, ca. 1843.

Document 1822K

The Robertson treasure (cont'd)

The narrative of a French eyewitness, Capt. Gabriel Lafond

Source: Capitaine Gabriel Lafond (de Lurcy). Voyages autour du monde et naufrages célèbres (Paris, Lachaud, 2nd ed. 1870).—Vol. 1: ... Histoire d'un pirate.

Note: For further discussion, see Lafond's narratives in Doc. 1828M, and 1831F which reproduces Governor Medinilla's verbal report.

Chapter 41.

Captain Robertson.—Martelino.—The Quintanilla.—The Congreso.—La Diligente, Captain Bil-lard.—Critical position of the Congreso.—Teresa Mendez.—Theft at Callao of more than 10 million [francs] in cash.

Robertson, a native of Scotland, began his stormy career as an apprentice midshipman in the English Royal Navy. Later, he shipped as an officer on board the brig **Galvarino**, under the command of Captain Guise [sic]¹ who had rushed to participate at the first sign of a revolution in Chili, in order to dedicate his person and his brig, armed for war, to the cause of independence. Robertson served in the Chilean Navy and assisted in the capture of Lima; a few years later, he switched to the Peruvian Navy.

In 1822, while he commanded a Chilean war brig, he landed at Arauco on the coast of Chili, with part of his sailors and surprised, at night, Benavides, head of a gang of bandits who infested the whole province of Concepción. Benavides himself managed to escape, along with his lieutenant, an Italian named Martelino, who was wounded in the attack (and about whom I will soon return). Most of the band, however, was captured by Robertson.

Robertson was extremely brave. His impetuous and passionate character often made him look wild and cruel. He was of an average height, had red hair, a wild look on his face, and although his features were not exactly ugly, he nevertheless appeared repulsive. The smile that always marked his lips gave him the appearance of something like a hyena, that shakes with pleasure upon seeing its prey. Robertson ordered the hanging, without any form of trial, of the 60-70 prisoners belonging to Benavides' band, to

1 The *Galvarino* was later commanded by Captain Stary, and Robertson became First Lieutenant. Ed. comment: Perhaps the ship *Belgrano*, Captain Guy, formerly Captain Stacy, instead.

pay for their crimes, and he took a particular pleasure in watching them hanging from as many trees.

Robertson then left the Chilean Navy and went to take up residence in an uninhabited island, Mocha, 30 leagues south of Concepcion Bay. There, his only companions were one servant and two women who, according to him, were to become the mothers of a new nation. For a while, he tried to emulate Robinson, and even changed his name to Robinson. Rumors had it that he wanted to turn Mocha into a sort of refuge and asylum for a few bold adventurers whom he would gather about him, and together they would prey on ships bound to Europe, loaded with gold and silver. His later conduct did prove this contention to be true.

Benavides' band received an amnesty from the Government of Chili after the death of their leader, and Martelino returned to Valparaiso. I was then working for the house of Dubern, Rejo and Co. and they had a schooner from Guayaquil that Mr. Lazarraga, the owner, had named **Quatro Hermanas** (Four-Sisters) to remember his family. Martelino was a very good sailor. He managed to get work on board this schooner and, as the Spanish captains along the coast of America preferred to employ Genoese or Venetians as boatswains, he was given this job.

Martelino had this ingratiating attitude that made him soon win over the trust of the Spaniard who commanded the **Quatro Hermanas**. Once at Guayaquil, the schooner was despatched to the coast of Mexico with a load of cacao. Mr. Lazarraga did not think he could succeed in having a soldier of Benavides punished, and simply wanted to discharge Martelino. However, in America, the Spanish who were partisans of independence always kept some sort of sympathy for their countrymen, even those who had served in the opposite party. Well then, Martelino pretended that he had served under Benavides, but for the royalist side in the south of Chili, and that his only mistake had been to persevere in his support for the Spanish Crown. Martelino won his case, and the owner of the schooner relented and took him on board. However, the boatswain of the **Quatro Hermanas** was not happy to be a simple crewman. He plotted with some sailors on whose word he could count and, when the schooner had arrived back in the river of Guayaquil, he proceeded with his project to submit the captain and other sailors to the same treatment that his skill had allowed him to escape from. Surprised while they were sleeping, the victims of Martelino had no time to offer resistance and were mercilessly put ashore. Martelino, now in command of the schooner, sailed directly to the Chiloe Islands, which Lieutenant-Colonel Quintanilla still preserved for Spain. There, Martelino was appointed Commander in the Spanish Navy, and he left with this vessel, armed for war, under the new name of **Quintanilla**, and was sent to the coasts of Chili and Peru to cruise against trading ships belonging to independentists.

Having learned that Robertson then resided at Mocha, Martelino planned an invasion of this island, in order to take revenge against the executioner of his former companions. He succeeded in surprising his enemy, captured him and threw him in irons in the hold of his ship. It was Robertson's turn to pay for his crimes. If his life was spared, it was the better to make him suffer more tortures and humiliations. However, his star

was not meant to extinguish itself so soon, and a storm came to rescue the mariner!... The schooner was about to founder amid some shoals and all the experience of Martelino and his crew was insufficient to prevent disaster. Finally, in dire straits, when danger was so imminent, an appeal was made to the man loaded with chains, to Robertson! They begged him to save himself, by saving all of them. Robertson took back his natural position; he climbed out of the hold as Master and, thanks to his skill and by his orders, the danger was soon over, but the calm returned to the minds that were so miserable and fearful a few hours before. He was then given some freedom; he was again able to roam the deck, watch the clouds pass overhead, and dream at leisure of the day when he would regain his full freedom. The hour of his deliverance soon presented itself. The schooner arrived on the coasts of Peru, part of which was still in the hands of Spaniards. Robertson managed to get on board of an English ship that brought him back to Chili. However, out of spite, he did not forget, before leaving, to write a letter to Martelino saying that he did not consider himself obliged toward him, since he owed his life to his ignorance, to his fear, and not to his generosity. He concluded by saying that if one day they came face to face, the death of one of them would have to be the outcome.

Robertson then decided to rejoin the Peruvian Navy, in which he held the rank of Commander. He took passage aboard the **Congreso**, a Peruvian war brig, commanded by Captain Young. The **Congreso** was at Valparaiso when a terrible storm destroyed the **Aurora**, on board which I was serving (more about this later), as well as 18 other large ships. The **Congreso** only lost all of her masts overboard, and that is what saved her from shipwreck. As soon as she could sail once more, she went to cruise along the coast of Peru, looking for the **Quintanilla** and other Spanish cruisers, which Captain Young had learned, had left Chiloe. At Arica, the **Congreso** sighted the **Vigie**, a French ship under the command of Captain Télémaque Guilhem, that had been captured by the **Quintanilla** and armed as a cruiser by Martelino. The **Congreso** captured her, but, almost at the same moment, appeared the French warship **La Diligente**, under the command of Captain Billard. This man assumed that he had the right to claim the **Vigie** from Captain Young, who answered that the ship in his possession was a fair prize, that it was against the Spanish Government that he had to make a claim, because it was from Spaniards that he had taken her. The **Congreso** and the French corvette, while following the coast, met with the **Quintanilla**, then in company with the **Maquena**, her last prize. The **Maquena** was not able to escape but was run aground and burned by her crew. However, the **Quintanilla** exchanged gun fire with the **Congreso**, while retreating, as far as the inlet of Guilca [rather Guata?]. The **Congreso** then blockaded her, whereas Captain Billard, on the other hand, wanted to capture the **Quintanilla**. During a period of calm, the **Congreso** drifted so close to the coast that she was forced to drop anchors almost on top of the breakers. Then, many Spanish boats came out of the cove to try and capture the **Congreso**, but two blasts from guns that had been loaded with grape-shot soon made them realize the futility of their attempt. Nevertheless, the situation of the **Congreso** was becoming more and more critical. Already the

crew and the officers had taken place on board the boats to escape the double danger of the breakers and the Spaniards, who had begun to occupy the heights nearby and were getting ready to fire on whomever would dare attempt a landing.

Under duress, Captain Young appealed for help from the **Diligente**. Captain Billard answered that France was not at war with Spain, that he could not assist a Peruvian brig that was being fired upon by Spaniards, without infringing the neutrality between the two nations, and that all he could do was send his boats to recover the crew of the **Congreso**.

Robertson, who had sworn never to fall alive into the hands of Martelino, his most mortal enemy, remained on board with Captain Young, both ready to kill themselves if their ship would become shipwrecked. They were hoping that a land breeze would arise and save them, and their hope was not deceived, because this breeze, so long desired, came just in time to cool their faces and give new vigor to their souls. Then, they recalled all of the sailors who were in the boats, raised all the sails at once, cut all the cables, and the ship was saved!... Just in time, indeed, because the enemy had once more launched their armed boats, to attack the boats from the brig and those from the French corvette that had been sent to assist, under the command of Messieurs Bruat and La Gatimais.

Robertson, who lived only to take revenge against Martelino, still wanted to return and capture the **Quintanilla**, and Captain Young was in agreement with him. Some volunteers were found to carry out this attempt, and they left with two launches. However, the timing was wrong, as the night became so dark and the sea so rough that they were unable to find the entrance of the cove. Finally, they drifted downwind and by daybreak found themselves abreast of the beaches of Camana, where they were picked up by the **Congreso**. This brig pursued her voyage as far as Lima without further incident, but Robertson, once again, had to postpone the day when he could take his revenge.

As soon as the **Congreso** had left, Captain Billard sent a message to Martelino, telling him that he could not come out of the cove, without first giving satisfaction for having seized the **Vigie**. Martelino, seeing himself cornered, sent a courier to Arequipa to let Lieutenant-General Juan Martinez, the Spanish officer in charge of the province, know about his situation. The General wrote a letter to Captain Billard, telling him that, in the name of the Viceroy of Peru, he took it upon himself to solve the **Vigie** affair, and that he would hold him responsible if the schooner were delayed any further, since, said he, she was on a special mission. Captain Billard relented and desisted from blockading the schooner. Martelino came out during the following night, but, out of sheer bravado and stupidly, fired a few guns at the French corvette, hoping that he could escape, thanks to the superior speed of his ship; moreover, the corvette was still at anchor. What he did not know, or had simply forgotten, is that the **Diligente** was, and still is, one of the fastest sailers in the French Navy. At that moment, the officer of the watch was one of those who could take a spontaneous decision.

Mr. Bruat had an easy time to convince Captain Billard, who had run up at the noise of the guns, that the cables could be cut and the ship sailed immediately. Indeed, at the first blast from his whistle, the whole crew was on deck, and soon afterward the corvette was under sail. The breeze being weak, some galley-type oars were rigged and the **Quintanilla** was under hot pursuit all night. They came upon her the next morning, and, as the crew of the pirate ship had been drinking, she surrendered at the sound of the first gun.

Mr. Trébouard was ordered to take possession of the **Quintanilla**. When he climbed on board her, Martelino, sitting on his bench, made a movement, as if to cut the throats of the Frenchmen who had just come on board, but the presence of mind of Mr. Trébouard made this project futile. Martelino and the crew were taken to the **Diligente** and they were taken back to Valparaiso. The officers were transferred to the **Marie-Thérèse**, under the command of Admiral Rosamel.

As for the schooner, she had a succession of commanders: firstly, Mr. Jourdan, then Lieutenant, today a full Captain;¹ then Mr. Cazy, one of the aides of the Admiral and today Rear-Admiral himself; and finally she was given to Télémaque Guilhem by Admiral Rosamel, as a compensation for the loss of the **Vigie**, an affair which, by the way, is still before the Spanish courts.

As far as Robertson is concerned, he rejoined the Peruvian Navy and, when General Rodil was still in charge of the forts of Callao in the name of Spain, he had the opportunity to make a good account of himself during some sorties or attacks against that place. However, once the forts of Callao were turned over, an order from General Bolivar caused him to be arrested and thrown into the jails of Callao, for political reasons. Robertson's mind was far too cunning for him to remain in those horrible dungeons for too long; in fact, one minute incident of a minor importance was sufficient to provide an opportunity for him to escape. An underling to his jailer came to bring food to the prisoners; he punched him cold and passed through the guards and, before they realized what was happening, Robertson was running out of the prison. He soon reached the beach, jumped into the sea, which he considered the safest place to hide. Soon he was alongside a foreign trading ship.

As the Columbian troops had retreated to Guayaquil, a coup d'état took place in Lima, led by Bustamante, and Robertson was promoted to the command of the frigate **Congreso**, a new ship, as the old brig by that name had been lost. However, Robertson could not lead a normal life; his natural turbulence made him think of vengeance; ambitious and greedy projects, and other illegal activities filled his mind. But the germ of his worst passions came from love, a type of love that he alone could feel! His natural inclination for roving, venting his fury at every turn, and generally leading a disorderly life was destined to become subdued by the empire of beauty!

Ah! Lima, that beautiful big city, so voluptuous and refined, where the marvels of nature are combined so harmoniously with the enjoyment of civilization, a class apart,

¹ Ed. note: Today means 1843 when the first edition came out. Rosamel had visited Pohnpei in 1840.

one that lets itself be guided by the voluptuousness of the country, where Spanish pride is tempered by an urbane grace, and that seems to turn the business of living into a life of partying. In the middle of such a society, one can guess the important, even essential, role played by women; their beauty, so near to perfection, is not the only gift that God had made them. Their imagination is just as intoxicating, their mind just as irresistible and attractive. It is with the most exquisite manner that they know how to acquire all of the frivolities in fashion, all the subtleties invented by Europeans, but without ever altering the distinctiveness of their mannerisms and their graceful ways. The women of Lima supplement their seduction by means of a national dress called *saya*,¹ one that lends itself to all the intrigues and all the skills of the highest coquetry. The influence held by women in this country has produced in them a feeling of ambition such that the simplest customs of our society do not prepare us to understand fully. This ambition is the more perfidious because a woman is sure to get what she wants; she hides her game by appearing irresistibly sweet and voluptuous, and a man cannot predict that such a warm surrounding, perfumed, is sure to mollify him, but that is the very moment that the woman had been looking for, when she takes hold of power, and becomes the mistress of all she surveys!

Teresa Mendez was the widow of a Spanish captain; she was like the typical woman whom I have just described. Impressionable and passionate, she fell into a period of melancholy soon after becoming a widow; in order to let herself enjoy this state of disconsolateness and despair, she thought it proper to retire into the Convent of Jesús María, where, for a few months, she carried out, without restrictions, all of the austerities of the order. However, the continuous hardships became a burden to her, as her passionate soul was led astray by caprice, and she could not make sacrifices for too long. Her active and lively nature came to consider a life of silence and solitude as something bothersome. Her imagination began to rebel at the thought that the rest of her life should be spent within the four walls of a convent. One day, she pushed a few stones and it was through this gap that her sadness disappeared.

Ideas of mundane things continuously assaulted her mind, chasing away religious subjects and soon, in spite of the sacred place she was in, she was invaded by an insatiable desire for fortune and glory. Her mind had reached this moral state and it was with much impatience that she began to await the end of the official period of her widowhood, when she went home, with a greater thirst for luxury and domination. She was then only 22 years old, had a pale complexion but it was almost olive in color, a fact that showed that she had some Indian blood running through her veins. But her beautiful eyes, her supple and shapely figure, the delicate features of her body revealed her Spanish origin. She could feel the instincts of the races within herself: as proud as a woman from Andalusia, and with the fineness and strength of character of the Indian woman.

1 Ed. note: An upper petticoat, or loose skirt, with many layers.

It was in the church of La Merced in Lima that Robertson saw Teresa Mendez for the first time.

Protestant, or rather indifferent as to religion and almost atheist, the pirate was staring, with an admiration that was plainly material, at the splendid ceremonies of the cult, the silver-gilt candelabras, the altars ornamented with the most precious of metals, his ears were captivated by the enthusiastic and harmonious chants of the house of the Lord and the chirping sounds made by the birds that were swinging inside silver cages suspended near the chandeliers; the perfumes, the sight of this devout and solemnly quiet crowd, everything contributed to making him sink into the indescribable extasy and, as he would say so himself, to prepare his soul for some great revolution. It was amid this poetic and illusory environment that Mendez had caught Robertson's eyes. The pirate thought that he was dreaming, new feelings got hold of him, his incredulity began to disappear. He stood up, troubled and bewildered, and went to kneel down before the altars, next to the one whom he was falling in love with.

From then on, Robertson did not stray from the wake of Doña Teresa; he told her that he loved her, and from that moment, the Spanish woman knew that this man was ready to become her devoted slave forever. She called on all the resources of her nature and of her mind to encourage the growth of passion in the man whom she already considered her most certain instrument. When she felt that her control was unshakable, she frankly revealed to him, without reservation, all of her inner thoughts and projects:

—“Robertson,” said she, “thou wish to join my destiny with thine. Well then, thou should know that I can only grant this favor to the man who, by his courage and ability, will know how to rise above all his fellows and create his own destiny. If power is beyond thine grasp, let Lady Luck compensate for it, and create for both of us a comfortable and full life, at par with thy love and my ambition. The times are suitable for thou to fulfil thy wishes; these are times of revolution that make the audacious rise and energy triumph, that completely upset all destinies and let only the strongest remain standing. So, go and march toward thy noble goal, where I will be waiting for thee with all the love that thy heart desires!”

—“Yes,” exclaimed Robertson, “you shall have it all, and this fortune will be as vast as you imagine, as huge as my love. You shall have it, even if I have to get it from the bottom of the ocean or from greedy men, even if I must bring it to your feet, shining with glory and stained with blood!”

Such were the last good-bye between Robertson and Doña Teresa.

One evening, I was having tea at the house of the port Captain, the Mr. Young whom we met when he was in command of the **Congreso**. Robertson, and a few other officers, were sitting around the table and talking about current affairs. Robertson was being made fun of, on account of his unrequited love, when one of these officers shouted:

—“The Commander will never get the hand of Teresa until he has either earned the rank of Admiral, or gained a very large fortune. To become an Admiral, that will take

a long time, because war with Spain is over. But here is a golden opportunity to make a fortune. There is now in the harbor an English trading brig with at least 2,000,000 pesos on board. Her Captain went to Lima this morning, to get his despatches. Now, let him seize this brig, and Teresa will be his.”

Robertson did not encourage this joke any further, but he was lost in thought, and retired ahead of us.

In fact, he had immediately plotted to seize the **Peruvian**, whose name he had inquired about. To this effect, he consulted with a few English sailors who were part of the crew of the **Congreso** and, that very night, they all climbed on board the ship, threatened the officer and his crew and, after tying those who refused to follow them, they weighed the anchor, left the bay and went to the high sea. Robertson, therefore, was now in possession of a ship and over 10 million francs, but he was not the sole owner of this loot, and that is why he was not fully happy. A dozen accomplices had the right to ask for their share of this rich booty, and the twelfth part of it in no way interested Robertson. The very thought of sharing was repugnant to him. The pirate was then on the slippery slope of a life of crime, and plotted to get rid of those who were in his way. Robertson got the idea of getting a new set of accomplices who would rid him of the first set; however, among the second group, he clearly saw that there were two smart ones, Irishmen, whom he would not be able to get rid of so easily, once the action had taken place. He soon had the opportunity to check how right his premonitions had been about them.

After he had spent some time to the north of Lima, not knowing exactly what to do next, he thought of sending one of the two men in question ashore to get water, under the pretext that the brig did not have a sufficient supply of it on board to last the long voyage that they were about to undertake. The trick did not work, and the two Irishmen clearly told him that they could see through him, and planned to maintain their claims.

—“By sending us ashore, you wanted to enjoy alone the fruits of the common wealth, but you should remember that we consider that all three of us are irrevocably linked together. We are quite willing to get rid of the rest of the crew, but on the condition that we will always remain together, sharing equally, for life, and until death!”

They then agreed to turn back and go to Tahiti, where they would surely find a way to put their plan into execution. However, Robertson was insincere and he swore to himself that he would get out of the agreement imposed upon him, as soon as possible.

Upon arrival at Tahiti, he persuaded his companions that they needed to find some women, to accompany them and go and settle on one of the Mariana Islands, north of Saipan. He had chosen one for himself and intended to fulfil the most beautiful dreams of good living and happiness. Some native slaves would do all the work for them and they would all enjoy the marvels of the promised land, without having to cross the desert to get it! The mind of a sailor can very easily be influenced by the most romantic ideas; he lives a life that is full of danger or of the most wearisome monotony while he is at sea; he loves to distract himself with tales of immense bliss, and dreams of the most

fantastic nature. To hear a sailor talk, it seems as if the pastoral life ashore is the best, but as soon as he has stepped ashore and lived in a community for a while, he longs once more to be inside his floating prison.

William and George, the two accomplices of Robertson, did not swallow his plan whole, though they agreed to it, but they kept a close eye on his movements. Firstly, Robertson began to distribute money among the unlucky men who were about to be lost, urging them all the while that they should look for women who would be willing to follow them. Then, after two or three days of drunkenness and orgy, when Robertson saw that they were in a state of stupor that prevented them from knowing what was going on, he had them placed in the launch, willy nilly, and almost without their realizing it. The launch was towed behind the ship and, when they were far from land, he cut the cable and abandoned them in the high sea, without water, without food, without a sail, to the grace of God!...

Robertson had such a great power over all his sailors that he was able to persuade the men whom he had been obliged to keep for the required maneuvers, that he had acted that way in the common interest, because those lost men were a bunch of drunks who might endanger the safety of the ship at any moment, or reveal the secret upon which depended their fortune and their peace.

After this incident, the brig continued to sail N.W. toward the Mariana Islands, where they arrived in due course.¹ At this time, four of the men who did not know of the real plan of their companions, wished to select an island to put Robertson's plan into execution, but they wished to keep the brig in an inlet,² in case of need, to go and get more women or merchandise from the Philippines, or Japan, or the Caroline Islands. Robertson could not agree to such a project. This time, disagreement degenerated into more violent debates; the men were on the point of cutting one another's throats, but William and George managed to force them all to accept Robertson's will. Peace being restored, they visited many of the northern islands of the Mariana archipelago, and finally, they stopped at one of them, buried their treasure there, and after having made some signs, by marking some trees, to recognize the place, they sailed for the Hawaiian Islands, to get all the necessary supplies before beginning their new life. For this voyage, they kept only about 20,000 pesos in gold, part of the loot that they had found inside the Captain's cabin. We now see them gaining latitude, as far north as 35° or even 40°.

Is it necessary for me to mention what was on Robertson's mind and that of his two accomplices regarding their other associates? When the brig reached the Island of Oahu, the pirate provoked an orgy, and the four unlucky men whose lives had been spared thus far, got caught in the same trap as their former comrades. As soon as these men had become dead drunk, the three leaders tied them up easily, took them on board, put

1 Ed. note: Possibly in November 1822 (see Doc. 1822G).

2 Ed. note: Robertson's plan seems to have included getting rid of the ship upon reaching the island, as the mutineers of the *Bounty* had done at Pitcairn Island.

them down in the crew's quarters, nailed the hatch shut, then scuttled the ship in the powder magazine, cut the sheets of the topsails, slashed the riggings, etc. then Robertson and his two men boarded the long boat. The ship was abandoned like a floating coffin upon the huge ocean! And then there were only three left to fight over the object of their greed...

However, the ship, being without a load, did not sink so easily. She was spotted by a whaling ship which recovered one of the victims, the others having died of hunger. One single man survived that awful agony, but it was only one year later, when the whaler returned to Oahu, that he narrated the full story of what had happened to him.

It is while visiting the Sandwich Islands [in 1828] that I learned such details, details that interested me greatly, since I had been practically an eyewitness to the theft of the brig at Callao, and that I learned in Oahu that Robertson and his two companions had come back there after abandoning their brig, spreading the story that their trading ship had sunk and they had saved themselves aboard the boat. This explanation seemed true, and it was accepted as such, specially since Robertson had the knack for appearing sincere and knew how to inspire trust. Some time later, they found a whaler to take them back to Europe, but, when they stopped at Rio de Janeiro, they stayed there, and one of them disappeared, no-one knew how; it was George.

Robertson and William then boarded a convict ship at Rio de Janeiro, one of those ships carrying exiles to New Holland that had stopped at Rio to take on food supplies.¹ They lived for some time in Sydney and made various attempts to steal some small coastal trading ships, in order to return to the Mariana Islands to recover their treasure, but their attempts failed, and they stayed in that country until they found the means of achieving their project. At last, they left for Hobartown, capital of Van Diemen's Land [Tasmania].

William and Robertson seemed to live in good harmony, but who is to know if they did not lie to each other constantly? There are some criminal situations in which the crime brings with it such mental tortures, so many anxieties, that one could use them as examples of bad conduct, like the inhabitants of Sparta who used to show men suffering from severe hangovers, to dissuade their children from imbibing. One can very well imagine these two perverts, each one dreaming of annihilating the other. They might have resembled two wild beasts whose ferocity is contained by sheer fright. Thus lived William and Robertson, always carrying weapons, and trying to guess what the other man was thinking, to read their own future, the inspirations of their homicidal instinct. One can say, in conclusion, that these two men were already purging their crime, before they had even had time to enjoy its proceeds.

At Hobartown, Robertson made the acquaintance of an old English Captain named Thomson, the owner of a small schooner that he used to hunt fur seals in Bass Strait and the neighboring islets. Thomson lived a rather miserable life; his income was not

1 Ed. note: Charles Bateson's *Convict Ships* (page 295) gives candidates, for each year, circa 1824, for ships that stopped at Rio to replenish their supplies on their way to NSW.

great, and he easily listened to Robertson's project. The idea, of course, was to sail with the schooner to the island where the treasure lay buried.

How he had become the owner of this treasure, why he had left it on an uninhabited island?... Robertson had to have good answers to convince Thomson, and must have had some trouble building up a tale that would remove all doubts in the mind of the person he intended to cheat. But for Robertson it was just one more challenge, one that he would win, thanks to the power of his tongue and his fertile imagination. Thomson became fully convinced by all the lies that Robertson told him to remove his suspicions. Consequently, Thomson accepted to discuss a joint venture, one that he thought would enrich him, or at least improve his situation. Thomson decided to leave with Robertson and William. He signed a contract, and hired two local hands, and soon they were all five of them on board this miserable schooner headed for the Mariana Islands, but first, they had obtained their despatches, supposedly to go diving for pearls in the Polynesian Islands.

Their passage was long and difficult. They often lacked food or water, and it was with the greatest of difficulties that they got some at islands that they came upon along the way, as most of these islands were inhabited by inhospitable Indians. They had many fights to win, and many times they were pursued by canoes; in short, this voyage was one of the most dangerous, life on board was one of the saddest, the most miserable that one can imagine. When they met a ship, they tried to get some food, pretending to be after pearls, or *bêche-de-mer* [trepang]. One day when they got some brandy, of which they had been without for a long time, they drank to such an excess that they all became dead drunk, except for Robertson, of course. He, hoping to take advantage of this situation, had drunk sparingly so as to conserve his presence of mind and the full energy of his constant resolve. The schooner was so small that, in such a hot climate, they remained day and night on deck, because the miserable cabin was like an oven. So, Robertson was there, next to the only man who posed a threat to him in the whole world, the only man who could eventually bother him in the enjoyment of the fruit of his thieving and who could make him remember its impure source. With William dead, crime would pay, without the bothersome idea of sharing and complicity. So many reasons were unnecessary for the pirate to decide to commit the most despicable of treacheries. When evil took control of his soul, it always won over any arguments!... So, William was rolled overboard, and the unlucky man, when he realized that the weight of his body was digging his watery grave, arose from the abyss and issued a most powerful cry of rage, one that woke up Captain Thomson! The schooner had no boat, the night was dark and the sea running high; William's salvation was impossible. At that moment, Captain Thomson realized that, in spite of Robertson's excuses and pretence to help, his own life was also in the hands of his infamous companions.

After a most difficult crossing, they finally arrived at the Mariana Islands. They visited the archipelago many times before deciding to stop at one of them, because Robertson, having noticed that Thomson had guessed part of his secret, no longer trusted him. In fact, William had made confidences to Thomson during the voyage, in one of

those moments when he sensed that, sooner or later, he would become the victim of a perfidious act; he then had promised to share half of the pesos with him. However, as William was but an ignorant sailor, he could not tell which latitude, or longitude, nor even the name of the island where the treasure was. He only remembered that it was north of Tinian and Saipan. Such a vague piece of information was of no help to Thomson. The schooner was near Tinian, where they had gone to get some water. They were visited by the captain of a Spanish ship, to whom they said that they were after *bêche-de-mer*.¹

Robertson's heart was a deep pit of iniquities and infamy; the suspicion that he had just conceived against Thomson imposed upon him a new crime! The bloody path, once someone has decided to follow it, calls for an endless string of violence, and if fatality is mixed up in it, as in the case of a pirate, then it goes on endlessly and seems to grow worse with each new crime. The old Thomson had to disappear, just like his accomplices, because he had become the confidant of one of them! Let us not forget that the first source of this infernal turmoil was love! Love can inspire an ordinary man to think noble thoughts and follow a general path, when it is a good woman who inspires him, but love can also, as in this case, lead an exalted man to commit the most monstrous and bloodiest of deeds, if the fire burning in his heart is pernicious. A pure and tender woman could have made a hero out of Robertson, but Teresa Mendez turned him into a villain!

At the moment that they were leaving the anchorage of Tinian, where they had gone ashore, Robertson, under the most frivolous of pretexts, provoked a disagreement with Thomson and, in a show of fury, faked for the most part, grabbed him and threw him overboard!... But Thomson was not to perish so easily; he managed, thanks to his courage or good luck, to reach the beach and later the Spanish ship that had visited them. He made a report to her captain and the latter thought that he should set out immediately in pursuit of the schooner, since something good would result from it: a considerable fortune, if Thomson's revelation was true; otherwise, the capture of dangerous pirates.

After many days of reconnaissance, he finally discovered the schooner in a small port in Saipan. At the sight of the Spanish ship, Robertson had fled ashore and disappeared into the mountains; however, Captain Pacheco's men went after him as after a wild beast, while the captain himself remained on the beach, in case Robertson would try to get back to his boat. Meanwhile, the schooner was seized in the name of the Governor of the Marianas. Robertson was soon captured, and locked up inside a hut, in irons. Captain Pacheco told him that he would soon be judged for the homicide and regarding the declarations made by Thomson. That same day, the pirate was brought before

1 Ed. note: This was probably the small schooner of the Guam garrison on a regular trip to Tinian, whose name changed over time: Señor San José, etc. (see Doc. 1823F). Pacheco should probably read Garrido instead (see Doc. 1823G).

a council and before the officers, Captain Pacheco interrogated him as to why he had come to the Marianas, and his reasons why he had tried to kill Captain Thomson. I will now reproduce this interrogation in detail,¹ because it reveals Robertson's character so well.

—"About my reason to be here," said he, "that is my secret and I don't have to tell you anything. As far as Mr. Thomson is concerned, he is an old fool who threw himself overboard, just so that he could accuse me. I chartered his ship, and he must take me where I want to go. That is all I will tell you, because your ship is not a warship and you have no right to act as the policeman of these seas. Your attempt at trying me is an abuse of power."

—"Just think," said Pacheco, "you are in my power, your life story is known to us, and I'll know how to force you to reveal the place where you hid the treasure that you have stolen in Peru."

—"Keep your threats to yourself. They are useless, and I despise them. You may do what you want with me."

—"I give you two hours to think about it."

—"I cannot change my mind over so short a time. I remain ready to die."

—"If you die, it will be an infamous death. You will die under the whip."

—"The whip! I, a Navy captain? By you, a trading captain?..."

—"Yes, but a Spanish captain who treats American insurgents as pirates."

—"The war is over, their independence has been recognized by England, and I am an English subject."

—"It was not recognized by Spain. You are my prisoner. I have been commissioned by the Governor of the Marianas. So, don't waste my time and tell me where you hid the treasure."

Robertson said nothing more. He was taken back to his hut, still in irons, and was kept under guard. Although Thomson had received insufficient information from William on the place where the crates of money had been buried, after he had collected his thoughts and all the leads that William's words had contained, and the few words that had escaped the lips of Robertson himself, he thought it had to be on the Island of Agrigan.

So, the ship set sail for Agrigan and went to anchor in the best cove of the island. During this voyage, that lasted more than two days, not one word could be got out of Robertson. The old Thomson excited Pacheco, urging upon him the great probability of his clues. Pacheco shared Thomson's ideas. After the anchor had been dropped, Pacheco invited Robertson to regain his freedom. Then Robertson spoke, asking for the irons to be removed, and promising to lead them to the treasure himself. Upon this declaration, he was placed on board a boat, but not before his hands were tied. When they were ashore, he vacillated, appeared not to recognize the place, and pretended that they

1 Ed. note: Lafond copied this information on his third visit to Guam, in 1831, with the permission of Governor Villalobos (see below, and Doc. 1831F).

had to set sail and go on further. Then, while the men were discussing what to do next, the pirate managed to escape into the bush, but Pacheco, son of Biscay, went in hot pursuit and caught him quickly. Robertson was then completely exasperated, and began to pour forth a stream of blasphemies; he raged like a tiger being caged. He wished he could tear his relentless jailers with his teeth, because they were responsible for his failure at the very moment when he was about to triumph. Indeed, this man had many reasons for violent despair. He had dedicated his life and sold his soul for just one thought, to make a fortune to get love. And when this fortune, acquired at the cost of the many murders of those who might have disputed the ownership of this treasure, at the point of time when the woman who had led him into this life of damnation was about to satisfy his intense desire for power and happiness, to hit this shoal and run aground, and die, when he had always dreamed of a life worthy of living. This was hell itself, compressed into one instant!...

Under extreme stress, Robertson lost his usual cool composure and normal prudence, and declared himself to be the author of all the crimes that he was accused of. Thus, he appeared to defy the world with his infamous conduct and wished to horrify and terrify those who witnessed his testimony!...

Nevertheless, Robertson admitted nothing about the treasure, and Pacheco's threats became more violent as the pirate became more insolent. The night was spent without a new incident, except that Robertson made many vain attempts to escape torture and death. Then, the idea occurred to him that he could, once more, play on human greed. He tried to corrupt a few sailors, by first getting close to them. However, Pacheco and Thomson had foreseen this tactic. Two English sailors who had seemed to talk to him [in English] were placed in irons, not so much to punish them as to restrain them. The Captain used this opportunity to tell his men about the conduct of the pirate toward his former accomplices, and therefore, the fate that would await them if they let themselves be fooled by him. At daybreak, Robertson was asked again to answer Pacheco's questions but he maintained a silence full of disdain. He was then undressed and tied to a gun. Two strong men began to whip him with braided cordage. He took in the first 25 blows with courage and resignation, without uttering a sound, but when they were preparing to renew the punishment, he begged for mercy, and promised to tell all. Pacheco had a boat prepared at once to go where Robertson would indicate, but this time, he did not remove the irons from his feet, to prevent any more attempt at evasion. The pirate asked for a few moments to rest; he needed to take a little food and a strong drink to get his energy back; he felt faint. Indeed, his face showed that he was prey to deep physical and moral pain. Anxiety and anguish were painted on all his features. Was he about to admit the secret? He took a swig of rum, lay down on the deck and, at the end of one hour, declared that he was ready to leave. The boat had been made ready, Pacheco and Thomson began to hope, but the pirate braced himself for a moment, and seemed to rebel against his miserable fate, the end of such a tragic life, but his pride forbid him to repent and show remorse. At the moment when he was aboard to step into the boat, he kicked it off and let himself slide down between the ship and the boat.

A sailor, who was also a good diver, immediately jumped after him, but Robertson, whose strength was multiplied a hundredfold almost succeeded in strangling him, and it was with much difficulty that the brave sailor succeeded to pull himself free from the clutches of death. Thus perished this despicable man. He never lacked the great qualities that might have made him a great man, but his insatiable desire for fortune, for domination and possession of a foolish love had turned him into one of the foulest and unnatural monsters who ever lived! The pirate was taking his precious secret with him to his watery grave, because Pacheco and Thomson, though they tried every conceivable place on Agrigan Island that they could see, never discovered anything...

Governor Medinilla¹ was not at all pleased with Captain Pacheco when the latter returned to Guam, and the Governor learned about the affair. He reproached him for his lack of skill and his brutality. The Governor thought that, with much persistence, a soft approach and some cunning, one could have obtained everything one wished from Robertson.

Medinilla then led an expedition of 600 workers to the Island of Agrigan. They dug holes all over the place, dug exploratory trenches, but all of these labors proved useless. The pirate had buried his treasure in the earth as he had buried the secret in his heart. Either one or the other was a complete mystery to all eyes!...

Now that I have finished this dramatic story, I must confirm its authenticity by revealing the sources of my information. I have already said that I was present at Callao, in Peru, that night when Robertson hijacked the English brig *Peruvian*. I had tea with him the evening before, in the house of Commander Young, the port captain.² We had talked about the imprudence of the English merchants who had sent such considerable sums aboard a trading ship manned by only a dozen or so crewmen. In 1828, when I visited the Sandwich Islands, I saw the English sailor who had been the only survivor of the scuttle in sight of Oahu. Later on, I met the old Thomson at Manila and he repeated to me many times all the details of the story of his misadventure. Finally, in 1831, I spent six months in the Marianas, during which I saw Governor Medinilla every day, as he was still serving there, and he confirmed the truth of all of the above facts to me. The Governor still regretted the fact that this business had turned out badly. According to him, if he had had a chance to give his instructions, the affair would have been successfully concluded. General Andrés García, who was lately Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands,³ knew this story as well as I did. If I men-

1 Ed. note: This took place in 1826, or later, because Medinilla's second term began in 1826.

2 Ed. note: Not the same man as the Captain Young who reported a battle between two vessels off Tinian in September 1823. One of them must have been the whaling ship that rescued the only survivor of the scuttle of the *Peruvian* near Oahu. Did they find and remove the treasure from Agrigan soon after? This would explain the intense despair that got hold of Robertson upon his return, in about 1826.

3 Ed. note: García Camba was Governor General between 1837 and 1838.

tion these different proofs of the reality of the above narrative, it is only because it seems so incredible that, the affairs of this world being as they are, it might lose its credibility.

Let the imagination of those who dream of extraordinary fortunes run free! A cove of the Island of Agrigan may still hide a treasure worth 2,000,000 pesos, or 10,250,000 francs! It is a discovery that would yield as much, if not more, than a gold or a silver mine!

The Island of Agrigan, one of the Mariana Islands, is situated in 19°0' latitude North, and 143°0' longitude East of Paris, according to MacCarthy's Dictionary.¹

1 Ed. note: For further accounts by Lafond, see Doc. 1828M and 1831F.

Document 1822L

German-made chart of the Central Pacific Ocean, 1823-1839

Source: Chart drawn by Henry Berghaus and published at Postdam in 1841 (see illustration).

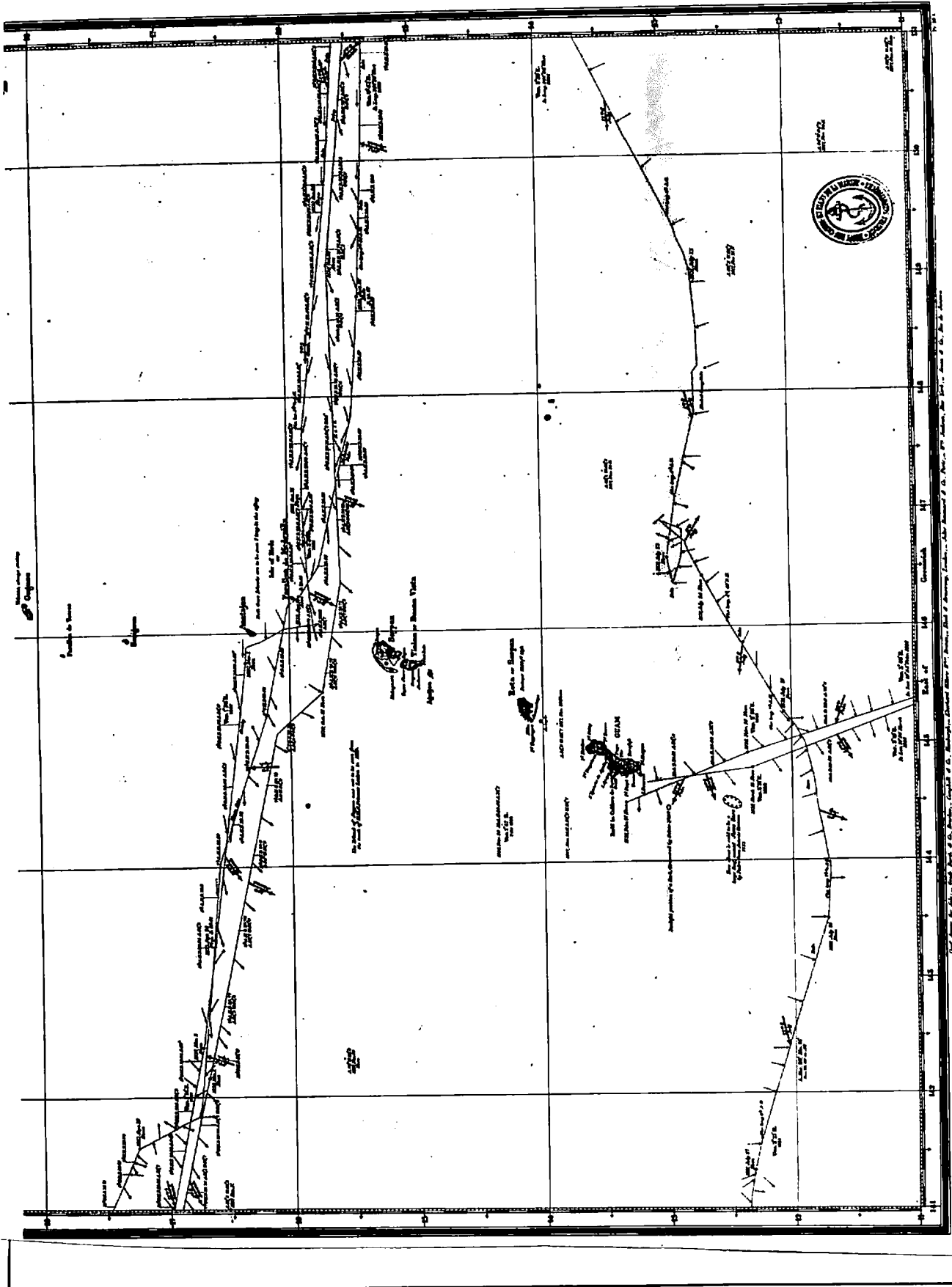
Editor's notes.

The geographic information on the Mariana Islands came from the Voyages of Malaspina, Kotzebue, Freycinet, Lütke, and Dumont d'Urville.

The tracks (all westward) summarized here are those of the following ships:

- Mentor**, Captain Harmsen, in 1823;
- Seniavin**, Captain Lütke, in 1828;
- Prinzess Louise**, Captain Harmsen, in 1828;
- Prinzess Louise**, Captain Wendt, in 1831;
- Prinzess Louise**, Captain Wendt, in 1833;
- Prinzess Louise**, Captain Rodbertus, in 1837; and
- Prinzess Louise**, Captain Rodbertus, in 1839.

This 1841 English version was distributed by various map sellers in Edinburgh, Bremen, London, Paris, New York and Rio de Janeiro.



Note 1822M

**The ship Paragon, Captain Thomas Brown,
from Kauai to Canton**

Sources: Ms. summary of a logbook in Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 202.

Extract from a summarized logbook

...

27th [February 1822] repairing & painting the whale boats. Tailor making a suit of clothes for Mr. Bray, Cooper turning pins &c Not cloudy W. lately.

March 2nd Still a storm sent down royal yard, at midnight hove too. At 5 A.M. found ourselves near Guam one of the Ladrões. Ends calm. Dominic & George making a foresail. Passed North of the Island.

4th Clear N.W. all sails set...

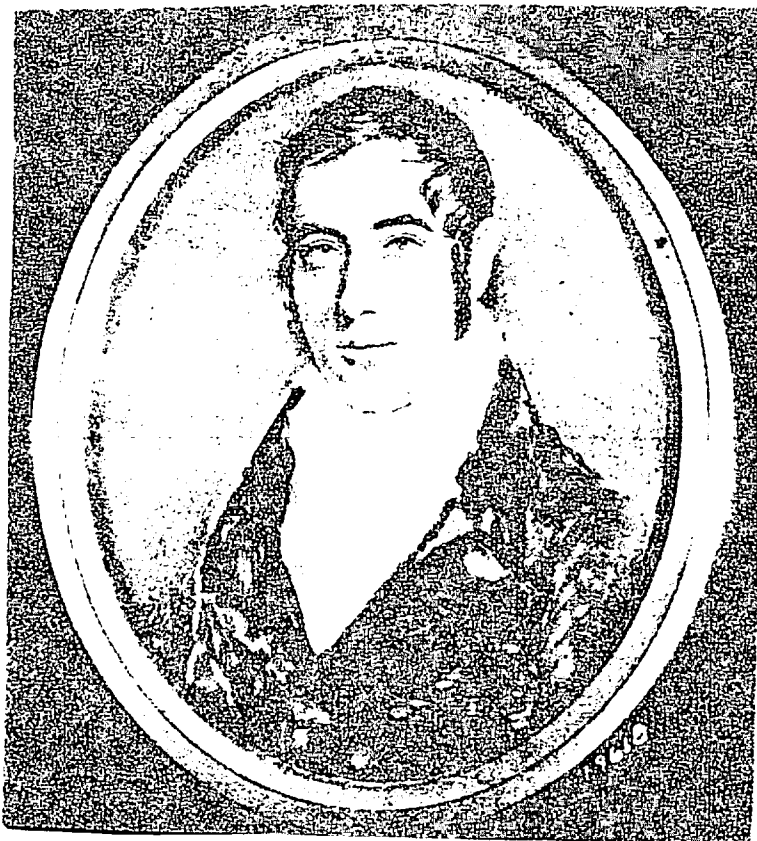
[They did not stop at Guam.]

Desperate attempt by the Pelew Islanders.

From a late London paper.

The **Syren**, South Sea whaler, Capt. Frederick Coffin, arrived at Deptford, after a voyage of 25 months, having left Gravesend, August 2, 1822. She was originally built as a pleasure yacht, by the command of Bonaparte, and has had great success, having returned with three hundred and twenty tons of oil. During the passage out, on Easter Monday, March 31, 1823, while off the southernmost of the Pelew Islands, under a lively breeze, several large sailing canoes appeared in sight, which increased in number to near 30 each having from six to ten on board, upon which the **Syren** slackened sail, and on approaching many of the natives called out, as through motives of inquiry, "English? English?" and being answered in the affirmative, they came alongside, and with tolerably correct pronunciation, repeated, "Give us a rope," this was complied with. From the generally reported mild and pacific demeanor of these people, who, to the number of about one hundred, quickly crowded the deck, civilities were exchanged in apparently the most friendly manner, and as they brought few provisions with them, and no articles of curiosity, the crew commenced bartering for their spears, with which they were armed, and with which they seemed to part reluctantly. At this time the vessel continued under easy sail, the canoes closely accompanying them, to their companions, in which those on board seemed in no degree anxious to return. The mate who felt a little distrust from their superiority in number, the crew being only thirty-seven, communicated his opinion to the captain, who instantly coincided, and gave orders to crowd more sail, thinking it would induce them to depart. This appeared to occasion some little dislike, and in a few minutes after, while Capt. Coffin was in a boat lashed to the side, giving orders to that effect, two of the natives at a preconcerted signal, it is supposed, suddenly seized him, and endeavoured to throw him into the sea, while a general attack was commenced on the rest of the crew. The Captain disengaged himself, succeeded in gaining the deck, and calling aloud that their lives and the safety of the ship depended on desperate fighting, a fierce engagement ensued. Those of the natives who in traffic had parted with their spears, were assisted with others from the canoes, or availing themselves of the harpoons, which with great dexterity they broke to a suitable length, while others gaining the whale spades, used in digging into the fish when caught, continued a most furious attack; notwithstanding the disparity, the crew succeeded in driving them to the stern of the vessel, where they leaped overboard and reembarked in their canoes.

It is worthy of remark, that when any of the natives were wounded, or stunned by being knocked down, they were instantly thrown by their comrades into the sea, where they either swam or were picked up by their companions, who frequently attempted to accompany them to return, but were always repulsed in endeavouring to get up the



Captain Frederick Coffin, of whaler *Syren*.

sides, and throughout encouraged them with loud cheering. On their quitting the **Syren**, the crew commenced firing, and though greatly exhausted, having a ready supply of ammunition, it was kept up while within musket shot, but with what effect it is not known, as several they supposed killed, from their falling into the water, were seen to rise and regain their canoes; nearly the whole of the ship's company were wounded severely in this attack, the effects of which, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions and skill of the surgeon, several will never, it is feared, entirely recover from it. The retreat of the savages was as sudden as their attack; from their mode of which, their pronunciation of certain words, their jealousy in parting from their weapons, the seizure of peculiar implements, and converting them into weapons, the attack and seizure of the captain, and its commencing when there were fewest on deck, the crew continue in opinion that the whole was concerted and organized by Europeans or Americans, residing in the island. What deterred them from entertaining the least suspicion was, the **Syren** having a short time previous spoken a vessel, which stated that she had been aground near the Pelew Islands, and that prompt assistance had been rendered by the natives.

A3. Ordered by Governor of Guam to take a deserter from the whaler Arab

Source: LC Mss. Division, Spanish Colonial Government, Item 17.

Original text in Spanish.

Orden.—El Comandante de la Fragata Ballenera nombrada Sirena D. Federico Coffin, admitira en su Bordo à William Felipe, de edad de diez, y ocho años, aprendiz de Marinero de la Fragata Aravia, que se quedo en esta Isla con dos Individuos mas, por el mal trato que les dava el Piloto Samafil, cuando se hallava en su bordo, es Natural de la Corte de Londres en Inglaterra, y devera transportarlo à dicha su Patria ò al primer Puerto de las Islas Britanicas donde tenga ocasion ò conbeniencia de desembarcarlo, por combenir asi à dicho Individuo y al Gobierno de estas Islas Marianas.

San Ignacio de Agaña, ocho de Septiembre de mil ochocientos veinte, y tres.

El Governador de dhas Islas,

José Ganga Herrero.

Translation.

Order.—The commander of the whaler named **Syren**, Captain Frederick Coffin, shall admit on board her William Phillip, 18 years old, apprentice seaman from the whaler **Arab**, who remained at this island, along with two other individuals, on account of the bad treatment they received from her Mate, Samafil [sic = Summerfield?], when they were on board her. He is from the city of London, England, and shall be transported to said city, his hometown, or to the first port in the British Isles, where it might be feasible or convenient to stop at, since this is convenient for said individual, and for the Government of these Mariana Islands.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 8 September 1823.

The Governor of said Islands,

José Ganga Herrero.

Document 1823B

A battle between two ships reported off Tinian in March 1823

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

Note: Jones' Ships (pp. 66, 74-75) says that the Catherine, Captain Younger left England in August 1822, visited Guam on 28 September 1823 (with 1,120 barrels of oil), and arrived back in England on 1 October 1824.

Governor Montilla forwarding the report of Captain Younger, commander of the Catherine

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 68.

M. Y. S.

*En punto de las doce del dia diez se dejó ver en estas Mares un Buque de tres Palos, y habiendo verificado el reconocimiento debido pareció ser de Nacion Ynglesa la Fragata nombrada **Catalina** [sic] al cargo de su Capitan D. Tomas Yanga [sic] el qual benia con necesidad de hacer barios articulos de biveres para continuar su Viage en solicitud de Ballenas para extraerles el Azeyte, y habiendose mantenido sobre bordos hasta el doce en que le proporcioné quanto le fue preciso dio Vela. No omitiré en desempeño de mi dever el comunicar à V.S. que el expresado Capitan me hizo entender, que habiendo llegado à la Ysla de Rota y saltado à tierra, le havian informado, que el dia anterior havia llegado de la Ysla de Tinian una Banca en diligencia con expreso de aquel Alcalde para este Gobierno (lo qual quedava en dicha Ysla por no poder salir por lo alterado de las Mares y serlo el viento contrario) cuyo Portador ò encargado le havia instruido que en un dia del mes anterior el qual no tenia presente havian presenciado al Oriente de dicha Ysla de Tinian un Combate muy reñido entre una Fragata, y un Bergantin, el que havia durado poco mas ò menos tres horas, y que en la mañana del siguiente dia havia arribado, y dado fondo à la precitada Ysla el qual Bergantin, que en seguida en dos embarcaciones menores havian transbordado à tierra mucha parte de su Tripulacion con grandes porciones de ropa puerca y ensangrandada, que las tales gentes heran Españoles y estrangeros, y que estando en el afan del lavado, habiendo avistado la Fragata con la mayor aceleracion y sin dilatarse un momento, se havian embarcado y pasado à su Bordo, en donde en el instante picando el Cable del Ancla que*

tenian apique havian sarpado, que en seguida havia ocurrido un fuerte chubasco con demasiado Viento y Aguazero, de que resultó no hubiesen buuelto à ber ninguno de los dos Buques, todo lo que me ha parecido de necesidad dar(?) esta inteligencia à V.S. para su superior conocimiento.

Nuestra Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

S. Ygnacio de Agaña en las Y. Marianas y Abril 12 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

José Montilla.

[A] *M. Y.S. Gobernador Captain General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Superior Government N° 68.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At exactly 12 noon on the 10th instant, a three-masted ship was seen off this island. Having been reconnoitered, she turned out to be the English frigate named **Catherine**, under the command of Captain Thomas Yanga [rather Younger], that came looking for food supplies to enable her to pursue her voyage after whales, in order to extract their oil. She maintained herself under sail, during which time I gave her the necessaries, until the 12th when she sailed. To comply with my duty I cannot omit to report to Y.L. that the above-mentioned captain made me understand that, when he stopped by the Island of Rota and went ashore, he had been informed that, on the previous day, a canoe had arrived from the Island of Tinian, specially despatched by its Mayor to this Government (said canoe had remained at said Island, because it could not leave on account of the sea running too high and the wind being contrary). The bearer of the message had informed them that, one day, last month (he did not recall the date) off the east side of said Island of Tinian, two ships, a frigate and a brigantine, engaged in a very intense battle that lasted about three hours; that the next morning said brigantine had arrived and anchored at said Island. and immediately many of her crew came ashore in two small boats and that most of their clothes were dirty and stained with blood, that said men were Spaniards and foreigners,¹ that they wanted to wash their clothes, but the frigate soon appeared in the offing, and they, reacting very rapidly and without losing one moment, rushed to their boats to return on board their ship, where they immediately cut the cable that held her, and sailed off. Soon after a strong squall carrying much wind and rain hit the island, and, as a result neither of the two ships could be seen after that.

It seemed to me necessary to report this incident to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

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

1 Ed. note: This brigantine may have come from one of the insurgent countries of America, whose ships then usually contained some foreigners. The frigate was probably truly Spanish. Or else, they were both after the Robertson treasure.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 12 April 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

 Document 1823C

English whaler Copernicus, Captain Charles McGregor

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

Note: Jones' Ships (pp. 63, 75) mentions that this ship left Gravesend on 7 October 1821 and arrived back there on 24 August 1824.

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated Agaña 21 April 1823

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 69.

M. Y.S.

*Como à horas de las quatro de la tarde del dia 25 del ultimo mes de Marzo por el Norte de la Ysla se dejó ver en estas Mares un Buque de tres Palos y habiendo remitido un Oficial à hacer el devido reconocimiento pareció ser de nacion Ynglesa la Fragata llamada **Copernico** su Capitan D. Carlos Magregor que benia en solicitud de hacer Aguada y Viveres para continuar su derrota en prosecucion de Ballenas para extraerlos el Azeyte y conducirlos à Londres, y el dia 20 del corriente habiendole proporcionado quanto le fué de necesidad dio Vela de la Caldera de S. Luis de Apra lo que participo à V.S. para su superior inteligencia.*

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.

S. Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Abril 21 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla

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

Translation.

Superior Government N° 69.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At about 4 p.m. on 25 March last, a three-masted ship appeared at sea north of this island. Having been reconnoitered by an officer, it turned out to be the English frigate named **Copernicus**, Captain Charles MacGregor, looking for water and food supplies

to continue her voyage after whales to extract their oil and take that back to London. On the 10th of this month, after I supplied as much as she needed, she set sail from the basin of San Luis de Apra. I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 21 April 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

Documents 1823D

Military situation in Guam in 1823**D1. The Guam garrison in May, by Governor Montilla**

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

Letter of Governor Montilla, dated Agaña 14 May 1823

Superior Government Nº 70.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I respectfully submit to Y.L. the present strength of the garrison of these Mariana Islands, including the names and ranks of those serving as officers and their respective Companies as of this date.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 14 May 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

List showing the present strength of the garrison of the Mariana Islands, including the headquarters staff, the officers in charge of the Companies and other officers as of this date.

	Off.	Sgt.	Drum.	Cpl.	Soldiers	Total
Headquarters						
Major Luis de Torres	1					1
Adjutant Mariano Benito de Lima	1					1
Adjutant Augustín Montilla ¹	1					1
1st Company						
Captain Justo de la Cruz	1					1
2nd Lieut. José Joaquín de la Cruz	1					1
Sergeants, Drummers, Corporals, Soldiers		2	1	4	13	20
Cadets					2	2
2nd Company						
Captain Antonio Guerrero	1					1
Lieutenant José Garrido	1					1
Sergeants, Drummers, Corporals, Soldiers		2	1	4	14	21
Cadets					2	2
3rd Company						
Captain Manuel Tiburcio Garrido	1					1
2nd Lieut. José de Torres	1					1
Sergeants, Drummers, Corporals, Soldiers		2			14	16
Cadets					1	1
<hr/>						
Sub-totals:	9	6	2	8	46	71
Employees with officer rank						
Artillery Captain Ignacio Martínez	1					
Field Captain José de León Guerrero	1					
Lieutenant José de Castro, Supernumerary	1					
2nd Lieut. José Juan Johnson, Shipwright	1					
2nd Lieut. Nicolás de Borja, Gov't Sec'y	1					
<hr/>						
Totals:	14	6	2	8	46	76
<hr/>						

San Ignacio de Agaña, 14 May 1823.—José Montilla.

1 Ed. note: He was Governor Montilla's son.

D2. Report on the forts of Guam, etc, in December 1823, by Governor Ganga

Source: AHN 5853, file n° 3.

Note: I have changed the format of this report, because the table in question was too unwieldy to be reproduced as is.

Report on the present condition of the forts or batteries, and artillery cannon mounted therein, their types and calibers, as well as the inventory of the armament of the infantry, marked serviceable or unserviceable, their number, accessories, ammunitions for same, the boats, and uniforms, to wit:

Mobile cannon with carriages in the City:

- 1 4-pounder, bronze, with 4 arrobas 22 pounds and 8 ounces of gun-powder, 119 iron balls and 10 sacks of grapeshot;
- 1 3-pounder, bronze, 4 @ 28 lbs. 8 oz. powder, 119 balls, 10 grapeshot;
- 2 2-pounders, bronze, 5 @ 15 lbs. powder, 188 balls, 20 grapeshot;

Fort [Santa Cruz or] Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in the basin:

- 2 12-pounders, iron, 25 @ 5 lbs. powder, 288 balls, 40 grapeshot;
- 2 8-pounders, bronze, 13 @ 23 lbs. 12 oz. powder, 238 balls, 20 grapeshot.

Fort Santiago at Orote Point:

- 2 12-pounders, iron, 25 @ 5 lbs. powder, 238 balls, 40 grapeshot.

Fort Santo Angel in the town of Umata:

- 2 4-pounders, bronze, 9 @ 23 lbs (+ 5 @ extra) powder, 238 balls, 20 grapeshot.

Fort Nuestra Señora de la Soledad in said town:

None.

Trench at same place:

None.

Uniforms, accessories and other equipment in the City:

- Rifles, with bayonets: 135 serviceable, 128 unserviceable;
- Bayonets (extra): 52, used;
- Sabres: 12, used;
- Pikes: 104, used;
- Lances, with handles: 220, used;
- Halberds: 6, used;
- Spontoons: 4, used;¹
- Partisans: 2, used;²

1 Ed. note: "Espontones" in Spanish, defined as a half-pike in old dictionaries.

2 Ed. note: A weapon that was a combination of a pike and a halberd.

- Cassocks [or coats], of canvas: 106, used;
- Pants, white: 106, used;
- Jackets, white: 106, used;¹
- Cravats: 106, used;²
- Buskins: 106, used;
- Hats, of woven rattan: 94, used;
- Belts (some moth-eaten): 149, used;
- Cartridge belts ("): 178, used;
- 1 ship or schooner for the expeditions to the northern islands;³
- 3 boats, 2 in the capital, serviceable, and 1 in Umata, condemned;
- 1 [something: holes in paper = “---*pana*” or “---- *hu*”];⁴
- 2 Carolinian canoes.

Note: All the above-mentioned cannon are complete with their equipment, ready for service.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 31 December 1823.

José Ganga Herrero.

Editor's notes.

There is no longer any mention of Fort San Rafael on the beach at Agaña, or Fort Santa Agueda (but this one still exists), or Fort San Luis at Sumay, or Fort San José at Umata, or the battery of Santa Bárbara near the convent there. Besides, the “newest” fort, Fort Soledad, seems never to have held any cannon.

1 Ed. note: The use of two “idem” makes the color of the jackets dubious.

2 Ed. note: They were probably wide, stiff cravats, or collars.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1823G.

4 Ed. note: Lost information, perhaps small Chamorro canoe, though the words in question are neither ‘panga’ nor ‘parahu.’

Documents 1823E

The English brig Rebecca brought Governor Ganga to Guam, and arrival of the brig Alerta

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

Note: This Rebecca is not the same as the whaler of the same name; she was on her way to San Blas.

E1. Letter from Governor Montilla, dated Agaña 3 June 1823

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 71.

M. Y.S.

*El dia 9 del proximo pasado se divisó por el Oeste de esta Ysla el Bergantin Yngles nombrado **Reveca** que ha conducido à subcesor nombrado por S.M. el Capitan de Ynfanteria retirado Don José Ganga Herrero habiendo saltado en tierra el dia 11; y el 15 le he dado Posecion del mando de estas Yslas.*

Al mismo tiempo le entregue los Oficios y Documentos insertos en ellos que recivi de ese Superior Gobierno, y necesitan seles de curso y contextacion, de que informo à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Con este cierro la correspondencia con V.S. desde este destino, ofreciendole mis respetos hasta que tenga la complacencia de ejecutarlo personalmente.

Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años

S. Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas à 3 de Junio de 1823.

M. Y.S.

Josè Montilla.

[A] M. Y.S. Gobernador, Capitan General y Juez Politico Superior de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 71.

Most Illustrious Sir:

On the 9th of last month there was sighted on the west side of this island the English brig **Rebecca** which brought Don José Ganga Herrero, retired Infantry Captain named

by H.M. as my successor. He landed on the 11th, and on the 15th I handed over to him the government of these Islands.

At the same time, I turned over to him the official mail that came from the Superior Government and the documents that were enclosed therein, which need to be implemented and answered. I report same for your superior intelligence.

This is my last communication with Y.L. from this place. Please accept my respects, until I have the pleasure of doing so in person.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 3 June 1823.

Most Illustrious Sir.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General, and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

E2. Letter of Governor Montilla, dated 3 June 1822

Note: Aboard the Alerta went official letters N° 50 to 71 to Manila.

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno sin numero.

M. Y.S.

Procedente del Puerto de S. Blas, en la tarde del dia de ayer dio fondo en la Rada de la Villa de Umata el Bergantin Nacional titulado Alerta, y al cuidado de su Capitan D. Alonso Molgado, remito a las Superiores manos de V.S. el presente Despacho.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, y Junio 3 de 1823.

M. Y.S.

José Montilla.

[A] *M. Y.S. Gobernador, Capitan General, y Juez Politico Superior de las Ysls Filipinas.*

Translation.

Superior Government unnumbered.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Yesterday afternoon, the Spanish brig named **Alerta**, coming from the port of San Blas, anchored in the port of Umata. I have entrusted her Captain, Don Alonso Morgado, the present despatch which he is to place in the hands of Y.L.

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

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 3 June 1823.

José Montilla.

[To] His Lordship the Governor, Captain General, and Superior Political Judge of the Philippine Islands.

Document 1823F

The Phoenix of New Bedford, Captain Benjamin Worth

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 863; Log. Inv. 3878.

Note: The original document is in a bad state of preservation.

Extract from the logbook kept by Samuel T. Sanford**The Most Remarkable Occurrences on Board the Ship Phnix [sic] of New Bedford on a Whaling Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean.**

May the 8th 1822 took our anchor and got underweigh [sic] ...

...

[When they left the Sandwich, or Hawaiian, Islands, there were 25 sail of whalemens there, 23 being from the U.S.]

On the 1 of April we took our anchor and proceeded to sea in company with the Ship **Rambler** of Nantucket Capt William Worth and the **Marcus** of Sagg Harbour Capt. [blank].¹

On the 2 at sunrise saw land on our weather bow and hauled up for it in the afternoon our boat went on shore and returned without any thing.

The next morning at sunrise we came to anchor under the west end of the Island of Oneehow have seen two English ships lying the **Princess Mary** and **Indispensable** both of London they came to here last night.

On the 6th got off 10 barrels of yam and potatoes and in the afternoon took our anchor and proceeded to sea in company with the above mentioned ships.

The next day stowed the anchor and cleared the decks for whale. Nothing worth remarking until the 30 when we saw land early in the morning and in the afternoon our boat went on shore on the Island of Almaga [i.e. Alamagan] one of the Ladrone Islands and returned loaded with coconuts and wood. The **Marcus** and **Rambler** still in company. The 1st and 2nd [May] spent in getting of wood and two boat loads of coconuts. The ship lying off and on[.] at night put to sea[.] the land is high and mountainous one of which is on fire. The soil is good being covered with a thick foliage in many

¹ Ed. note: Captain Sayre, according to Starbuck.

places there is groves of coconuts of many acres[.] the water is so deep near shore that the ship passed and repassed so near shore that we could hear the birds sing on the land.

The next day passed several islands and on the 9 got 1 large whale and the 10 got another one[.] the 16 got 1 more to the larboard boat[.] on the 23 got one whale to the bow boat and got the starboard boat stove by the Cow and two men knocked overboard and on the 25 lowered and got 8 whales with 3 boats[.] from this time until the 6th of June the weather rugged(?) and squally so much so that we did not keep [watchmen at the] mast heads more than half of the time.

...

[They caught many more whales but the places are not mentioned, although they were probably on the Japan Grounds. They spoke the ship **Ocean** and **Atlantic**, both of Nantucket. They spoke the ship **Fortune** of Plymouth. The **Marcus** had left them to go back to the Sandwich Islands; along the way she was to re-discover, and name, Marcus Island, in 1824.]

...

Documents 1823G

Typical trip to the northern islands with the Guam-based schooner Señor San José

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 16.

Notes: On this particular trip in April 1823, the Captain was José Garrido and his pilot John Anderson. On another trip, in October 1823, the Captain was Ignacio Martínez and his pilot Juan Antonio. By 1830, the schooner Señor San José had been replaced by two other vessels (see Doc. 1830M).

G1. Instruction given to Francisco Arceo, new Mayor of Rota

Original text in Spanish.

Ynstruccion que devera observar el nuevo Alcalde de la Ysla de Rota Don Francisco Arceo.

1º Luego que llegue à dicha Ysla, hará que el actual Governadorcillo, Agustin Songsong, reuna todos los Avitantes de ella sin distincion de sexo ni persona dispondrá que le dé à reconocer en nombre del Rey como tal Alcalde, haciendo se le guarden, y hagan guardar todas las honrras, gracias, y privilegios que le son concedidos à los de su Clase.

2º En seguida el citado Don Francisco Arceo depondrá del Cargo de Governadorcillo al mencionado Agustin Songsong, y dará à reconocer como tál Governadorcillo à Felipe de la Cruz, eligiendo inmediatamente ò quando mejor le acomode à su quito entre los Naturales el que le halla de Subceder en el destino dicho de Teniente.

3º Luego procederá al recivo de todos los Utiles, Ganados, y Sementeras de que está hecho Cargo el citado Songsong en union con el nuevo Governadorcillo Cruz, el que se dará tambien por recivido, y encargado de todo, mientras tanto dure el ausencia del dicho D. Francisco Arceo, el que sin dilacion pasará à la Ysla de Tinian para que en consorcio y union del Alcalde Ramon Matantaotao, y su Teniente Rafael Yglesias, proceder activar, y hacer quantos acopios sean posibles para el mejor Cargamento de la Goleta que deverá pasar à dicha Ysla de Tinian luego que el tiempo lo permita.

4º Luego que se verifique estar en completo el cargamento de la Goleta se embarcra en ella el precitado Don Francisco Arceo en Clase de Capitan, y hará que à su regreso arrive à la Ysla de Rota con el fin de que le dejese en tierra para ejercer su empleo de Alcalde, haciendo antes que de la vela embarcar quantos auxilios huviese en dicha Ysla.

Agaña y Abril 16 de 1823.
Josè Montilla

Translation.

Instruction to be obeyed by the new Mayor of the Island of Rota, Don Francisco Arceo.

1. As soon as he gets to said Island, he is to ask the Gobernadorcillo, Agustín Songsong, to gather its inhabitants without distinction of sex or status, and is to order them, in the name of the King, to recognize him as Mayor, by ensuring that they observe all the honors, graces, and privileges that are granted to persons of his category.

2. Immediately thereafter, the above-mentioned Don Francisco Arceo shall depose said Agustín Songsong from his post as Gobernadorcillo, and shall replace him with Felipe de la Cruz, the new Gobernadorcillo, who in turn must immediately or as soon as possible clear any obligation he may have among the natives, in order to give way to the person who is to succeed him as the new Lieutenant.

3. Then, he shall take possession of all the property, cattle, and plantations that are presently under the care of said Songsong, jointly with the new Gobernadorcillo Cruz, who shall also sign the receipt thereof, as he is to take charge of them, during the absence of said Don Francisco Arceo, who shall go on immediately to the Island of Tiniano, there to proceed, in union with its Mayor, Ramón Matantaotao, and his Lieutenant, Rafael Iglesias, to expedite the preparation of as many supplies as possible for a full cargo of the schooner that is to go to said Island of Tinian as soon as the weather permits.

4. As soon as the loading of the schooner had been completed, the above-said Francisco Arceo shall board same in the capacity of Captain,¹ and he shall, on the return voyage, stop at the Island of Rota for the purpose of being left ashore where he is to assume the post of Mayor, and make sure, before the schooner sails, to embark whatever supplies may be available at said Island.

Agaña, 16 April 1823.

José Montilla

G2. Passport issued to Captain Garrido

Original text in Spanish.

Don José Montilla, Capitan del Batallon Veterano, Ynfanteria de la Reina, Caballero de la Militar, y Real Orden de San Hermenegildo, Governador Juez Politico Subalterno, y Subdelegado de Hacienda Publica de estas Yslas Marianas, su termino, y Jurisdiccion:

Por la presente concedo Licencia al Sub-Teniente graduado Don José Garrido para que en Clase de Comandante pueda pasar, y se embarque en la Goleta nombrada Señor

¹ Ed. note: Meaning Master, not commander who was Garrido (see below).

San José (a) La Vella Constitucion que está pronta para dar la Vela à la Ysla de Tinian y Saypan, y pido, y encargo, à las Justicias de los Puertos, que si por algun accidente le fuere preciso arrivar no le pongan impedimento ni embarazo alguno en su viage, antesí les facilite cualesquiera clase de auxilios que puedan necesitar, y pudieran, pagandolos de contado à precios correspondientes.

Dada en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña, en la Capital de dichas Yslas, sellada con el de mis Armas, y refrendada por el Ynfrascrito Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra à diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos veinte y tres años.

[Lugar del sello]

José Montilla

Por mandado de su Señoría.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretario de Gobierno, y Guerra.

Translation.

Don José Montilla, Captain in the Queen's Veteran Batallion, Member of the Military and Royal Order of San Hermenegildo, Governor and Subordinate Political Judge, and Subdelegate of Public Finance of these Mariana Islands, their territory and jurisdiction:

By the present I do grant a License for Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank, Don José Garrido, to take control and become Commander of the schooner named **Señor San José** [St. Joseph] alias Bella Constitución that is ready to sail to the Islands of Tinian and Saipan, and I request the authorities in the ports where, as a result of some accident, this ship may arrive, not to place any impediment or objection whatever in the pursuance of her voyage, but rather to make available any type of assistance that they may need, and could need, by accepting payment for them in cash at corresponding prices.

Given at this City of San Ignacio de Agaña, in the Capital of said Islands, sealed with my coat-of-arms, and countersigned by the undersigned, the Secretary for Administration and War, on the 18th of April 1823.

[Seal]

José Montilla

By order of His Lordship,

Nicolas de Borja, Secretary for Administration and War.

G3. Instruction given to Captain Garrido

Original text in Spanish.

Ynstruccion que debera observar el Subteniente graduado Don José Garrido, como Comandante de la Goleta nombrada Señor San José (a) la Vella Constitucion que debera hacer viage (Dios mediante) à las Yslas de Tinian, y Saypan en este presente año de mil ochocientos veinte y tres, con el fin de embarcar a bordo toda quanta carga tenga

el Alcalde Administrador de dichas Yslas Mariano Ramon Matantautao para auxilio y subsistencia de este Real Presidio.

1ª Haviendo supuesto que salga de esta Ysla para la de Tinian y Saypan la Goleta nombrada Señor San José à recibir la carga que tubiese Mariano Ramos Matantautao Alcalde Administrador de dichas Yslas para la mejor subsistencia del Presidio he nombrado por Comandante al Subteniente graduado Don José Garrido à quien obedeceran, y respetaran sin la menor replica todos los que montasen el expresado Buque, Como asimismo para que se asegure en todas sus partes la derrota, y que el viaje tenga el exito que se desea por Piloto el Yngles Juan Anderson.

2ª Como nos hallamos ignorantes del Estado de la Peninsula, y America Meridional, y Septentrional, tendrá el enumerado Comandante Don José Garrido gran cuidado de precaverse de toda Embarcacion que sele aproxime ó aviste en subida, y estada en los Puertos, y regreso hasta llegar à esta, para que este medio evitar qualesquiera desgracia que pudiera sobrevenirle à la Tripulacion, carga, y buque con consideracion à los gravisimos perjuicios que por decontado experimentarían estas Yslas. Por lo que expresamente Ordeno, Mando, y prohivo à dicho Comandante que ni èl, ni ninguno aunque les parecían no haver motivo de rezelo se acerque al buque ó buques que se le presente por combenir así al mejor servicio de S.M.

3ª Si por casualidad estando fondeado en alguna de las Radas de las precitadas Yslas llegase algun buque extranjero, ó estuviese allí à su arrivo, con el que no pudiere menos de tratar en tierra con la Gente de su tripulacion, procurará el expresado Comandante adquirir quantas noticias sean dables, haciendo apuntacion de ella, biendo al mismo tiempo si puede conseguir algunas Gazetas, ó Papeles publicos que puedan traer.

4ª Por ultimo llevará advertido que à su recalada à esta de buelta del viaje quando aviste la Caveza Norte de la Ysla haya de poner la Vandera Quadra en el tope del palo mayor para manifestar ser sin equibocacion la precitada Goleta, y de no traer novedad particular, pues de traer alguna que merezca atencion por noticias ó documentos que haya adquirido, á más de la Vandera dicha pondrá un Gallardete en la grimpola del trinquete.

5ª Tomandose razon de esta Ynstruccion en el Libro que corresponde por el Secretario del Gobierno, y acontinuacion pondrá el Rol de las gentes con que va tripulada dicha Goleta, del Rancho, y utiles que lleva para el desempeño de la Comicion.

Dado en la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña à diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y tres años.

José Montilla.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Nota.

Todos los que van Embarcados en la Goleta deverán ser precisamente empleados en los trabajos que ocurran para el pronto despacho de la Expedicion, à excepcion de dos Personas que quedarán Abordo al cuidado de dicha Goleta.

Es copia de la Ynstruccion Original que con fecha de diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y tres se le entregó al Sub-teniente graduado Don José Garrido, de que doy feè.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Rol que manifiesta el numero de Personas que se deven Embarcar en la Goleta nombrada Señor San José (a) la Vella Constitucion, y ès ... A saver.

Oficiales: 3.

Comandante: El Subteniente graduado Don José Garrido

Piloto: Juan Anderson

Carpintero y Calafate: Tiburcio Arriola

Marineros: 5.

Manuel Antonio.

Andres Gregorio.

Jacinto de San Pedro.

Ygnacio Quicias.

Juan Candelario.

Voluntarios: 8.

Cayetano Taytano.

Balentin Guerrero.

Manuel Dueñas.

Basilio de Torres.

Luis Garrido.

Juan de Espinosa.

Mariano Dueñas.

Juan Esparza.

Total: 16.

Agaña, y Abril 18 de 1823.

José Montilla.

Cargo del Piloto.

Primerametne Jarcias, y Estais de Trinquete de Cañamo.

Ytt. Jarcias, y Estais de Mastelero de Velacho.

Ytt. Baupres con sus Bordetes, y Cavos lavoreantes.

Ytt. Jarcias y Estais de Mayor.

Ytt. Drisas de Foque, y Trinquetilla con sus Cargaderas.

Ytt. Drisas de Trinquete Cangreja.

Ytt. Drisa, Palanquines, Escotines, y Amantilla de Velacho.

Ytt. Drisa de Mayor.

Ytt. Drisa de Escandalosa con su Escota, y Amura.

Ytt. Brazas de Trinquete, y Velacho.

Motonerías.

Ytt. Empleados en el Baupres quatro.

Ytt. En dos Aparejos quatro.

Ytt. En las Bergas de Trinquete, y Velacho cinco.

Ytt. En las brazas de id. dos.

Ytt. En las Drisas de Trinquete y Mayor ocho.

Ytt. En la Escota Mayor uno.

Ytt. En la Amantilla de botavara uno.

Ytt. En las Drisas de Trinquetilla, y Foque dos.

Ytt. En el Estay Mayor uno.

Velas.

Ytt. Foc uno.

Ytt. Trinquetilla uno.

Ytt. Trinquete redondo uno.

Ytt Yd. Yd. Cangreja uno.

Ytt. Velacho uno.

Ytt. Mayor uno.

Ytt. Escandalosa una.

Cables.

Ytt. Cañamo de setenta brazas uno.

Ytt. De Balivago de ciento, y beinte brazas uno.

Ytt. De Cairo de treinta brazas uno.

Ytt. Empleados en diferentes partes del Buque Guardacavos beinte y seis.

Ytt. Ganchos con sus Guardacavos doce.

Ytt. Rezon de quatro uñas uno.

Ytt. Barril uno.

Ynstrumentos de Pilotage.

Ytt. Corredera una.

Ytt. Lantia una.

Ytt. Vandera una.

Ytt. Gallardete uno.

Cavos de Respeto.

Ytt. Jarcias de Cañamo, dos Piezas.

Ytt. Cavos Lavoreantes de Balivago dos id.

Ytt. Aparejo de id. una id.

Ytt. Manta de Ylocos media id.

Ytt. Ylo Plzi [sic] ocho onzas.

Ytt. Algodon Ylado grueso quatro id.

Ytt. Alquitran cinco libras.

Todo quanto va expresado en la Relacion que antecede à lo mismo de que quedo hecho Cargo. Y para que conste firmé dos de un tenor: Abordo de la Goleta Señor San José (a) la Vella Constitucion à diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y tres años.

Juan Anderson.

Cargo del Maestro Carpintero, y de Calafate.

Primeramente Una Sierra braza con su barilla.

Ytt. Una dicha de mano Ynglesa.

Ytt. Una Lima de tabla.

Ytt. Una Trava.

Ytt. Quatro Barrenas de todas menas.

Ytt. Un Barrojo.

Ytt. Un Fierro de Calafate.

Ytt. Un Martillo de Peña.

Ytt. Una Gurvia.

Ytt. Una Acha.

Ytt. Treinta Clavos de cinco puntos.

Ytt. Cien iden de Pizo.

Ytt. Cien Tachuelas.

Ytt. Una Azuela Ynglesa.

Ytt. Tres Escoplos de 1^a, 2^a, y 3^a

Ytt. Un Cepillo redondo.

Ytt. Ocho libras de Brea.

Ytt. Un Estrete.

Ytt. Un Mojo.

Ytt. Una Ara de Bonote.

Viveres.

Ytt. Cinco Cavares de Arroz limpio.

Ytt. Quarenta Dagos.

Ytt. Sesenta Nicas.

Ytt. Quatro Zurrones de Carne seca, con peso de 9 @ 15 lbs.

Ytt. Quatro Platonos de Loza.

Ytt. Ocho id. chicos.

Ytt. Un Cantil [sarten?] de Fierro Yngles.

Ytt. Catorce Tinajas de Sal.

Ytt. Once Barriles barios.

Ytt. Uno Olla de Cobre.

Ytt. Dos Gantas de Azeyte.

. Todos los Efectos que ban expresados en la Relacion que antecede és lo mismo de que quedo hecho Cargo. Y para que conste firmé dos de un tenor. Abordo de la citada Goleta à diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos veinte y tres años.

Tiburcio Arriola.

Es copia de las Relaciones Originales, del Rol, Pertrechos, Utensilios, y Viveres que con fecha de diez y ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y tres años, fueron distribuidos para la Goleta nombrada Señor San José (a) la Vella Constitucion que está pronto à dar la Vela con destino à las Yslas de Tinian, y Saypan, de que doy feé.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Translation.

Instruction to be observed by Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank, Don José Garrido, Commander of the schooner named **Señor San José**, alias Bella Constitución, that must make the voyage (God helping) to the Islands of Tinian and Saipan this year of 1823, for the purpose of embarking as much of a load as possible that the Mayor of said Islands, Mariano Ramos Matantautao, might have available, for the succor and subsistence of this Royal garrison.

1. Supposing that the schooner named **Señor San José** [St. Joseph] will leave this island to go to Tinian and Saipan to receive the load to be provided by Mariano Ramón Matantautao, the Mayor of said Islands, for the better subsistence of the garrison, I have appointed Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank, Don José Garrido, Commander of it, and every person who will eventually go on board said ship, shall obey and respect him without expressing the least objection. In addition, the Englishman John Anderson goes as Pilot, in order to make sure that the planned route is followed, and to ensure the success of the voyage.

2. Given that we do not know what is going on in the [Iberian] Peninsula, or in South and North America, the above-said Commander, Don José Garrido, shall be very careful of the presence of any other vessel that might approach him, or that he might see, while going to, or staying at, the ports in question and during his return voyage, in order, by this means, to avoid any misfortune that might occur to the crew, cargo, and ship, in consideration of the grave prejudices that would then be experienced by these Islands. That is why I expressly order said Commander, and forbid him, not to go near any ship or ships, though there may not appear to be any danger, because that is best for the service of H.M.

3. If perchance, while being anchored at one of the ports of the above-mentioned Islands, there might arrive a foreign ship, or be there upon his arrival, so that it becomes impossible not to deal with her crew ashore, said Commander shall try to acquire as many news as possible, making notes respecting them, and possibly acquire some newspapers, or public documents, that they might carry.

4. Finally, be he advised that, upon returning, as soon as he come in sight of the north end of the Island, he shall raise the square flag at the top of the main-mast, to indicate without confusion, that there is nothing out of the ordinary with the said

schooner; in fact, should he be the bearer of any newly- acquired news or documents, he shall, in addition to the said flag, exhibit a pennant at the top of the fore-mast.

5. The Government Secretary is to record this Instruction in the appropriate Record Book, and insert below the names of the persons who will man said schooner, the food rations, and the equipment it carries for carrying out this commission.

Given in the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 18th of April 1823.

José Montilla.

Nicolas Borja, Secretary for Administration and War.

Note.

All those who board the schooner must be specifically assigned to work aboard her for a timely despatch of the expedition, except for two persons who will remain on board said schooner as watchmen.

This is a copy of the original Instruction dated 18 April 1823 which was delivered to the commissioned Sub-Lieutenant, Don José Garrido, of which I vouch.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretary for Administration and War.

List of the persons who are to board the schooner named Señor San José, alias la Bella Constitución, to wit:

Officers: 3.

Commander: Commissionaed Sub-Lieutenant Don José Garrido.

Pilot: John Anderson.

Carpenter and Caulker: Tiburcio Arriola.

Sailors: 5.

Manuel Antonio.

Andrés Gregorio.

Ignacio Quicias.

Juan Candelario.

Volunteers: 8.

Cayetano Taytano.

Valentín Guerrero.

Manuel Dueñas.

Basilio de Torres.

Luis Garrido.

Juan de Espinosa.

Mariano Dueñas.

Juan Esparza.

Total: 16.

Agaña, 18 April 1823.

José Montilla.

In charge of the Pilot.¹

[Ropes]

- foremast rigging and stays, of hemp.
- fore-topsail rigging and stays.
- bowsprit with its fixed and working ropes.
- main-sail rigging and stays.
- halliards of the jib, and fore-stay-sail with its sheets.
- halliards of the trapezoidal fore-sail.
- halliard, clue-garnets, sheets, and lifts of the fore-topsail.
- halliard of the main-sail.
- halliard of the stay-sail with its sheet, and tack.
- braces of the fore-sail, and fore-topsail.

Blocks.

- used in the bowsprit: 4.
- in two tackles: 4.
- in the yards of the fore-mast and fore-topmast: 5.
- in the braces of id.: 2.
- in the halliards of the fore-mast and main-mast: 8.
- in the main sheet: 1.
- in the lift of the driver-boom: 1.
- in the halliards of the fore-stay-sail: 2.
- in the main stay-sail: 1.

Sails.

- jib-sail: 1.
- fore-stay-sail: 1
- square fore-sail: 1
- trapezoidal fore-sail: 1.
- fore-top-sail: 1.
- main-sail: 1.
- stay-sail: 1.

Cables.

- of hemp, 70 fathoms [in length]: 1.
- of balibago, 120 fathoms: 1.
- of coir, 30 fathoms: 1.
- used in various parts of the ship, as thimbles:² 26.

1 Ed. note: Given the following lists, one could reconstruct the design of the schooner *San José*, whose home port was Guam.

2 Ed. note: Ropes to wrap around other ropes, to prevent the latter from chafing.

- goose-necks with their thimbles: 12.
- grapnel, with four flukes: 1.
- barrel: 1.

Navigational instruments.

- log line: 1.
- binnacle lamp: 1.
- flag: 1.
- pennant: 1.

Spare cables.

- of hemp, for rigging: 2 pieces.
- working cables, of balibago: 2 pieces.
- tackle, of id.: 1 piece.
- Ilocos canvas: 1/2 piece.
- twisted(?) thread: 8 ounces.
- thick cotton thread: 4 ounces.
- tar: 5 pounds.

Everything stated in the above list corresponds to what I have accepted in my charge. and, for the record, I have signed duplicate copies of same: Aboard the schooner Señor San José, alias la Bella Constitución, on 18 April 1823.

John Anderson.

In charge of the Master Carpenter, and Caulker.

- 1 buck-saw with its blade.
- 1 English hand-saw.
- 1 flat file.
- 1 clamp.
- 4 augers, various sizes.
- 1 large drill(?).
- 1 caulker's iron.
- 1 ball-peen hammer.
- 1 *gurvia* [gimlet?].
- 1 axe.
- 30 6-point nails.
- 100 flooring nails.
- 100 hobnails.
- 1 English hatchet.
- 3 chisels, various widths.
- 1 curved plane.
- 8 pounds of pitch.
- 1 iron tool, for caulking.
- 1 *mojo* [perhaps a curved caulking iron].

—1 basketful of oakum.

Food supplies.

—5 cabans of clean rice.

—40 *dagos* [starchy roots].

—60 *nicas* [id.].

—4 bags of dried meat, weighing 9 arrobas and 15 lbs.¹

—4 porcelain bowls.

—8 others, smaller.

—1 iron frying-pan(?), English.

—14 jars of salt.

—11 barrels, various sizes.

—1 copper kettle.

—2 gantas of oil.

All the objects listed above correspond to what I have accepted to take care of. And for the record I have signed duplicate copies of same. Aboard said schooner, on 18 April 1823.

Tiburcio Arriola.

This is a copy of the original lists, of the crew, the equipment, accessories, and food supplies that, on 18 April 1823, were distributed for the schooner named Señor San José, alias la Bella Constitución that is ready to sail, bound for the Islands of Tinian, and Saipan, of which I vouch.

Nicolas de Borja, Secretary for Administration and War.

¹ Ed. note: Since 1 arroba = 25 lbs, this was almost 250 pounds.

Document 1823H

First visit of the whaler *Transit*, Captain John Coffin

Note: Jones' Ships (p. 72) says that this 140-ton ship from Bristol lost her captain, named Alexander, to a whale at Christmas Island and arrived at Batavia on 31 May 1823 in charge of acting Captain Dickson. Captain James [sic] Coffin was appointed by a tribunal and was to sail at once for Bristol, but it obviously did not, and chose to continue whaling instead. Jones' Ships (p. 75) says that the Copernicus met the Transit at Guam in January 1824.

Visit of 1823

Report of Captain Coffin to the Governor of Guam, translated back into English

Source: PNA.

Notes: Text re-translated from a copy in Spanish sent to Manila by Governor Ganga Herrero.

Guam, November 22, 1823

My dear Governor:

I am writing to you to acquaint you with what happened to the frigate *Transit* on the 10th instant while she was anchored in Anson Bay at the Island Tinian. When almost ready to go to sea at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, there began a typhoon or extraordinary storm, and seeing that either the ship was about to sink or the cables were to break and she was going to hit the rocks without any hope of saving ourselves, we took the decision to cut the hemp cable and to pull the chain in order to leave the bay; at that moment, we lost the rudder, the topsail, the foresail, the fore-topsail and the top-gallant sail. They were breaking into pieces that were carried by the wind and we lost sight of them. Our three boats that were stowed at their places on the side were torn into a thousand pieces. With the boats we lost fourteen oars, eleven harpoons, seven lances, two iron shovels or spoons, two lamps, one compass, two boat sails with their masts, boats, tackles, etc. all the planks of the rail, barrels of oil and a tank with two tons of sperm oil that were on deck, ten tons of water on shore, eighteen boatloads of wood on the beach. The force of the wind was hitting the ship so much that the downwind rail was under water, and with our condition being without sails, or rudder, we could only wait to be crushed against the rocks. I ordered the yards to be swung toward the bow,

and with this maneuver the ship slowly moved out of the bay. I cannot say how far the rocks were because nobody was able to see farther than an oar's length.

On the 13th, at sea without cables, anchors, rudder or sails on the foremast, it was necessary to find some means of saving ourselves. I called for the officers to devise a way to make a rudder; soon we started our work and on the 15th it was finished and put in its place. On the 19th, we returned to Tinian and anchored with a six-inch stream-cable and a small anchor. We looked for our anchors and cables, and found one, but for lack of boats (we had only one remaining) we could not recover it by evening, which was rainy. Knowing that we were not secure with only a six-inch cable, I weighed my anchor, and moved to Guam.

When I arrived before the port, I discovered two ships at anchor. I sent my boat to ask them to assist me with men and a cable to save my ship. The two said ships are the [Sir] **Charles Price**, under the command of Captain Duncan of London,¹ and the **Ann** that, on account of the death of Captain Lowry,² was commanded by Captain Gray of London. I took a cable from the **Ann** and with the assistance of the crew of both ships, they pulled me in. Because of the storm that we suffered, and because of the *mecates* [=straps?] that secured our newly-made rudder, most of the copper sheathing came off.

John Coffin³

Second visit in 1825

Note: Jones' Ships (p. 80) reports that, on 26 June 1825, this ship had been fully repaired at Manila and was ready for sea. There were 200 barrels of oil on board at that time. However, on p. 81, it is also reported [wrongly] that she had been condemned at Manila that same month.

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- 1 Ed. note: Jones' Ships (p. 67) reports this ship leaving Gravesend on 26 September 1822 for the South Sea.
 - 2 Ed. note: The Spanish wrote his name phonetically as Laure, or Lauri. Jones' Ships (pp. 67, 78) says that the Ann had left the Thames on 11 October 1822, and was back on 5 August 1825.
 - 3 Ed. note: After the **Transit** had made temporary repairs, she left Guam on 7 February 1824, for Manila, carrying ex-Governor Montilla with his family as well as retired Cadet Silvestre Palomo.

Document 1824A

List of English ships that visited Guam, February-October 1824

Sources: PNA; with additional notes from A. G. E. Jones' Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade, 1775-1861 (from Lloyds List, etc.).

Notes: Apart from one Spanish ship, the rest of the ships were English whaling ships, mostly from London. In spite of the badly-scribbled notes, I have done my best to recreate the proper names.

Report made by Governor Ganga Herrero

List of the English [sic] ships that have arrived at this island since the departure for Manila on 7 February of the present year of the frigate Transit that carried away former Governor José Montilla, until the present date.

—The ship named **Emily**, commanded by Captain Laban Russell, arrived and anchored on 11 March; departed on 3 April, returned and anchored on 31 August, and left on 23 September.¹

—The ship [Sir] **Charles Price**, commanded by Captain John Duncan, arrived and anchored on 21 March, and left on 2 April.²

1 Ed. note: Left Gravesend on 14 January 1823, reported at Timor in December 1823; on Japan Ground in the spring of 1824 (see list below); back to England at unknown date, but left for new voyage in August 1825, with a Captain Brind in command.

2 Ed. note: Voyage of 1822-1825.

—The **Sarah**, commanded by Captain Joel [rather Hill?], arrived and anchored on 26 March, and left on 1 April.¹

—The **Griffin**, commanded by Captain Garbutt, arrived on 26 March, and left on 5 April.²

—The brig **Rebecca** returned from San Blas on 2 April, anchored at Umata, and left for Bengal 5 days later.³

—The ship **Castor**, commanded by Captain John Bunker, arrived and anchored on 10 April, and left on the 19th.⁴

—The ship **Supply**, commanded by Captain Stephen Tompson, arrived on 10 April and anchored, and left on the 24th; returned on 10 September, and is now anchored in the port.⁵

—The **Bridges**, commanded by Captain Newton, arrived on 15 April and anchored; moved to Umata on the 24th, and left on the 29th.⁶

—The **Mary**, commanded by Captain John Reed, arrived and anchored on 15 April; moved to Umata on the 28th, and left on 1 May.⁷

—The **Saracen**, commanded by Captain James G. Dunn, arrived and anchored at Umata on 16 April; left on 7 May; returned and anchored in Apra on 27 September and is still there.⁸

—The **Daniel**, commanded by Captain John Allen, arrived at Umata on 3 May, and remained under sail until the 7th, when she left.⁹

1 Ed. note: Cannot be the **Sarah** of London, Captain Hill, because she left Gravesend on 15 April 1824 only. Must be the other **Sarah**, a 293-ton whaler, also of London, owned by the Bennett Brothers and captained by John Buckle, reported at NSW in December 1822.

2 Ed. note: Left Gravesend on 29 October 1822, and returned there on 3 October 1825.

3 Ed. note: This ship had brought the writer from Manila the previous year. She was a trading ship from Bengal, very probably the same **Rebecca**, captained by De Peyster, which made the voyage from Valparaiso to Bengal in 1819 (ref. Nicholson).

4 Ed. note: Left Gravesend on 18 May 1822, and returned there on 15 April 1825.

5 Ed. note: Left Gravesend 23 May 1823 with Captain Brightman, reported at Timor in September 1824 with Captain Thompson and 700 barrels of oil, spoken at Manila in December 1825 with 1,300 bbls, and back in England in August 1826.

6 Ed. note: Was totally lost at Marquesas Islands the following year.

7 Ed. note: Went to Japan Ground and was reported dismasted and very leaky in July; totally at Jarvis Island the following year.

8 Ed. note: Left Gravesend on 18 July 1823; arrived at Bay of Islands on 20 December, clean; at Timor in September 1824 with 700 bbls.; at Cape of Good Hope on 2 May 1826 and back at Gravesend on 6 July of that year.

9 Ed. note: **Prize**, Malta, 1808; owned by William & Daniel Bennett, merchants at Rotherhithe; described as a square-stern ship, forecabin, no gallery, man's head, 2 decks, 3 masts, 99'7" x 28'3" x 5'5" and 336 tons; broken up 1834.

—The **Coquette**, commanded by Captain John Stavers, arrived on 15 May, and remained under sail before this city until the 22nd, when she left; returned on 24 September, and is still there.¹

—The **Cape Packet**, commanded by Benjamin Clark, arrived on 19 July, and left on the 31st.²

—The **Indian**, Captain John Gibson, arrived on 11 September, and is presently anchored in the port.³

—The **Greenwich**, commanded by Captain Robert P. Thompson, arrived on 15 September, and is presently at anchor in the port.⁴

—The **Wildman**, commanded by Captain Samuel Barney, arrived on 14 September, and is presently anchored in the port.⁵

—The **Harleston**, commanded by Captain Thomas Galava [rather Gulliver], arrived and anchored on 15 September, and is in the port.⁶

—The **Timor**, commanded by Captain Ford, arrived before this city on 16 September, and remained under sail until the 25th when she left.⁷

—The Spanish brig **Concepción**, commanded by Captain José Beristáin, arrived on 20 September, and today leaves for the islands to the south.⁸

—The ship **Cretan**, commanded by Captain Henry R. Gulliver, arrived on 21 September, and is presently anchored in the port.⁹

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- 1 Ed. note: Left Deal on 2 November 1823, reported in Moluccas in March 1823 with 50 tons; reported at Timor in September 1824 with 900 bbls; **Captain Stavers about to be murdered by Governor Ganga on 17 October!** Back at Gravesend on 29 September 1826 under Captain Spencer.
 - 2 Ed. note: Prize, Cape of Good Hope, 1810; owned by William & Daniel Bennett, merchants at Rotherhithe; condemned at Coupang, 1830, Described as square-stern ship, flush deck, no gallery, woman's bust, 94'6" x 24'6" x 5'5", 226 tons. Left in March 1823 with Captain Caswell, and returned in July 1825 with Captain Clark.
 - 3 Ed. note: Former HMS, Plantation built, owned by the Enderby Brothers; described as a square-stern ship, no gallery, woman's bust, 2 decks, 3 masts, 110'9" x 30" x 5'2" and 385 tons. Left London at the end of January 1823, reported in the Moluccas in June 1824 with 600 bbls, and returned at Deal on 3 November 1825.
 - 4 Ed. note: Built at Hythe in 1809, owned by Samuel Enderby, and described as a square-stern ship, flush deck, no gallery, man's head, 2 decks, 3 masts, 165 feet x 30'4" x 5'6" and 395 tons. Left Gravesend on 18 January 1823, returned there on 18 January 1826.
 - 5 Ed. note: Left London in 1823 with Captain Barney, returned with same captain in May 1827.
 - 6 Ed. note: Prize 1813, owner Isaac Brightman, square-stern ship, flush deck, no gallery, carved knew, 2 decks, 3 masts, 100 feet x 27'6" x 5'10", 315 tons. Left Gravesend on 10 May 1823, reported with 900 bbls. in January 1825 (last report).
 - 7 Ed. note: Owned by the Bennett Brothers of Blackheath, merchants: described as a square-stern ship, flush deck, 352 tons, Captain Eben Ford, as of 1820. Left Gravesend on 28 April 1823, and returned there on 27 June 1825.
 - 8 Ed. note: See her story in Doc. 1824N.
 - 9 Ed. note: Ship often reported, wrongly, as Creton, and captain sometimes reported, wrongly, as Galloway. Prize, 1808; owners, Birnie & Waters, merchants at Great St. Helens. Left Deal on 3

—The **Ann Elizabeth**, commanded by Captain Thomas Caslin, anchored on 28 September, and is in the port.¹

—The **Mary**, commanded by Captain Edward David, anchored on 28 September, and is leaving for Manila.²

—The [Sir] **Charles Price**, commanded by Captain John Duncan, returned on the 1st of this month, and is presently anchored.

—The **Royalist**, commanded by Captain John Cook, arrived on the 1st of this month, and is presently anchored in the port.³

—The **Melantho**, commanded by Captain Folger, was seen before this city on the 6th of this month; her captain is ashore, and says that she will remain under sail until the 15th while waiting for wood that she is in want of.⁴

San Ignacio de Agaña, 13 October 1824.

José Ganga Herrero

-
- 1 Ed. note: Captain's name also given as Coolin, Coolan, Curling; returned to England at the end of November 1825.
 - 2 Ed. note: Not to be confused with other ship of same name above. Name of this captain also reported as Davis, or Davey. Left Gravesend on 22 April 1822, reported off coast of New Guinea on 7 September 1823, back at Gravesend on 29 June 1825.
 - 3 Ed. note: Left from Deal on 22 August 1823, returned in 1826, as she visited St. Helena in May, still with Captain Cook. Her next voyage began in September, with Captain Harris (see Guam, 1831).
 - 4 Ed. note: Prize, Nova Scotia, 1813 and broken up 1826; owned by Christopher Nockells of Nag's Head Court, Gracechurch Street, London; described as a square-stern ship, flush deck, sham quarter galleries, woman's bust, 2 decks, 3 masts, 114'3" x 28'1" x 4'9" and 361 tons. Nathaniel Pease Folger became her captain on 13 June 1823. Left Deal on 11 July 1823 and was back at Gravesend on 24 March 1826.

List of English whalers on the Japan Ground in June and July 1824

Source: Jones' Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade (op. cit., p. 27).

Note: These, and other, entries help verify the above list by Governor Ganga. Oil reported on, or about, 10 May.

Ship name	Barrels	Ship name	Barrels
Ann Elizabeth	350	Indian	450
Bridges	---	Mary	---
Cape Packet	200	Melantho	500
Coquette	500	Rochester	1,500
Cretan	500	Saracen	---
Emily	1,400	Shakespeare	---
Favorite	700	Supply	450
Francis	400	Timor	1,000
Greenock	1,200	Vansittart	400
Griffin	1,450	Warrens	---
Harleston	500	Wildman	300
Hope	1,200 ¹		

¹ The Sir Charles Price, still at Ladrones [sic] in November, with 1,400 barrels. Also Sarah, id. id., 400 bbls.

Documents 1824B

Some proclamations issued by Governor Ganga Herrero, 1823-1826

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Items 15 & 17; cited in B%R 53:379.

Note: One of his proclamations, the one dated 28 September 1824, is reproduced as Doc. 1824C4.

Introductory notes.

Ganga Herrero was appointed Governor of the Marianas by the King on 17 January 1822; he was officially conferred this appointment in Manila on 2 November following. He arrived at Guam aboard the **Rebecca** in May 1823, and the handover of the government took place soon after. He kept the same secretary, Nicolas de Borja, but made some changes in personnel, e.g. Manuel Tiburcio Garrido taking charge of the 3rd Company; Mariano Benito de Lima becoming Second Adjutant; Luis Palomo becoming Mayor of Agat, in replacement of Cornelio Eustaquio; Borja Gofigam replaced Pedro Tedpaogo in Merizo; Corporal José Flores became Mayor of Rota, his assistant being Angel Tayquinini, in replacement of Felipe de la Cruz; Captain Ignacio Martinez was placed in charge of the schooner run to Tinian and Saipan; the same lists of personel and supplies aboard her are reproduced, for the officers to take charge of. Other **appointments** made by the new Governor were that of Adjutant Mariano Benito de Lima as the Administratie Mayor of Umatac and Merizo; Francisco oNamanlig became Mayor of Asan; Sergeant 2nd class Ignacio Taytano became Administrative Mayor of Agat; Luis Arceo was promoted to Sergeant 2nd class; the new Deputy Mayor of Tinian and Saypan was Simon Namña; Nicolas de León Guerrero was promoted to Sergeant 2nd class; Florentino Finoña replaced Fausto Finoña as Mayor of Mungmung; Claudio Materne replaced Miguel Diego as Mayor of Anigua; José Migaya replaced Sireno Atoygui as Mayor of Pago; José Quidachay became Mayor of Sinajaña. Captain Ignacio Martinez became Administrative Mayor of Rota on 13 January 1824. Second-Lieut. José de Torres was promoted to Adjutant in February 1824; Captain José de León Guerrero who saw his post eliminated, was given the slot of a Second-Lieutenant in the Third Company; Joaquin de León Guerrero became substantive Second-Lieutenant; Ignacio Sablan became substantive Sergeant; Juan Diaz became Sergeant 1st class; Nicolas de León Guerrero became Sergeant 1st class; Cadet José Montilla [Jr.] was released on 31 January 1824; Juan Camacho became substantive Second-Lieutenant; Luis Atoygui became Mayor of Sinajaña, and Ramon Taisagui replaced

him as constable; Enriquez de Borja became substantive Second-Lieutenant; Sergeant Mariano Luxan, Master Blacksmith, was released from military service on 31 March 1824, and was replaced by Sergeant Lucas de Castro; Manuel Antonio was promoted to Corporal 2nd class; José Lajo became Mayor of Pago; Second-Lieutenant José Joaquin de la Cruz became Administrator of Inarajan and the ranch at Dandan; Corporal 1st class José Flores became Administrator of Umata and Merizo; Juan Sablan became Sergeant 2nd class; Juan Tinartico became Assistant Mayor of Merizo, in replacement of Borja Gofigam; a large number of promotions to Corporal and Sergeant ranks took place in November 1824; on 28 November 1824, Joaquin de León Guerrero became Government Secretary, and Nicolas de Borja was released; Reymundo Babauta became local mayor of Agat on 1 January 1825; Pedro Taytano was placed in charge of Asan; Second-Lieutenant Juan de Rivera became Town Mayor of Agaña and vicinity in March 1825; one of his assistants was Mariano Luxan; Laureano Taytagui replaced Claudio Materne as headman of Anigua; Clemente Megofña became headman of Asan; Manuel Taymañao was chosen model citizen of Rota in July 1825; Marciano Matantaotao was confirmed in his title of Master Canoe Builder that year; Captain Antonio Guerrero was released, and was replaced by Captain José de Leon Guerrero; José Martinez became Second Lieutenant of the Third Company; Captain Manuel Tiburcio Garrido took his retirement, effective 30 September 1825; Lieutenant José Garrido was promoted to Captain to replace him; Sergeant Damasco de San Nicolas was promoted to Second-Lieutenant; Senior Adjutant José de Torres was recognized as Lieutenant of Infantry for the Mariana Islands; Adjutant second class Mariano Benito de Lima got the same title; Second-Lieut. José Joaquin de la Cruz also; Soldier Pedro Pangalinan replaced José Juan Johnson as Master Carpenter; Captain José Garrido retired on 31 December 1825, and was replaced by José Joaquin de la Cruz, now a Captain; Sergeant Juan Diaz was promoted to Second-Lieutenant; Leopardo Acantina(?) became assistant mayor of Rota; Angel Taiquinini was the new Mayor of Rota; Senior Adjutant José de Torres was named interim Port Captain of Apra; John Anderson was still official interpreter, English-Spanish.

See also Doc. 1824C4 for one of his proclamations, dated 28 September 1824.

A1. Other official papers issued by Governor Ganga Herrero

Original text in Spanish.

Pasaporte à Rita de Acosta.—*En 19 de Enero de 1824 se concedio Pasaporte à Rita Acosta natural de esta Ciudad para pasar embarcada à Manila en la Fragata Balenera Ynglesa Titulada Ana llevando en su compania dos hijas y un hijo con dos Criadas Carolinas, y salio de la Caldera de Apra el 21 de dicho mes.*

Pasaporte à Jorge Sutherland.—*En 19 de Enero de 1824 se concedio Pasapote à Jorge Sutherland de nacion Yngles Marinero que hera de la Fragata Carlos Pris [Charles Price], y quedo en esta Ysla enfermo con permiso de su Comandante Don Juan Dun-*

can para que se embacase en la *Fragata Ana* para pasar à Manila, y salio el dia 21 del mismo.

Pasaporte à Juana de la Cruz.—En 20 de Enero de 1824 se concedio pa\Pasaporte à Juana de la Cruz natural de esta Ciudad para pasar à Manila en la *Fragata Ynglesa Ana*, con el fin de acompañarse con su marido Francisco de Acosta, que ahora se hal-lava en dicha Capital, y salio de este Puerto en 21 del mismo.

Pasaporte à Archlald John Nicol [sic].—En 24 de Enero de 1824 se dio Pasaporte al individuo del margen de nacion Yngles tonelero que hera de la *Fragata Copernico* que se quedo enfermo en esta Ysla para pasar à. Manila en la *Fragata Transit*, y salio de este Puerto dia 7 de Febrero del mismo año.

...
Licencia y Pasaporte al Cadete Don Silvestre Palomo.—En 31 de Enero de 1824, [se dio] licencia final al Cadete de la Segunda Compañia Don Silvestre Palomo, y certificado de sus buenos servicios y conducta, como igualmente en 3° de Febrero se le dio Pasaporte para pasar à Manila en la *Fragata Transit* en la que salio el dia 7 del mismo.

Licencia final al Soldado Manuel Sanchez.—En 31 de Enero de 1824 se le dio Licencia final à Manuel Sanchez Soldado de la tercera Comp^a.

Licencia à Claudio Quitano, y à Mariana de Tovez.—En 31 de Enero de 1824 se le dio de baja à Claudio Quitano, y à Mariano de Toves Soldados de la 2^a y tercera Comp^a por haverlo pedido ellos mismos.

Certifico al Capitan Yngles Don Juan Coffin.—En 1° de Febrero de 1824 se dio Certificado al Capitan de la *Fragata Transit* Don Juan Coffin de su buen porte en esta Ysla, incluyendo en el Certifico el parte que dio à su llegada el 22 de Noviembre anterior de haver sufrido un Bagoio y muchas averias en la Bahía de Tinian, y salio para Manila el dia 7 del mismo.

Pasaporte para Antonio Palomo.—En 1° de Febrero de 1824 se concedio Licencia à Antonio Palomo natural de esta Ciudad de esta Casado [sic] para que se embarque en la *Fragata Ballenera* titulada *Transit*, à fin que en ella pase à Manila à diligencias propias, y salio el dia 7 del mismo.

Pasaporte à Cornelio Eustaquio.—En 3 de Febrero de 1824 se concedio oPasa-
porte à Cornelio Eustaquio, su mujer Rita Palomo, y dos crianzas de menor hedad, para pasar à Manila en la *Fragata Transit*, à diligencias propias, y salio el dia 7 del mismo.

Pasaporte al Gobernador cesante Don José Montilla.—En 5 de Febrero de 1824 se dio Pasaporte al Capitan Don José Montilla, Gobernador que fué de estas Yslas, para que con su familia, tres criados [hole in paper] pasase à Manila embarcando en la Fragata [Ynglesa Transit] el dia 7 del mismo.

Pasaporte à Rafael Lugay.—En 6 de Abril de 1824: Se le dió Pasaporte à Rafael Lugay para pasar à Manila en el Bergantin *Reveca*.

Titulo de Capitan Comandante del Puerto de Apra à Don Manuel de Torres.—En 12 de Abril de 1824: Se le concedio la gracia de Capitan Comandante del Puerto de Apra, y de su Playa al Subteniente retirado Don Manuel de Torres, agregandole al Estado Mayor sin Sueldo alguno, hasta que el Superior Gobierno resuelva si lo haa de gozar, y sele expidio titulo de tal Capitan del Puerto.

Titulo de Benemerito Ciudadano à Borja Apatan.—En 18 de Mayo de 1824 se le concedio titulo de Benemerito Ciudadano de la Ysla de Rota à Borja Apatan en premio de sus buenos servicios, quedando exemto èl y sus hijos de las fátigas mecanicas.

Pasaporte à Don Eduardo Florencio.—En 12 de Octubre de 1824: Se dio Pasaporte al individuo del margen de nacion Yngles, Medico Cirujano de la Fragata *Suplay Supply*, para que se embarque en la *Maria*, Ballenera Ynglesa, que pasa à las Yslas Filipinas.

Pasaporte al Capitan D. Eduardo David.—En 13 de Octubre de 1824: Se dio Pasaporte à D. Eduardo David, Capitan de la citada Fragata *Maria*, para que con ella y su tripulacion pase à Manila, con el objeto de componer dicha Fragata que se halla derrotada de Palos y Velas de los Baguios que a sufrido en los mares del Japon.

Pasaporte à Juan Mercado.—En 13 de Octubre de 1824: Se dio Pasaporte à Juan Mercado, para pasar à las Yslas Filipinas en la Fragata *Maria*.

Pasaportes à Eden Cass, Ramon Guibara, Juan Bautista, Miguel de Leon, è Yldefonso Palomo.—En 19 de Octubre de 1824: Seles dieron Pasaportes para embarcarse en la Fragata Ynglesa Ballenera titulada *Suplay [Supply]*, à los Yndividuos siguientes: Eden Cass, Cirujano que hera de la Fragata *Coqueta*; Ramon Guivara, Juan Bautista, y Miguel de Leon, marineros del Bergantin *Concepcion*; è Yldefonso Palomo, Vecino de esta Ciudad de Agaña.

...

Pasaporte à D. Manuel de Torres.—...[Large hole in paper]...

Translation.

Passport issued to Rita de Acosta.—On 19 January 1824, a passport was issued to Rita Acosta, a resident of this City, to embark for Manila on board the English whaling ship named **Ann**, along with her two daughters and one son, and two Carolinian maid-servants. The ship departed the port of Apra on the 21st of said month.¹

Passport issued to George Sutherland.—On 19 January 1824 a passport was issued to George Sutherland, an English sailor from the whaling ship [Sir] **Charles Price** who had remained at this Island on account of sickness with the permission of her Captain, John Duncan, in order for him to go to Manila on board the whaling ship **Ann** which left on the 21st of said month.

Passport issued to Juana de la Cruz.—On 20 January 1824 a passport was issued to Juana de la Cruz, a resident of this City, to go to Manila aboard the English ship **Ann** for the purpose of joining her husband, Francisco de Acosta, who is now in said Capital, and she left this port on the 21st of said month.

Passport issued to Archibald John Nicol.—On 24 January 1824 a passport was issued to the English citizen, whose name appears in margin, who had been cooper aboard the whaler **Copernicus** but had remained behind at this Island on account of sickness, to go to Manila aboard the whaler **Transit**, which left this port on 7 February of said year.

...

[Hole in ms.]

[On 31 January, certificates were issued to the two sons of ex-Governor José Montilla. They were also aboard the **Transit**.]

Permission and passport given to Cadet Silvestre Palomo.—On 31 January 1824, a final release was given to Don Silvestre Palomo, a Cadet of the Second Company, along with a certificate attesting to his good services and conduct. Also, on 3 February, he was issued a passport to go to Manila aboard the whaler **Transit** which left on the 7th of said month.

Final release to Soldier Manuel Sanchez.—On 31 January 1824 a final release was given to Manuel Sanchez, a soldier of the Third Company.

Release to Claudio Quitano, and to Mariano de Toves.—On 31 January 1824 Claudio Quitano and Mariano de Toves, soldiers of the Second and Third Companies were given their release, at their own request.

¹ Ed. note: Rita Acosta was the mistress of Governor Medinilla. She was going to Manila to join him.

Certificate issued to the English Captain John Coffin.—On 1 February 1824 a certificate was issued to John Coffin, Captain of the whaler **Transit**, attesting his good conduct while in this Island, and mentioning the report that he presented upon his arrival of last November 22nd regarding the hurricane and the great damages that he experienced in the Bay of Tinian. He left for Manila on the 7th of said month.

Passport issued to Antonio Palomo.—On 1 February 1824 permission was granted to Antonio Palomo, a resident of this City, married, to board the whaler named **Transit** to go to Manila on private business. He left on the 7th of said month.

Passport issued to Cornelio Eustaquio.—On 3 February 1824 a passport was issued to Cornelio Eustaquio, his wife Rita Palomo, and two minor children, to go to Manila aboard the whaler **Transit** on private business. He left on the 7th of said month.¹

Passport issued to former Governor José Montilla.—On 5 February 1824 a passport was issued to Captain José Montilla, the former Governor of these Islands, to go to Manila with his family, three servants [hole in paper]. They boarded the whaler on the 7th of said month.

Passport issued to Rafael Lugay.—On 6 April 1824 a passport was issued to Rafael Lugay to go to Manila aboard the brig **Rebecca**.

Title of Port Captain given to Don Manuel de Torres.—On 12 April 1824 Don Manuel de Torres, retired Second-Lieutenant, was granted the title of Captain of the Port of Apra and its beach, and he was placed on the record as staff officer but without a salary until the Superior Government may decide whether he should receive one or not, and he was issued a certificate attesting his new post.²

Title of Meritorious Citizen to Borja Apatan.—On 18 May 1824 the title of Meritorious Citizen of the Island of Rota was granted to Borja Apatan to reward him for his good services, and exempting him and his children from having to participate in any work parties.

Passport issued to Eduardo Florencio.—On 12 October 1824 a passport was issued to the English citizen mentioned in margin, surgeon of the whaler **Supply**, to board the English whaler **Mary** which is going to the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: Eustaquio had been the valet of Governor Medinilla and the monster so derided by Arago in 1819, for his insane cruelty.

2 Ed. note: There follows the text of his Instructions, in 8 articles, as Port Captain.

Passport issued to Captain Edward David.—On 13 October 1824 a passport was issued to Edward David, Captain of the said whaler **Mary** to go to Manila with his ship and crew, for the purpose of repairing said ship which was dismasted in the storms that she suffered on the Japan Ground.

Passport issued to Juan Mercado.—On 13 October 1824 a passport was issued to Juan Mercado to go to the Philippine Islands aboard the whaler **Mary**.

Passport issued to Eden Cass, Ramón Guibara, Juan Bautista, Miguel de León and Ildfonso Palomo.—On 19 October 1824 passports were issued to board the English whaler named **Supply** to the following persons: Eden Cass, former Surgeon of the whaler **Coquette**, Ramón Guivara, Juan Bautista and Miguel de León, sailors from the brig **Concepción**;¹ and Ildfonso Palomo, a resident of this City of Agaña.

...

[Instructions for soldiers on guard duty are spelled out in 45 articles, dated 24 October 1824. Instructions were also issued to Desiderio Arceo, as Mayor of Retidian, on 21 July 1825.]

...

Passport issued to Manuel de Torres.—... [Large hole in paper].²

1 Ed. note: The brig **Concepción** was destroyed in Fiji in September 1824 (see Doc. 1824N). These sailors, either had disembarked at Guam earlier, or had come up from Fiji aboard some other ship.

2 Ed. note: Passport issued to him on 28 March 1826 to allow him to board an English ship named **Li-...**, whose captain was named **Renek** [sic]. This was the whaler **Lyra**, Capt. Renneck.

Documents 1824C

English sailors commit depredations in the Marianas

Source: PNA. Note: Governor José Ganga Herrero wrote the following reports, mainly to try and justify his assassination of Captain John Stavers, of the English whaling ship Coquette (see Doc. 1824D).

C1. Report of Governor Ganga, dated 13 October 1824

Superior Government N° 117.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Among the official correspondence that I sent to Y.L. aboard the English frigate¹ **Transit** that sailed from the port of Apra with my predecessor, Don José Montilla, last 7 February, I should have sent a report about the events that occurred here with drunken sailors, and the bad conduct of the English frigates that make visits here, but I was unable to carry it out as I was in a hurry to despatch what appeared to me to be more urgent then, and now I carry it out as follows:

On 31 August last, The English frigate **Mary** arrived, under the command of Captain Edward David, and she remained until 24 September.² Because some sailors of a bad sort from said frigate did not want to pursue the voyage, saying that the ship was leaking, also for other rogueries against the residents and for desertion, they were placed in jail, and their captain was begging me to punish them, as otherwise, if I did not make an example of them and obliged them to follow him by force, no whaling ship would touch at the Marianas, as reported by his companions when speaking at sea. For instance, they say that from the frigate **Copernicus** that had anchored at this port, five men had deserted during the time of my predecessor Montilla and he did not turn them over to their Captain, as per his request, and for this reason he took away the male and female servants of [former Governor] José Medinilla,³ and he assured me that said ships would not come near again, given that from the beginning of my term until the arrival of this frigate **Mary**, two frigates at two different times had indeed simply tacked back

1 Ed. note: Generic term the Spanish applied to a typical three-masted whaling ship.

2 Ed. note: The dates do not correspond with those he reported in Doc. 1824A.

3 Ed. note: They were Carolinians (see C2 below), probably those who came to Guam in 1821 (see Doc. 1821F).

and forth in front of this island and they went away without having been identified. When a boat from one of these two ships landed at Retillan to gather coconuts and fruits, three sailors fled from this boat and came to see me.

On 15 September, her Captain, Mr. Charles MacGregor, disembarked on the beach two miles from this port, with a few sailors, and he came to see me at 8 in the evening, saying that he was the commander of the **Copernicus**, had two pistols in his possession, and the sailors had lances with them on the beach of this city, and he told me to be on my guard. This Captain thought that the government was still in the hands of Montilla, and that Medinilla had not yet left.

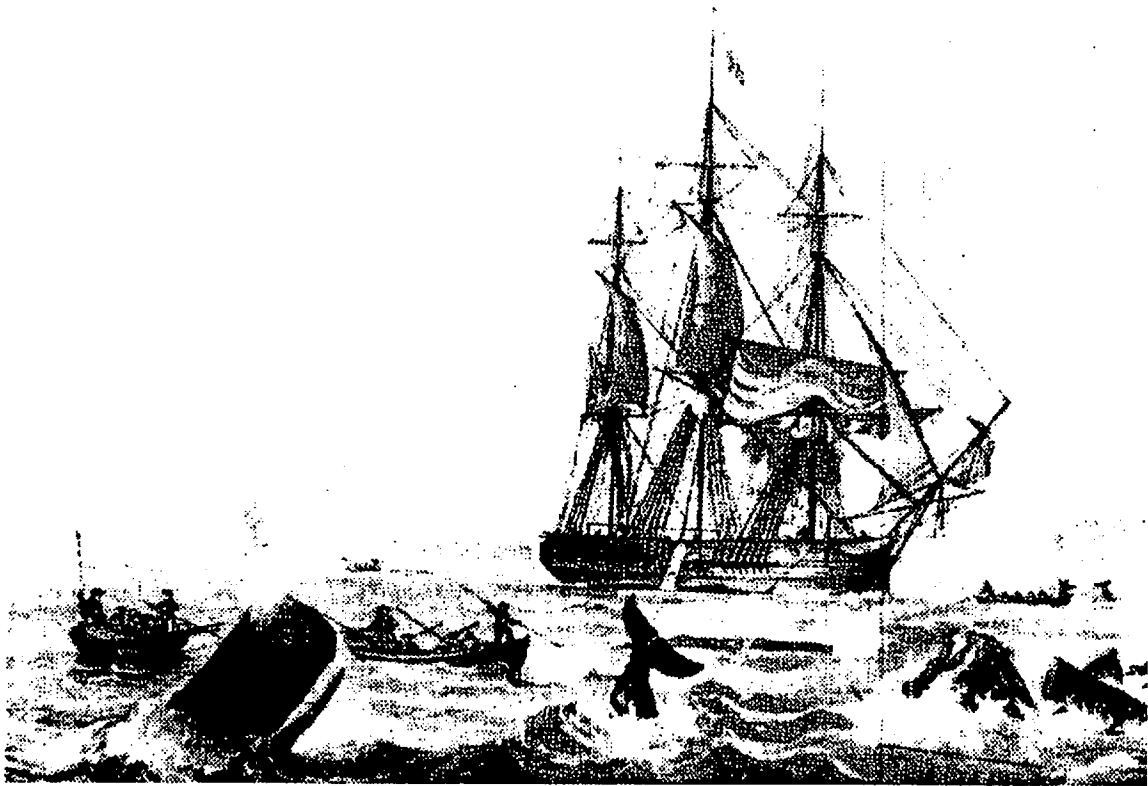
In a letter that he brought me from Rota, unopened (as the letter that came from Y.L.), the Mayor of said island let me know about the helter-skelter that had occurred at said town with the sailors from said frigate, on account of a jacket that a local man had stolen, and whom the sailors punished, an action which the Mayor could not prevent and the town people rioted until peace was later restored. As much as this event as for having carried away said servants of Medinilla, in spite of the political manner with which he came to me...

[one page missing]

I hastened the efforts to find him and all those who were ashore were put behind bars and four of them who were pointed out by the others as having seen such expressions were punished with blows from a stick upon the shoulders, in the presence of the Captains of the **Mary** and **Copernicus**, and both of them being satisfied, as Y.L. may see from the enclosed correspondence. The frigate **Copernicus** remained offshore tacking back and forth until she went away, in company with the frigate **Mary**.

The worst sailors whom these commanders did not want back, plus two who had fled to the bush, and three of the prisoners, as I learned from the Mayor himself a few days later, what these sailors had told the residents before, that the work done on the roads, bridges, and street cleaning that they were sent to do under police supervision, should be paid for in daily wages, and that they would not obey and do this work for a government that did not pay them, because in England they pay wages to whomever works in public works; seeing the laziness of these sailors, refusing to work, conspiring and loafing around, tricking the residents into giving them food, and jeopardizing my government, I sent them in canoes as exiles to the Island of Tinian to work there under the command of the Mayor, while awaiting the arrival at that island of ships of their nationality willing to take them off to the whale fisheries.

At the arrival of Captain Coffin with the English frigate **Transit**, at said Island of Tinian, they were given to him and when he anchored at this island, some of these insolent persons came to see me but I ordered them to remain on board and not to come to this City, nor its vicinity, given that I consented in their being repatriated, and this was obeyed by some, but others fled to the bush, along with four more individuals from the original crew of said ship, who as conspirators against said Captain Coffin, wanted to hijack said frigate and kill him; among them was one pilot [i.e. the Mate]. Said Captain requested me to put them in jail and to punish them, not to let them stay free nor



Ship Castor whaling off Buru Island in the Moluccas. Published by W. J. Higgins, on 1 January 1825. Engraved by T. Sutherland. (From Jones' Ships, p. ix).

go away in another ship, until he was ready to sail to Manila; this is what I did to please him. He carried off some of those from Tinian and the mutineer John Espersa [sic], one of the convicts who came here, who had been previously aboard the frigate **Ann**, about whom I wrote to Y.L. earlier, and whom I am sending to Manila as a prisoner.

Before the departure of this frigate [i.e. **Transit**], some sailors and pilots of various frigates made known to me that some quarrels occurred, due to drunkenness and disorderly proceedings, and others occurred because of the great affluence of pilots with pretty faces who were attracted to the house of Rita de Acosta, the girl-friend of Mr. Medinilla, now in that capital [i.e. Manila]. If it did not put this gentleman to shame, and because bashfulness does not allow me to describe the scandals that go on in said house, and which I cannot prevent, even though I had her called and scolded her two or three months ago, given that it looked like a brothel where pilots, sailors, captains took turns, I would carry out a summary investigation and direct it to Y.L. for information about what occurred; however, I submit hereunder the Record of proceedings of what happened in said house with Captain Bunker of the frigate **Castor**, two pilots and sailors who insulted her and defied her. In said Record, she received much favored treatment, and in addition to delaying its remittance until another mail, after she saw herself abandoned by her protectors, she tried to leave for Manila with Mr. Andrew

Grey, Captain of the frigate **Ann** who remained here “replacing” Bunker after the latter’s departure on 3 November [1823], until 2 January of this year [1824] when she was able, after many requests, to sail with said person for Manila and she solicited from me also that I grant it in writing and orally for her to leave soon with her daughters, because if Mr. José Montilla would leave first, his predecessor [i.e. Medinilla] would not then admit her overthere, on account of what he could be told about her conduct.¹ In order not to see any more scandals nor any noise from said house, and that she might even get to compromise me, I acceded to her ready departure, and she even asked me to give her a satisfactory letter for her “boy-friend”, which I did out of charity and for politeness toward said man.

In said Record of proceedings N° 1, the daring behavior of the pilots and sailors against the Captain in said house is told, then they left the house armed with sticks and sabers, saying that that night, they were “to wreck the Marianas” and therefore, in person, with the soldiers and the English captains who were present, I pursued them until they were brought as prisoners and put in jail. During this incident, one pilot and one sailor, the former from the frigate **Mary** who had stayed here because he did not follow his captain, and the latter from the frigate [Sir] **Charles Price** who, being in the house where they were captured, and trying to escape through one window, received blows from a saber and he was treated and supported at the palace, being well cared for until he was able to leave, entirely cured and fortified. I insisted in getting from his captain a certificate (said certificate being enclosed at the end of said Record) for it to be taken into account.

Since that time until now, many frigates have arrived and some of their sailors have given me much trouble, either in looking for some in the bush where they had escaped after robbing in the ship, or for others who have insulted their commanders at sea and here ashore. Also said commanders have brought some to me for me to put them in jail until they sailed, requesting me also to allow some to stay because they did not want them in their frigate anymore. If I had allowed this I would now have 20 sailors whom they wished to leave behind, and this island would become full of lazy rogues.

In Record of proceedings N° 2, which I also submit, along with other certificates that I asked for, Y.L. will notice what they say about me and the many favors that I have done them to maintain the peace, and that they go away happy and grateful.

On the 8th instant, I sent them a proclamation, of which I enclose a copy written in both languages,² thanks to the intervention of the Port Captain who understands English,³ all crews were made to understand it, and said note was well received, the Captains thanking me for it the day before yesterday when I went to inspect the ships and they received me with much cheer.

1 Ed. note: Montilla left aboard the *Transit* in February, therefore after Rita de Acosta.

2 Ed. note: Only the Spanish version is on file.

3 Ed. note: John Anderson, the Scot who had deserted from the French ship *Uranie* in 1819.

It seemed to me proper to put all the enclosed documents together in one file, in which I speak mostly about Englishmen, so that Y.L. may see the delicate treatment I apply to men of this nationality, and for it to serve as a case in point, if need be, about which Y.L. could form another opinion, should some malevolent person try to denigrate my honor with that Superior Government,¹ and that the deeds presented here may serve me as merit when recommending my services to His Majesty, if Y.L. should find it proper, given that, besides being the Superior Judge with the quality of father protecting his subjects, Y.L. may implement it.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 13 October 1824.

José Ganga Herrero

C2. Report of ex-Governor Montilla, dated Manila 10 December 1824

Note: The attachments to Governor Ganga's report are reproduced later, as they are on file, and this other version of events by Montilla is given first.

Most Illustrious Sir:

To comply with the superior decree of Y.L., I must inform Y.L. about what the present Governor of the Marianas says in his letter about Captain MacGregor's abuse of the natives of the town of the Island of Rota with armed people from his ship. I agree that the news was positive and that the Mayor of said Island gave him a detailed report of what had happened, as well as I was present when said MacGregor showed up with a pair of pistols, and various sailors armed with lances, and other weapons of the type they use in whaling and who had been left on the beach to guard him and to be able to defend him in whatever event that might occur, regarding the attempt that he had committed in the Island. However, the Artillery Captain had returned from the Island of Rota where he had been exiled,² before MacGregor carried out [his deed]. He [MacGregor] presented Ganga with some presents: one shotgun with two barrels, one shaving kit, one saber, one barrel of butter, and other necessities which I omit to mention, so as not to be too prolix; the outcome of all of this was that Ganga was elated at receiving such unexpected Christmas-like gifts, and he contented himself with telling him that he should not have carried off the Carolinian men and women who had been at the service of ex-Governor Medinilla, that he knew that he had left them on the Island of Agrigan, the penultimate island in the archipelago under the jurisdiction of this government.

That same night, said MacGregor with the undersigned, the Major, and the Governor dined together at his house, and afterwards the best harmony reigned between both, until two nights before his departure, when he accompanied Ganga and the lat-

1 Ed. note: He is referring to ex-Governor Montilla (see below).

2 Ed. note: He refers to Captain Ignacio Martinez (see Arago's narrative).

ter got so drunk that he went about in underwear, and so pretty that his valet Cornelio Eustaquio had to take off his own pants, put them on Ganga, remaining himself with a grass skirt. If required, Eustaquio can be queried, as he now resides in this Capital.

Along with the Major of the garrison, Don Luis de Torres, the officer in charge of the 1st Company, Captain Justo de la Cruz, and said Cornelio remained aboard said frigate for two days, without the Governor having taken the precaution to leave anyone in charge of the Island before they went on board. As the officers and others observed that the weather was very bad and that the second night was arriving, and not having anyone to govern them, they tried to give command to the undersigned, as they believed that, knowing MacGregor to be a true pirate, he might carry away the Governor and the others whom he had in his company, as he did with the Carolinian men and women.

Ganga is equally untruthful when he affirms that he looked for help to capture MacGregor, and that the undersigned begged him not to make a prisoner out of MacGregor; to the contrary, the undersigned was always resentful that Ganga did not take a more severe course of action in defence of the honor of the Spanish flag offended by a true thief, or pirate.

It is also untrue what he says about the motive that MacGregor had for carrying away the servants of Don José de Medinilla, as on the morning of the eve of his departure, and at the moment of embarking, he made the undersigned understand, in front of said Medinilla, that nothing unusual had happened aboard his ship and if the boards of the fishing equipment had not broken, he would return ashore to have the pleasure to dine with the others once more as they had done for a long time, and therefore what Ganga says about the matter is devoid of truth.

With regards to what Ganga says about what he said to Captain John Coffin about the mutinous sailors and pilot is false, very false, as in the presence of the undersigned, said Coffin told Ganga, after mentioning the purpose of his visit, that he had on board four sailors who were giving him trouble and that he would like to exchange them with some others who had deserted from other ships. Ganga answered that he should send them ashore the next day with a letter, and that he would have them shot without delay, to which said Coffin answered that he did not request so much and that they had not done anything to deserve such a punishment, and thus he did not pursue the case and they stayed on board until they arrived here [at Manila], except the pilot who moved ashore as he did not want to continue the voyage.¹

Later on, Ganga relates to Y.L. the scandals that occurred in the house of Rita de Acosta and that in order not to abuse her for certain consideration, he had affected ignorance of them, that he was the one who had given her a letter of recommendation for a certain person residing here, and that one night a fight had occurred in said house between the Captain of the frigate **Castor**, John Bunker, and two pilots and sailors who

1 Ed. note: He refers to the First Mate of the Transit, a Mr. Robert Cortnell, who stayed at Guam for a while.

insulted and defied him, that they left it with sabers, saying that they would "wreck the Marianas," I must inform Y.L., for the sake of the truth, that from beginning to end Ganga's story is hypothetical and what is certain and true is that said Rita de Acosta was a friend of Second-Lieutenant José Juan Johnson, the builder of the prison and of English nationality, and that from time to time he went to Rita's house with some of his countrymen by way of a visit, and not as is said nor for the purpose indicated by Governor Ganga; that one night, said Johnson, with Captain Bunker and two other officers from his ship being there, there arrived the Mate Robert Cortnell, insisting that Bunker give him a bottle of brandy, to what the latter replied that it was not sold in that house and that he should look for one where they would attend to him. Then a small altercation between them took place, and as soon as said Robert went away, Bunker, about a quarter of an hour later, went to the Palace where he found the following persons having dinner: the Governor, Captain John Duncan,¹ the Major of the garrison, Don Luis de Torres, the Artillery Captain, Don Ignacio Martinez, Captain Justo de la Cruz, and the undersigned. Said Bunker said hello to all in general and he went to the balcony that overlooks the street and, after a long time, he told Duncan in the English language about the annoying episode that he had had with said Mate, and then he [i.e. Duncan] got up to talk to Bunker, which prompted Ganga to inquire what had happened to make him stop eating. Bunker told him not to mind, that it was only a small annoying matter that he had had with said Mate. Without any checking into the story, without them having presented any complaint, Ganga got up from his seat, went to his room and came out in uniform with a pair of pistols on his belt, a saber hanging from his side, two more in one hand and a shotgun in the other. He gave the latter to Captain Martinez, one of the sabers to Don Justo, and another to Major Torres, saying at the same time: "Let's go. I'll teach that rogue a lesson." And, when he was on the doorstep with all the officers, and also the English captains, and one surgeon, he shouted at the officer who was on duty in the barracks (it is close to the door of the palace), telling him to send 10 to 12 soldiers with sabers in their hands. When they were ready, they left in the direction of Barrio Santa Cruz to the house of Oligario García where said Mate, Mr. Robert Cortnell, was lodged.

When he got there, Ganga ordered said house to be surrounded, to be entered and to kill him, I repeat, to kill him. Said Mate was asleep on the doorstep and Ganga himself with the saber that he had in his hand gave him three blows on the head and one thrust in one arm that went completely through and he even managed to wound him between the ribs. With the pistol that he held in his other hand, he gave him strong beating about the body and the other arm. Finally, he turned the house into pieces and left him suffering for a long time from the contusions and the wounds. Even when he arrived here [at Manila], he was still unable to make use of his arm.

One youth of English nationality, between 15 and 17 years of age, who lived in the house and had been sleeping, woke up and saw what was happening; knowing that the

1 Ed. note: Captain of the whaler Sir Charles Price.

door was blocked and not easy to get out of, he tried to escape through a window on the street side, but having observed that some soldiers were there, tried to climb back in, but the soldier, Bernardo Perez, gave him a thrust in the shoulders and as he persisted in trying to climb, he gave him a blow on the hands to make him let go and he fell to the ground where he [Perez] continued to give him two powerful thrusts in the left arm, three on the head and two in the legs, all mortal blows. At that point, the two English captains and the surgeon who were accompanying Ganga begged him to stop the butchery, as they did not find a reason to commit such an outrage, but Ganga, with more zeal even, had them arrest the wounded Mate, and even the youth who lived in the same house, and gave an order to bring them to the barracks. When I informed him about the very grave condition affecting the wounded young man, somewhat to alleviate his lack of reflection and his bad proceeding, he had him brought to the palace where he begged the surgeon to take care of him.

The next day, the surgeon advised the undersigned that he considered the recovery of the young man very difficult, as all the wounds were very serious and mortal. While the surgeon was giving the first treatment, Cornelio Eustaquio, Ganga's valet, today residing in this City and whom, if required, can be asked to make a declaration, begged the surgeon to go down to the barracks to treat the wounded Mate, as he was bleeding, even unconscious. The surgeon answered that it was not easy for him to leave the treatment that he was giving, because of its gravity, and that in the meantime he should go himself and wash the wounds with brandy. Said Eustaquio went to see Ganga right away and made him understand that brandy was required, on account of the Mate's condition. Ganga answered that he should tie a rope around his neck with a good stone and throw him into the sea, that he would surely be cured quickly that way. About a quarter of an hour later, Ganga went down to the barracks and asked them to tie the Mate who had been brought in the previous night to a gun, for the purpose of giving him 200 lashes, but the Captain heard the news quickly and came to see Ganga and asked him the cause or reason that his first Mate had given for him to want to punish him that way. As he did not answer, he made him understand that, if he carried out the punishment without a reason, he would report the matter to his Government, in order to get due satisfaction from that of Spain. With this, Ganga took fear and set the prisoner free.

The duty officer told Ganga that the wounded Mate was unconscious and very seriously ill. This time, Ganga went near him to check and as he found him unconscious and that he thought he was faking it, with a stick that he had in his hand, he put it in his mouth as far as the throat once, and even as many as five times, then he sent a soldier to fetch a bucket of water which he ordered thrown upon the Mate. He had him dragged and put into a cell where he remained until the next day, when, as promised, because he was becoming worse and did not have any help, he had him set free for him to seek a treatment in one of the houses of the city.

What I have just said, if necessary, can be corroborated by said Eustaquio, and also by the Cadet of that garrison who was acting at that time as Ganga's secretary, Don

Silvestre Inocencio Palomo¹ who is here at present, and was the person to whom Captain John Bunker mentioned that the surgeon had told him that the wounds were considered by him to be all fatal wounds, and that it would be a miracle if he were saved. He could also verify that he saw said Captain cry bitterly and heard him say that he did not know how he could go back to London as the wounded man was the son of a very rich merchant who had recommended the man to him, that the case would have serious consequences as the father would demand satisfaction. Said Silvestre Inocencio Palomo was also the secretary in the only five declarations made about the matter, after which the measures were suspended without any other action being taken, as Ganga believed that said case did not have any importance beyond the island, and therefore not worth reporting about.

Regarding the letter of recommendation that Ganga says he gave to Rita de Acosta for the person that he says [i.e. Medinilla], it is false, as it is he who has endeavored to make her go. In fact, what is true in this matter is that, no sooner had the person in question embarked for this capital, Ganga, with pure arbitrariness, took from said Rita five young bulls, used as mounts and for plowing, which would be worth only 40 to 50 pesos each, but in the Marianas, they are appreciated and a necessity. He took from her also a boat that was brand-new and of a beautiful size, lined with copper, painted with oil paint, with the cabin having a balustrade turned at the lathe, complete with sails and all the necessary canvas, and a pig farm that she had also on the Island of Rota with not fewer than 90 to 100 pigs. And, in league with Ganga, Major Torres, who wished most eagerly to grab the quarry and coconut plantation with more than 1,000 trees and other properties that she owned near the city and had inherited for life, notifying the one who was on his way here [i.e. Medinilla], and making him believe that such person, along with Alonso Molgado, owner of the brig **Alerta**, had died during the crossing to Manila in a battle with an insurgent ship, after which said Major handed her money, 500 pesos, for her passage aboard the frigate [Ann], and with great speed made her board same, telling her that she would find a great fortune waiting for her here.²

That is all I have to tell Y.L. in compliance with my duty.

Manila, 10 December 1824.

José Montilla

1 Ed. note: The same man who was to become the father of the first Chamorro priest.

2 Ed. note: Supposing that she was heir to Medinilla and that the latter had died.

C3. Captain Gulliver's troubles

Letter from Captain Gulliver to Governor Ganga, written at the end of September 1824

Note: Re-translated into English. Unfortunately, only the Spanish version is extant.

To His Excellency the Governor of the Marianas.

I, H. R. Gulliver, Master of the whaler **Cretan** of London, on a voyage to these South Seas, am obliged to beg Y.E. for help because my ship is at present in a state of insurrection. During the voyage, there have occurred many incidents on board, as follows:

On the 20th of December 1823, during my absence from the ship, the mood of some began to change. On the 29th, William Inglis was called by me before the mainmast, and when he came near he pulled a knife. John Daniel at that moment came forward with an axe, and intended to harm me but I avoided the blow, which was intercepted by the third officer. The said John Daniel said openly that I was not a man in that ship, that he would also tear me to pieces at the first opportunity that presented itself. As we did not have a safe life after such expressions, every officer and myself supplied ourselves with loaded pistols.

July 2nd, 1824.—During my absence, John Daniel came up with a large knife to harm the officer of the watch, because he had called him from below while he was at the wheel, and he answered using profane language.

August 20th.—The management of the ship continued to be in disorder.

August 22nd.—Thomas Jackson advised me that some members of the crew intended to take over the boat during the night and leave the ship.

September 2nd.—John Ciano, not having come as ordered was scolded by the officer of the watch with whom he used foul language and he would even have harmed him, if he had not stepped asides. John Daniel and Robertson would have attacked the officer of the watch, if they had not been restrained. John Daniel also said that he undertook this voyage with the intention of tormenting me.

On the 25th of September, I anchored in the harbor of Guam. At that time, the third officer was insulted in the most arrogant manner when John Daniel and Robertson attacked him with a knife and an axe, but they were prevented to do any harm by the second officer and the carpenter.

Nathaniel Hunter proceeded also with an arrogant manner. John Daniel has shown during the whole voyage a behaviour that could have had consequences. As a result, not believing the ship safe at sea, I saw myself obliged to anchor at this port of Guam, and I take the liberty of opening the ship's papers to the judgment of Y.E., certain that you will assist me with soldiers to secure the ship and that the following will be punished at the capital: John Daniel, Nathaniel Hunter, John Ciano, and William Robertson. I will answer for the payment and food of the soldiers until my departure.

I have the honour to be, Your Excellency, your most humble servant,
Henry Rich Gulliver

C4. Proclamation made by Governor Ganga Herrero on 28 September 1824

Note: The English version, also produced at the time, is not on file. The Spanish original has been re-translated below.

ENGLISHMEN

Given the firm and holy alliance between our two nations and the duty that I have to administer justice, as I govern the residents of these Islands, and all individuals from all foreign ships anchored at this port, in view of the advice that I received from the constitutional King of Spain, Ferdinand VII, when I left the City of Madrid, that I was to act in accordance with the Instructions that he had given me, for the purpose of preserving the friendship that he has for your Sovereign, George IV, I therefore am moved by feelings that cannot animate another living creature, and more moral ones in favor of my fellow-men, and I must make you understand how disgusted I am to hear complaints about some of you who have fled into the bush and I have reduced to jail those with bad conduct. You, sailors, who have signed a contract in England, obliging yourselves to follow your Captains to the seas of Asia and other seas, to have made demands after you have given your word of honor to the main owners to be obedient to civil and commercial laws that would be communicated to you by your officers, who on their part are responsible for the compliance of their duties, and about the crimes that occur because of you. What do you intend to do? Conspire against your superiors? Some of you disobey their orders, others flee to the hills of this island, or come ashore to get drunk without consideration for your own persons, and for the nation to which you belong, thus harming its reputation and showing either a lack of principles or a lack of any thought, and finally those who, even though with repugnance, have been put in jail and punished with the rigor of the Law:

I will not allow such abuses during my stay here. They are always a dishonour to your nation, one of the most civilized in Europe. Take my advice: abandon your pernicious ways, obey your officers, do not abandon them until you arrive back at the port of departure where you will receive the just reward for your labour. In the bosom of your families you will live happily for a while. Then you will be sought after again by other ship owners who will pay you more than for the present voyage and you will live this way, governed by your desires for a life similar to life during the golden centuries.

But if you persist in your bad intentions, you will be miserable creatures, and for my part, I will pursue you wherever you hide.

I have given orders to arrest all deserting sailors and all others who cause scandals in the town by their bad conduct, and they will be taken to jail first, then turned over to their respective Captains, but I also say, to the sailors who respect the political laws of these territories and who behave well, that I will take them under my protection and treat them like brothers, because in the end we are all sons of Adam and Eve, and we have to struggle with the hardships of this life.

I hope that you will amend yourselves, under the guarantee of the protection that I intend to give to the good ones; otherwise, I will deal harshly with you.

The Governor of the Island of Guam.

Guam, September 28th, 1824.

C5. Certificate of Captain Russell

To whom it may concern:

I certify that the frigate **Emily** under my command, which anchored at Apra in the Island of Guam on March 12th 1824 and sailed on the 28th of the same month, that I anchored again on September 1st until my next departure; on such occasions I have received from the Governor proofs of the finest attention and the many supports that he has provided me.

In faith thereof, I affix my signature.

P. Russell

C6. Certificate of Captain Duncan

Guam, April 5th, 1824.

I, John Duncan, Master of the ship **Sir Charles Price**, certify that I have received from the Governor of Guam all the help that he could give me, as of October 1823 until December 20th of the same year and again when I returned, on March 21st 1824 until I again sail, the same as the other Captains. I declare that one of my young men was involved in a quarrel that took place in one of the houses of the city, for which reason Captain Bunker of the ship **Castor** took a complaint to the Governor at about 10 in the evening and in my presence I observed that the countrymen who were fighting had taken over the house of Rita de Acosta (woman with whom Captain B. lived) in whose house the dispute about certain payments arose, and Captain B. asked the Governor to place the contenders under guard. The Governor gave specific orders that nobody be found in said house.

The above-mentioned youth who is called Josue [Josiah?], when he tried to escape was wounded with a saber, but I have the pleasure to inform that he soon recovered from his wounds.

John Duncan

C7. Certificate of Captain Ford

Ship Timor.

I, Edward Ford, certify that I have received from His Excellency the Governor during the seven days of my stay many attentions and assistance.

September 26th, 1824.

Edward Ford

C8. Certificate of Captain Thompson

Guam, April 23rd, 1824.

I certify that, having arrived on April 14th, 1824, with damage and a shortage of food, on account of the accidents that happened to me, I solicited assistance from the Governor so that my ship could continue her voyage. Consequently, I am obliged to H.E. for the very good services, for having given me as much as I needed, and also six natives and ten Englishmen who had remained on the Island, with whom I sailed on the 23rd of the same month for Japan.

Stephen Thompson,
Commander of the ship **Supply**.

C9. Certificate of Captain Dunn

I certify that

the ship **Saracen** under my command, which anchored in the Bay of Umata on April 17th 1824, with the intention to refresh my crew, take on wood and water, and continue afterwards to the coasts of Japan on May 9th 1824.

For this reason, I cannot but show feelings of my gratitude for the good treatment that I have received from His Excellency José Ganga Herrero, as he has provided me with all the help that he could give. This has also happened to all the other commanders who cannot find expressions to show their sincere thanks, as I have heard them say on the coasts of Japan.

I anchored again in St. Louis of Apra on September 28th 1824 and I experienced the same good treatment that His Excellency could give, and that no Captain could receive anywhere else, with more generosity and kindness.

Given aboard the **Saracen** in the Port of St. Louis of Apra, October 10th 1824.
James G. Dunn

Editor's notes.

There is another statement by Captain Dunn on file. He had also visited Guam in May 1823 and left one of his men, James Graham, who had attacked him with a lance at sea but had been disarmed. This ship was to visit Guam again in 1825.

The translator of the English documents in this file appears to have been a man named Felix de Gaztelu, who worked at the Malacañan Palace in Manila; he had visited Guam in November 1824.

C10. Legal opinion of Government Attorney Portillo

Note: Portillo served as interim Member of the Audiencia for War matters, and worked in the offices of the Captaincy General. His opinion had been solicited for by the Governor of the Philippines.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In view of the contents of the report of Don José Montilla and following meetings held in the case, it can be seen rather clearly that the Governor of the Marianas has pretended by remitting these Records of proceedings and Certificates from English whaling Captains to enhance his proceedings and the conduct that he has observed.

The Captain General's Office is not concerned with the details of the wrongs that the Governor of the Marianas has inflicted upon individuals of those Islands, only on the point that he has an obligation to prevent disputes between the two nations, for any wrong done to their subjects is something that must prudently be avoided.

The foreign transients, not enjoying the military code of law, justice in whatever occurrence caused by their disorders must be carried out through a proper trial and that is the way the delinquent must be punished and reparation sought for any wrong done.

The Governor of the Marianas did not follow the proper formalities in the summary investigations into the various quarrels that occurred between the natives of the Marianas and the English sailors, and he contented himself only with the procedures against the sailors who rebelled aboard the frigate **Cretan** (vide the letter of her Captain), but not to the deed itself, according to Montilla.

The proclamation that he published to English sailors appears to be the work of a deranged or overheated imagination, when he says that "the King asked me when I left the Court to proceed in accordance with the instructions that he has given me for the purpose of preserving the friendship he has for George IV," and as well when he offers "to take under my protection and to treat you as brothers, because in the end we are all sons of Adam and Eve, and we have to struggle with the vicissitudes of this life."

Such discourses must be taken as prejudicial and of disagreeable consequences, with regards to inviting the sailors to leave their ships on account of the protection which they would receive from the Governor as long as they behave well; this is obviously against what His Majesty has directed about not allowing them to stay any longer than necessary for refreshing their supplies.

Besides, the last letter¹ says that, even though the Governor of the Marianas is a good man, the Captain regrets to say that the English sailors committed deprivations in Guam with impunity and that most of them escaped punishment. Therefore, the Governor has lacked truthfulness in narrating the facts.

I am therefore of the opinion that, in what concerns this Captain General's Office, Y.L. should let the letter of transmittal of the Governor and the report of Don José Montilla remain in this Secretariat, as testimony, as well as the letters that have been translated in this file, and also the opinion of this Audiencia member and the Superior Decree of Y.L. that follow it, that said Governor should be given an answer and warned to watch his proceedings closely when dealing with help given to foreigners, that he should not allow them to stay any longer than necessary for their assistance, that he should have opened summary investigations, submitted records of proceedings, upon the various criminal acts by sailors, that he is not to allow the disembarkation of most

1 Ed. note: He refers to an anonymous note, perhaps written by Captain Coffin of the ship *Transit*.

of the crew in order to prevent their escape and desertion from their ships, that he is to proceed to the arrest of those who are dispersed through the islands, and to deliver them to ships of their nationality that willingly accept them, then he should be held responsible for whatever happens, if they stay behind.

However, with regards to the relationship between this case file and the one remitted to the Royal Audiencia about the proceedings of said Governor with the residents of the islands and others involved, I am of the opinion that this file should also be sent to said court for prosecution.

Manila, 27 January 1825.

Portillo

C11. Decision of the interim Governor General

Manila, 3 February 1825.

Send a transmittal letter to the Royal Audiencia, enclosing the original case file from which this testimony was taken, and insert for the Governor of the Marianas the above opinion from the interim Audiencia member for War, and the concurring Decree, so that he may give, on his part, the most exact and timely compliance.

Martinez¹

[Minute]

Today the file was remitted to the Royal Audiencia, and a letter written to the attention of the Governor of the Marianas.

Baza

1 Ed. note: Juan Antonio Martinez served as interim Governor of the Philippines, between 1822 and 1825.

Documents 1824D

**The bizarre murder of the English Captain
John Stavers by Governor Ganga of Guam
on 17 October 1824**

Sources: PNA, for D1 and D2; a copy of D2 is also in the Safford's Papers, N° 2, pp. 56-59.

D1. Letter of Governor Ganga Herrero, dated 15 June 1825

Superior Government N° 137.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Since the first day of February until now I have been so busy every day with the extraordinary tasks that have been caused and are being caused by the financial accounts of the Administration and Warehouse for all the effects in general that I was unable to do anything else but what Y.E. may be in need of, regarding the minute details of this Government, and the documents destined to the Ministry of Finance are not even complete yet. Also I have to finish the census of land, cattle, and fowl that is being carried out and I will advise Y.E. when it is finished.

Three days ago, I delivered to the Administrator of Finance here, the general Inventory of the Artillery and the effects as they were unduly in my care, because Don José Montilla had them at his charge also, and he should have turned them over to the Administrator after José de Medinilla had given them to him, as intended in the Instruction of the regulations.

In my previous correspondence, I reported with notarized statement on the death of the English Captain John Stavers for having insulted this Government and the Barrack Guard in the extreme and that the Mate in command of the frigate **Coquette** that was under the command of the deceased was heard to say when he sailed that a war frigate would come to destroy this Palace and kill me, but having returned a short time later to tack back and forth before this City, he came ashore with his boat and begged me to let him make fresh provisions and to forgive him the words that he had said before his previous departure as he had proffered them with regret soon after the death of Stavers who had brought him up, and that he was disappointed and counselled also by the other Captains whose faults said Stavers was made guilty of, and in whatever Government or town, the same thing would have happened to him, this is what he, as well as all the

other Captains who have gone or arrived since that time until now, blame Stavers, and they are very happy with the burial ceremonies that I have given him here.

All of which I bring to the superior attention of Y.L. for your information.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Agaña, 15 June 1825.

Herrero

[To] His Lordship the Military and Political Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

D2. The aftermath, 10 years later

Letter of Governor Villalobos, dated 2 June 1834

Superior Government N° 144.

Dear Sir:

On 15 November 1830, and as a result of the Royal Order of 25 May 1829, I was ordered by His Lordship Mariano Ricafort, the former Captain General of those Royal Domains, to institute proceedings against the authors of the violent death given on the night of 17 October 1824 to Mr. Stavers, Captain of an English whaler. According to the details of the Record of proceedings, the defendants in that crime were Captain Justo de la Cruz, Sergeant Benancio Perez, former Lieutenant José de Castro and the soldier, today Captain of the urban militia, Demetrio de Castro, being also very guilty the ex-Governor José Ganga Herrero, and for this reason, in accordance with orders of the Royal Audiencia, dated 7 April 1826, it was indispensable for me to place the guilty ones in prison and to suspend in the exercise of their functions the following: Justo de la Cruz and Benancio Perez, and consequently also to place an embargo on the property mentioned in said Royal Order before the opening of the trial. Until now I have proceeded with severity and justice but at the same time I cannot separate myself from feelings of humanity, specially regarding Captain Justo de la Cruz, an old and honorable man, full of good services, and whom the embargo of his goods will make absolutely poor. Regarding Sergeant second-class Benancio Perez, unhappily married with 8 or 10 little children who depend upon the daily personal work of that unfortunate father, and absolutely poor also as he is now a prisoner and for the same reason as Justo de la Cruz. Their suspensions from employment that result from the definitive sentence pronounced and approved with all due formalities by the King, are stated clearly in the Royal Ordinances, but a suspension like the one I am dealing with here is totally of another kind, and the judgment of the defendants does not differ from those merited by any individuals in the Army under a trial until the time that they receive a verdict. These reasons we cite in order not to let the above two military men perish in their prison, and they will be assisted with part of their salary for their rank, as long as the funds allow it, and as the equivalent for the daily ration that is due to an unhappy prisoner, I had to determine it, as there do not exist instructions in the matter, and it is in accordance with justice and humanity. They have been assisted during their imprison-

ment with funds allowed by, but not to exceed, the amount of the Subsidy until the Royal Finance decide either to imprison them definitively, or put them on probation, and to deliver to them the embargoed property in due course. Until such time, as they are absolutely poor, they pass the monthly muster, just like the other Army detainees until the Superior decision, or final verdict, is reached in their trial.

Don Justo de la Cruz joins me in this request and will continue at half the salary that he was getting before, and as for the reasons that I have indicated, it does not appear to me to be a serious and urgent case for me to decide, I respectfully raise it to Y.L. for your superior resolution. I cannot but bring to the attention of Y.L. what I had the honor to expose to Y.L. about this in Letter N° 74, dated 2 February 1832. To conclude, I believe that the greatest justice and proper humanity will be served in giving these military persons half their salaries until the final verdict, without prejudice, so that in the meantime, in case of emergency, they might be replaced in the Royal Service, specially if the merits of the case should decide that they may return to these Islands, as is the case at present.

With this reason, I must bring to the high consideration of Y.L. that the services rendered by the officers and soldiers during the greater part of the imprisonment of Don Justo de la Cruz and Benancio Perez were heavier, it was impossible not to miss them at their post, I replaced them somewhat as best as I could manage, albeit with extra work, in order to make a few small savings for the Royal Finances, despite the allowances given to Don Justo de la Cruz and to Benancio Perez and the others in question during the monthly musters.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña, 2 June 1834.

Francisco Villalobos

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

Document 1824E

Logbook of the ship China for 1824

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; PMB 216.

Note: It was probably not a whaler, as it does not appear in Log Inv.

Extract from this log, between Guayaquil and Canton via Hawaii and Alamagan**Ship China. Voyage from Salem to Peru, Chile and Canton, 1823-25.**

...

Remarks Friday October 1st 1824

Moderate breezes & pleasant weather. Middle Part took L.S. [=larboard side] stud-ding sails. At 7 a.m. saw the Ladrone Islands bearing from SW to W by N. At noon observed the following bearing [:] NE part of Almagun [sic] NNW & has a volcano on the North point of the Isle. Almagan can be seen 40' [i.e. miles] Dist. it is of moderate height.

Lat. by DR [i.e. dead reckoning] 18°01 [N.] Lat. by Obs. 17°56. Variation 1/2 point. Long. in. 145°40 [E.] Long. by Obs. 146°44.

Remarks Saturday October 2nd 1824

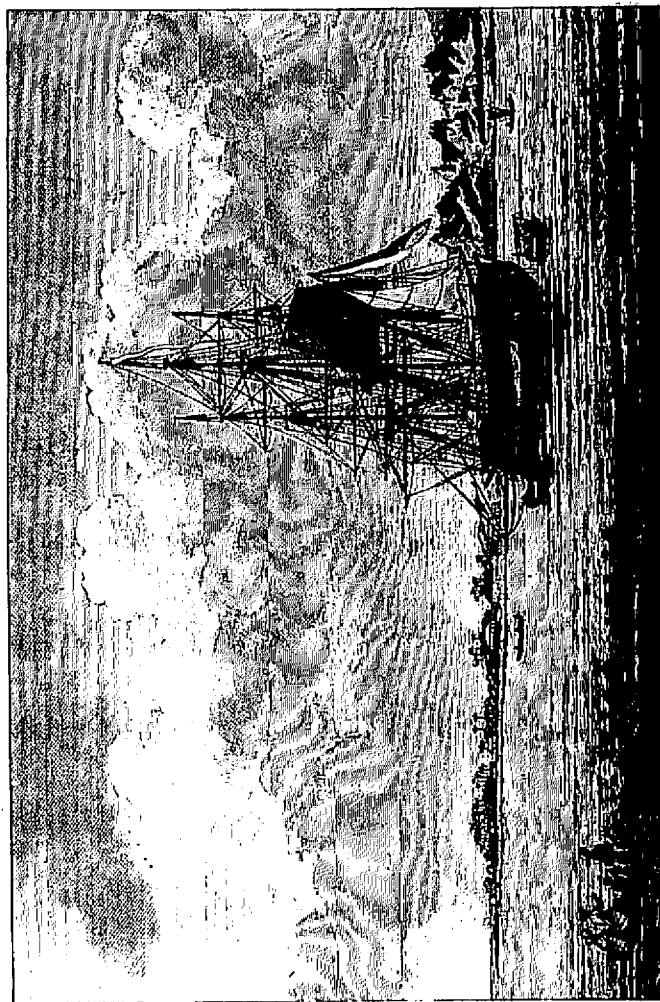
Fine breezes & pleasant weather. At 1 PM Almegan [sic] bore N by W. At 10:30 squally, took in top L.S. stud sails & top mizzen Royal. At 6 AM up L.S. S.S. & Royal. Ends with fine breezes.

Lat. by D.R. 18°05 Lat. by Obs. 17°55. Long.in. 143°40.

...



Captain Louis-Isidore Duperrey.



VUE DE L'A. POINTE VENUS, A MATAVAE, ILE DE TAÏTI.

De l'expédition de Bougainville

Documents 1824F

The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of Captain Duperrey

Source: Captain Louis-Isidore Duperrey. Voyage autour de monde (Paris, 1825-1830).

Notes: The historical portion of this voyage was never published in full (stopping at Chili), although 7 volumes of text and 4 atlases were produced. Its large size may explain why Duperrey's full narrative was never published. The name of the ship, Coquille in French, means Sea-shell.

Editor's notes on Native place names.

The time has come to give a list of the native names of the Gilbert Islands, and some of the foreign names applied to them at various times. From north to south:

Atoll, or Island	Other historical names
	Scarborough Group (1-6)
1. Makin	Touching, Pitt.
2. Butaritari	Pitt, Great Makin, Allen, Gillespy, Smith, Scarborough.
3. Marakei	Matthew(s).
4. Abaiang	Charlotte, Six-Iles.
5. Tarawa	Knoy, Cook.
6. Maiana	Hall, Gilbert.
	Simpson Group (7-9)
7. Kuria	Woodle.
8. Aranuka	Henderville, Harbottle, Starbuck; Nanouki, Nauki.
9. Abemama	Simpson, Hopper, Dundas.
	Kingsmill Group (10-16)
10. Nonouti	Bishop, Sydenham, Blaney, Teet, Dog. Sidney.
11. Tabiteuea	Bishop, Drummond, Nautilus.
12. Beru	Peru, Perote, Francis, Sunday, Maria.
13. Nukunau	Byron.
14. Onotoa	Clerk, Clark, Eliza, perhaps Chase, Lincoln.
15. Tamana	Rotch, Phoebe, perhaps also Chase, Lincoln.
16. Arorae	Hope, Hurd.
	Isolated islands.
17. Banaba	Ocean, Gardner.
18. Nauru	Pleasant, Nawodo, Schauk.

As for the native place names on Kosrae Island, first explored by the present expedition, some corresponding place names are as follows:

Ualan	Same as Kosrae I. proper (as opposed to Ualan + Lelu).
Hope, Strong I.	Kusaie, or Kosrae.
Coquille Harbor	Okat Harbor.
Chabrol Harbor	Lele Harbor.
Lottin Harbor	Utwa Harbor.
Bérard Harbor	Yela Harbor.

F1. Introduction—Extract from a report submitted to the Academy of sciences, on 2 August 1825

In the archipelago of the Mulgraves Islands, a general chart of which was drawn by Mr. Duperrey, Mr. de Blossville has carried out a survey of the King's-Mill Islands, Hopper, Woodle and Henderville Islands, and Mr. de Blois, that of Hall Island, part of an archipelago of five islands, and finally, that of the Mulgraves themselves, properly called the Marshall [sic] Islands.

The vast archipelago of the Carolines, so badly known until now, has been the main theater of geographic operations of the **Coquille**. The general chart that Mr. Duperrey has drawn up will rectify many errors. Bonham Island is shown according to a survey made of it by Mr. de Blossville. Ualan Island, which the American Captain Crozer [rather Crocker] had named Strong, and to which Mr. Duperrey has restituted the name given to it by the inhabitants, deserves a very special mention. During a visit that lasted 15 days, the officers of the corvette explored in every direction. They have found rather large ports: one of them was named Chabrol, another received the name of Coquille; they are shown in the Atlas, in accordance with the detailed operations carried out by Messieurs Bérard, Lottin, and de Blois.

Mr. de Blois made a separate and complete survey of the Tugulu and Pelelap Islands, which are probably the MacAskil [Pingelap] Islands of certain charts, as well as that of the Mugul, Ugai and Aura [Mokil] Islands, that were discovered on 18 June. To this officer, we also owe the detailed chart of the rather large group named Hogoleu [i.e. Chuuk], which had already been mentioned by Father Cantova a long time ago, and in the middle of which the **Coquille** was sailing on 24 June 1824. The survey, made by Mr. Lottin, of the Tamatan, Fanadik and Ollap Islands, effectively links the operations of the **Coquille** in that neighborhood with those of the **Uranie**.

Charts are improved, not just by adding new discoveries, but also when non-existent islands, reefs, or sand banks are removed from them. The **Coquille** expedition has rendered many services in this regard.

...¹

1 Ed. note: It is amazing that Pohnpei, a high-island, was not seen by this expedition. Nevertheless, it will finally be re-discovered soon and appear on charts.

F2. Track of the Coquille through Micronesia

Source: *Hydrographical and physical atlas of the expedition, published in 1829, pages 90* to 97* but excluding the physical notes on currents, barometer and thermometer readings, and weather conditions. As far weather conditions, see Dumont d'Urville's journal (Doc. 1824HI).*

Date	Neighborhood	Position at noon	Variation	Remarks
May	Drummond I.	1°34'22"S 172°36'5"E	7°45'	Canoe coming alongside. Dorado.
15	Sydenham I.	0°38'58"S 171°58'30"E	7°45'	Many canoes in contact with us.
17	Henderville & W.	0°9'8"N 171°13'41"E	8°0'	Canoes from these islands in contact.
18	Hall I.	0°44'8"N 170°41'20"E	8°40'	Dolphins.
19	Knox, Charlotte ¹	1°32'48"N 170°25'0"E	10°15'	Large number of dolphins.
20	Matthews Is.	2°11'15"N 170°48'30"E	9°20'	Algae, whales, petrels, dolphins. ²
21		2°26'40"N 170°51'12"E	9°18'	Dolphins.
22		2°52'6"N 170°9'48"E	8°21'	Large number of dolphins & dorados.
23		3°24'9"N 169°38'44"E	8°21'	
24		3°49'19"N 169°38'55"E	8°1'	
25		4°26'7"N 169°34'49"E	8°1'	Tunas. Petrels and noddies.
26	Mulgrave Is.	5°30'30"N 169°33'57"E	8°7'	
27		5°39'41"N 168°36'0"E	9°23'	Dolphins.
28	Bonham Is.	5°52'27"N 167°40'54"E	9°25'	
29		6°44'52"N 166°30'28"E	8°15'	Dolphins.
30		6°22'19"N 165°36'44"E	10°10'	U.S. ship, discovered Boston [Ebon] I.
31		5°38'54"N 164°53'38"E	9°18'	Tunas. Bonitos. ³ Flying-fish.
1 June		5°4'8"N 164°4'14"	10°0'	Bonitos and flying-fish.
2	Ualan I.	5°2'57"N 162°48'55"E	9°21'	Boobies, tropicbirds, frigates, noddies.
3		5°7'49"N 161°14'46"E	10°21'	Tunas, bonitos. Sea-swallows.
4		5°18'28"N 160°36'33"E	9°20'	Anchored at Ualan at 11:20 a.m.
5	Coquille Harbor	5°21'23"N 160°40'27"E	9°20'	Observatory
15		5°34'32"N 160°34'2"	9°20'	Left Ualan at 7:55 a.m.
16		6°12'20"N 159°43'0"	8°20'	Bonitos.
17	McAskill Is.	6°16'52"N 158°30'22"E	6°18'	Boobies, Canoes in contact.
18	Duperrey Is.	6°49'43"N 157°40'21"E	6°18'	Canoes in contact. ⁴
19		7°53'28"N 155°39'50"E	4°36'	Dolphins. Algae.
20		8°39'49"N 154°33'21"E	7°30'	<i>Aurora</i> shell (rare, brought by a canoe).
21		8°26'49"N 153°14'0"	4°23'	
22		8°15'53"N 151°46'18"E	5°38'	Booby, from unknown parts.
23		7°35'45"N 150°46'36"E	4°0'	Frigate and dolphins.
24	D'Urville/Hogoueu	7°26'22"N 150°0'10"E	5°0'	Many tunas. Small noddies, tropicbirds.

1 Passed north of the magnetic equator.

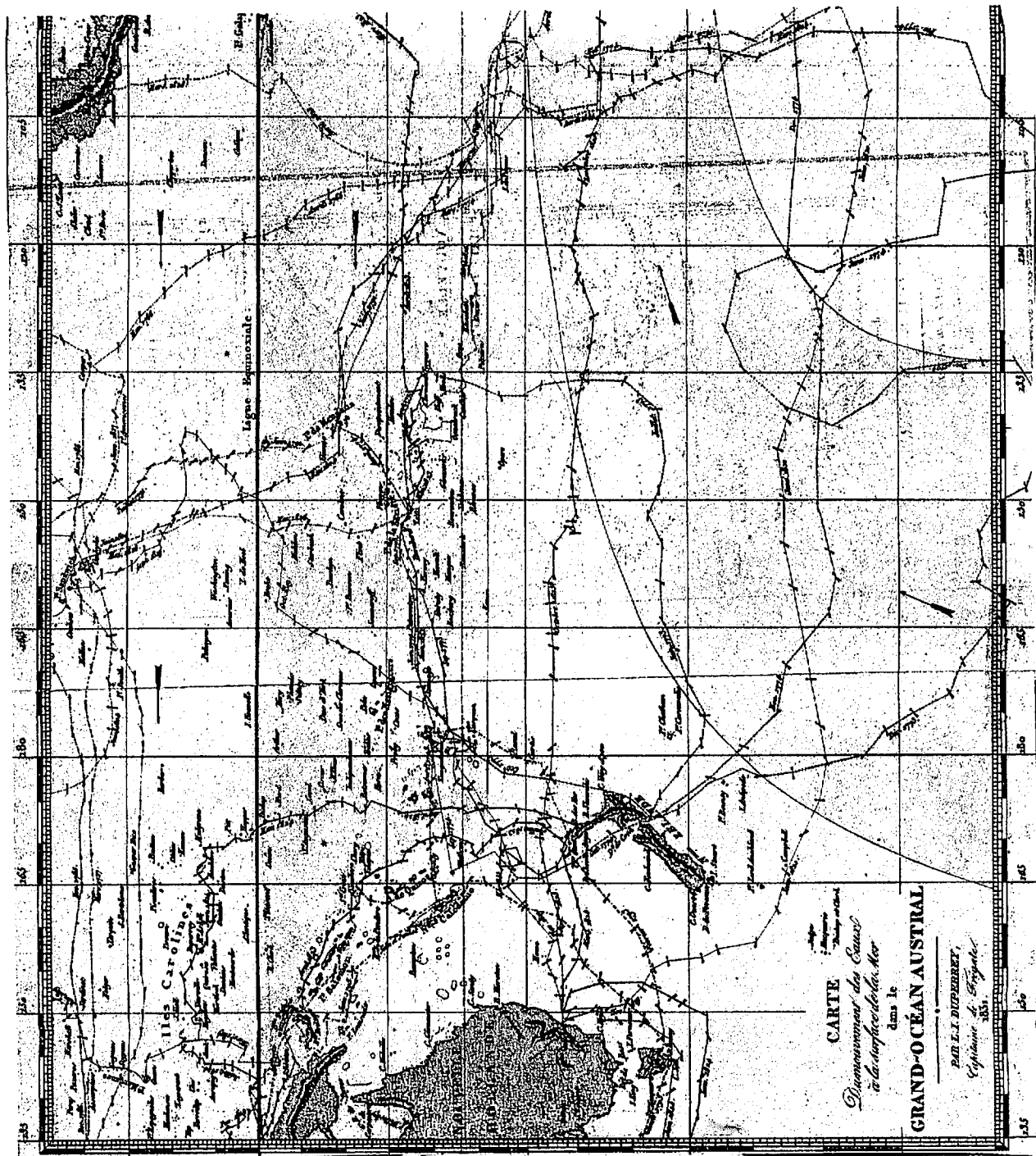
2 No bottom at 150 fathoms.

3 Scientific name *Pelamis oceanica*, Lesson.

4 Ed. note: The ship passed about 30' north of Pohnpei, without seeing it.

25	Hogoleu Is.	7°41'5"N 149°22'49" 5'0"	Contact with natives of this group.
26		7°41'25"N 149°9'30" 3'48"	<i>Hydrophis bicolor</i> , the sea serpent.
27		7°13'14"N 149°11'40" 5'42"	Dolphins and bonito.
28		7°11'4"N 148°54'39" 2'56"	
29		7°12'30"N 148°0'12" 4'29"	Triggetfish and surgeonfish.
30	[Pulap]¹	7°33'23"N 147°13" 2'3"	Natives come on board.
1 July		8°57'39"N 146°40'22" 2'3"	Turtle, Booby, velvet-arm.
2		8°57'46"N 145°50'50" 4'18"	Large number of dolphins.
3	Bigall I.	8°21'18"N 145°24'40" 4'18"	A small shark.
4		7°17'15"N 145°7'23" 3'30"	Noddies and tropicbirds.
5	Satawal I.	7°20'46"N 144°48'6" 3'30"	Natives come on board.
6		7°52'24"N 144°53'55" 3'36"	Sea-swallows.²
7		6°50'11"N 144°19'31" 3'0"	Black petrels, sea-swallows, tropicbirds.
8		5°34'7"N 144°6'20" 2'29"	Same birds. Saw a piece of wood.
9		3°54'7"N 144°5'18" 2'29"	

1 The Islands of Tamatam, Fanadik, and Olap.
 2 Passed south of the magnetic equator.



Track of the Coquille through Micronesia in 1824. Chart by Duperrey in his work entitled "The Great Austral Ocean", 1831.

F3. Duperrey's account of his explorations in Micronesia

Paper on geographical operations during the voyage of His Majesty's Corvette *Coquille*, between 1822 and 1825.

Source: Duperrey, L.I. *Mémoire sur les opérations géographiques...* (Paris, n.d. [1827]).

While travelling on the surface of the globe with His Majesty's Corvette *Coquille*, we, her officers, moved by a desire of cooperation worthy of the greatest praise, have applied talent and zeal in vying with one another to determine as accurately as possible the geographical positions and the configurations of all the places that the circumstances of the voyage brought us to.

All of these determinations, as well as the analysis of the 56 charts, will appear in our [geographic] Atlas that we are publishing under the auspices of His Excellency Count Chabrol, Minister of the Navy, but we think that we can publish here the numerical results that we have adopted only after a rigorous examination of all the astronomical and nautical observations made during the voyage.

I was about to finish my draft copies of the charts that I had sketched during the voyage of the *Uranie*, when, at about the beginning of 1822, His Majesty Louis XVIII wished to entrust me with the command of a new expedition whose purpose was to add a few more documents to those brought in by Mr. Freycinet, relating to natural history, physics and navigation.

Mr. d'Urville,¹ with whom I had been intimately in contact over a great number of years, was invited to take part with me in all the adventures of this honorable enterprise.

...

Survey of the Gilbert Island Archipelago.

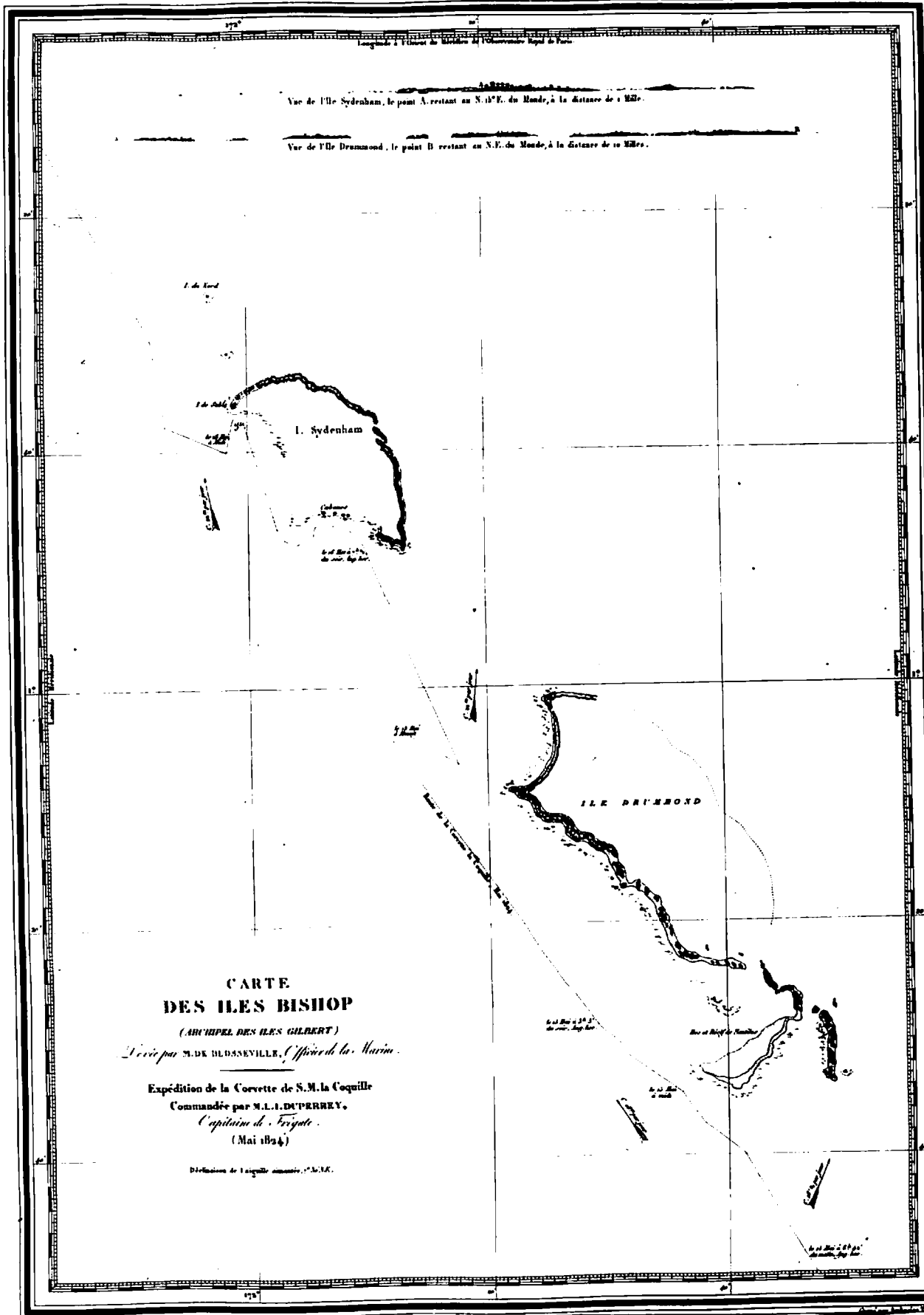
After we had determined the position of the Island of San Agustín,² we headed NNW, hoping to find on the equator the southern part of a long chain of low-lying islands that Captains Marshall and Gilbert, aboard the ships *Scarborough* and *Charlotte*, discovered in June 1788, while travelling in company from Port Jackson to China.

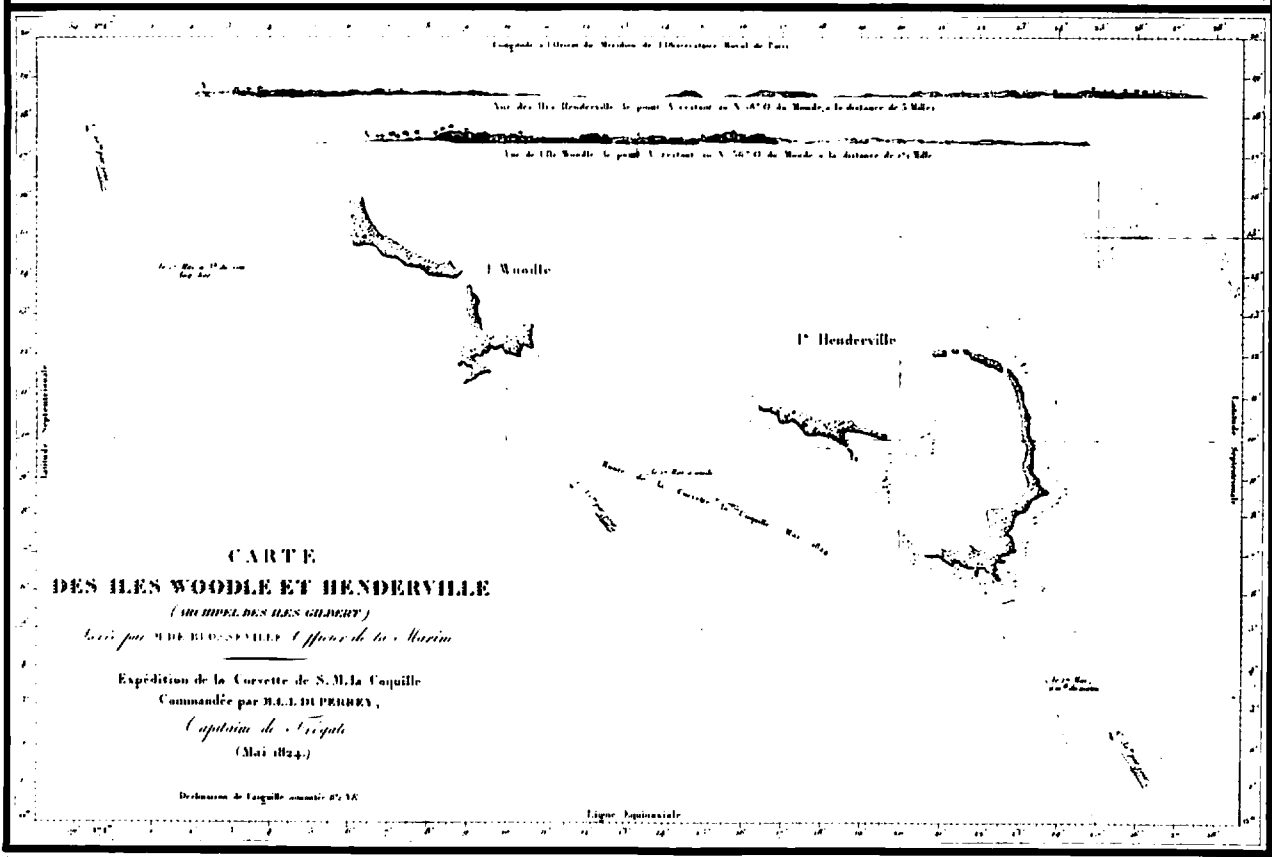
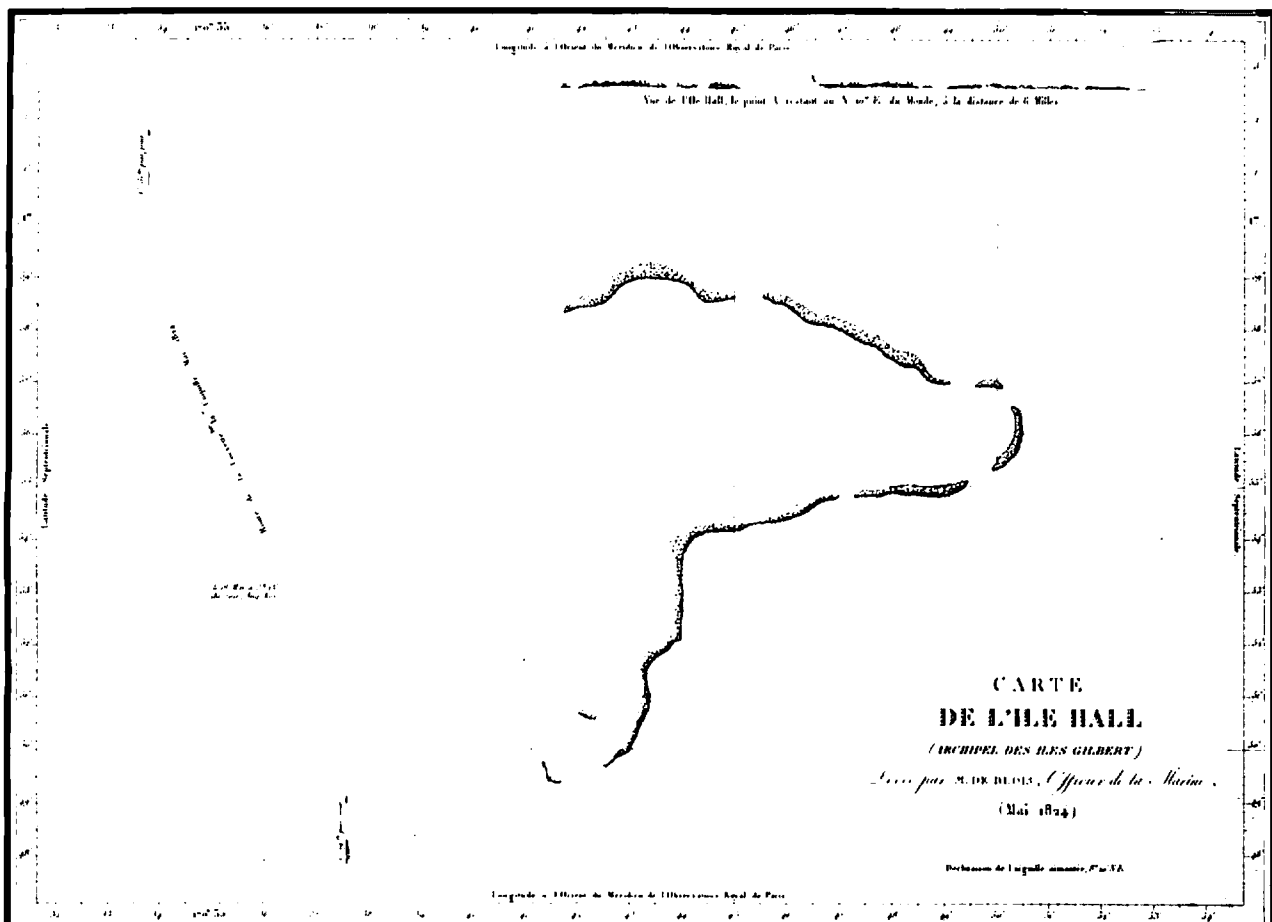
These islands, including those that were discovered south of the equator in 1799, by Captain Bishop, commanding the *Nautilus*, are laid out from SSE to NNW, between 1°40' lat. S. and 10° lat. N. They are designated on the charts as a single group collectively called Mulgrave [sic] Islands, but they may be divided into two parts by an empty space that lies between 4° and 6° lat. N. Admiral Krusenstern, whose nomenclature we have adopted,³ has applied the name Marshall to the northern part, and Gilbert to the southern part.

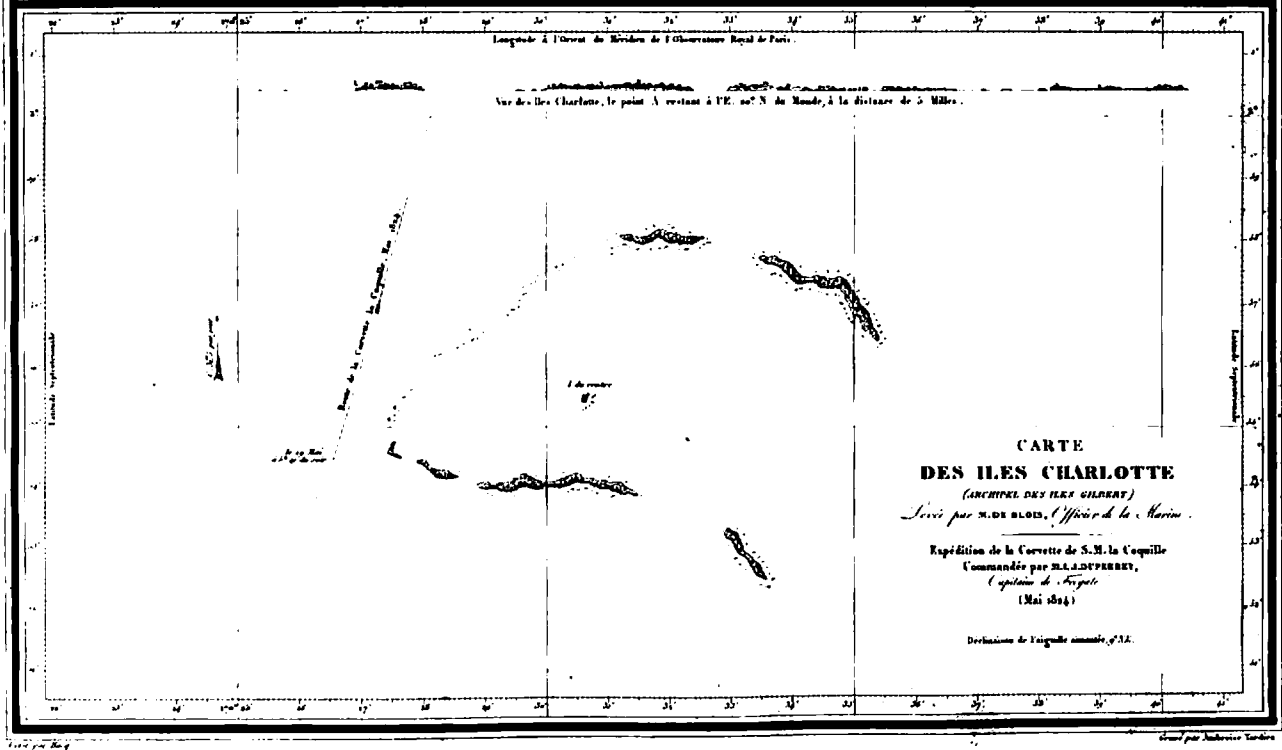
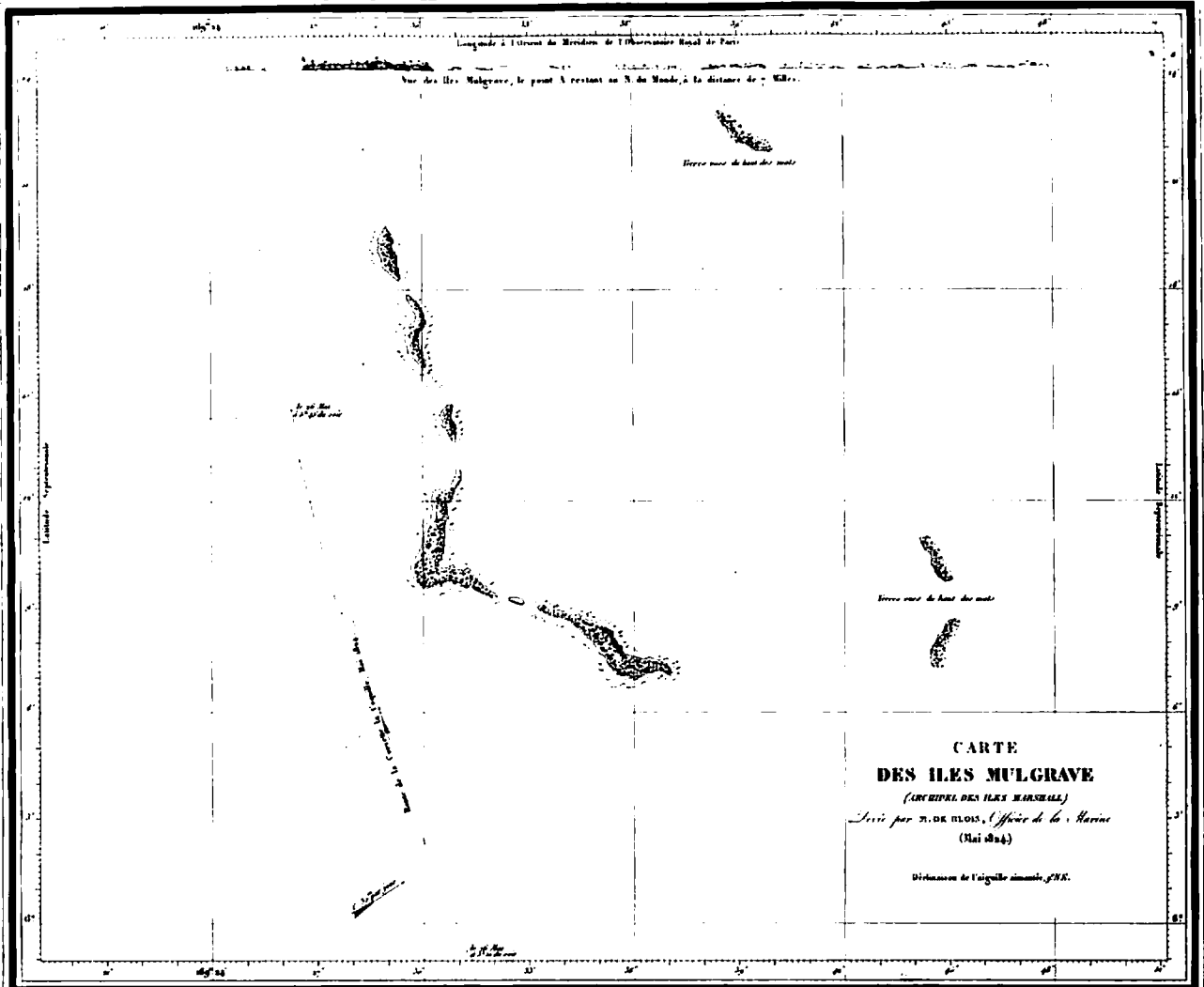
1 Mr. d'Urville, Navy Commander, is presently in charge of His Majesty's Corvette *Astrolabe*.

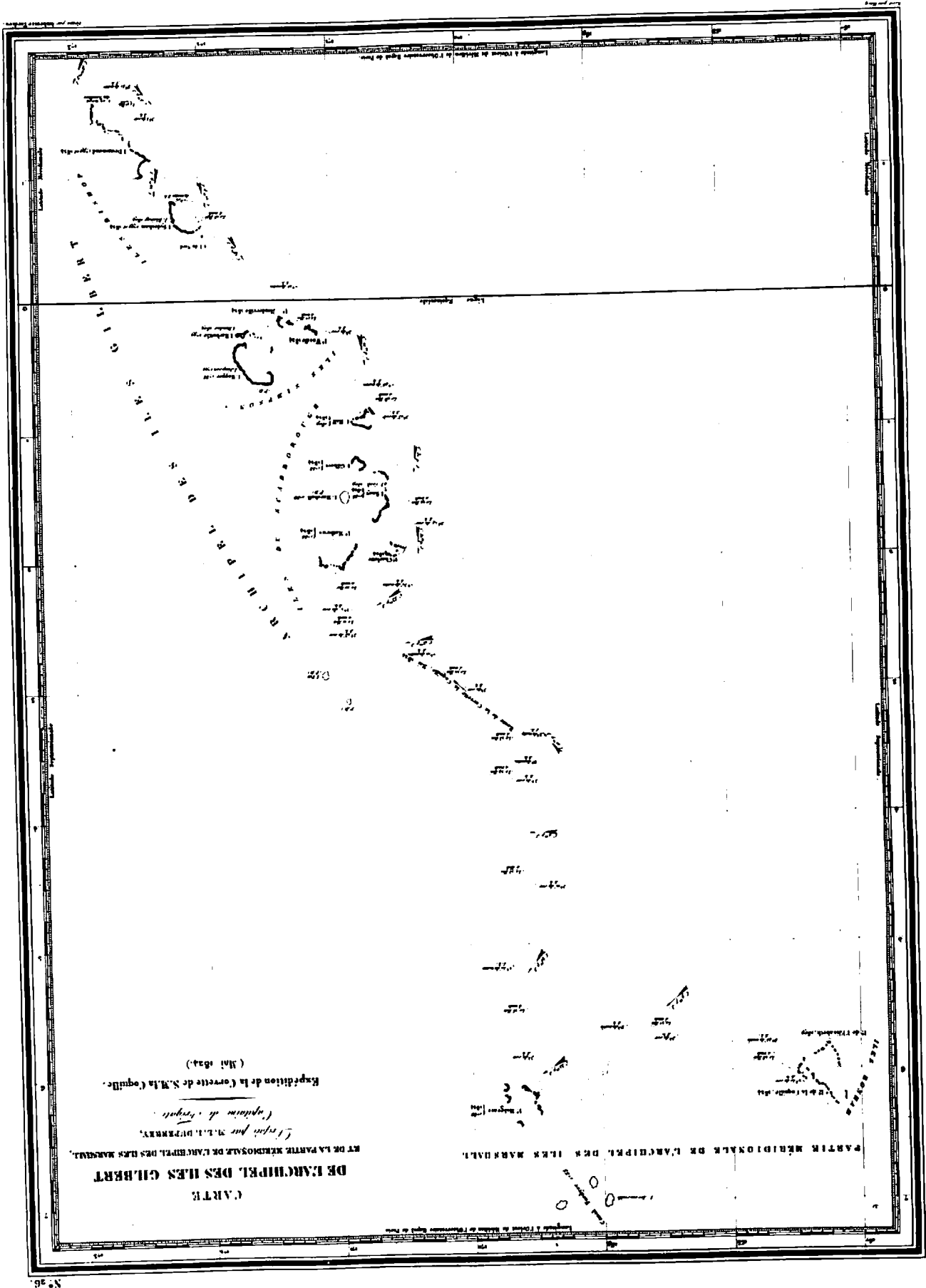
2 Ed. note: See 1781, *Maurelle*.

3 *Beitrag zur Hydrographie der grossen Ozean* (Leipzig, 1819).









Hall Island.

On 18 May, we surveyed Hall Island which we place in the following positions:

N point	0°59'20"	170°43'25" E.
E point	0°56'0"	170°50'25" E.
S point	0°49'20" N	170°41'40" E.

This island, discovered in 1809 by the brig **Elizabeth**, was placed as follows:¹

Latitude	1°0'0" N.
Longitude by lunar distances	170°36'13" E.
Longitude by chronometers	170°54'28" E.

From a comparison of latitudes, it is presumed that it was the N part of the island that was determined by the **Elizabeth**; consequently, we note a difference of 11' in longitudes here also, between our observations and the result obtained with the chronometers of that vessel.

While we coasted the west part of Hall Island, we noticed many huts and a few natives on the beach, but not one canoe. The east part of the island presents a long, circular, and very narrow sandspit, continuous, and covered with coconut trees. The lagoon is bordered on its west side by a barrier reef without a pass.

Gilbert, Knoy, Charlotte and Matthews Islands.

The 19th and 20th May were used by us to survey these islands, which our observations and the survey made by Mr. de Blois, place in the following positions:

Gilbert Island, S part	1°12'0" N	170°48'30" E.
Knoy Island, S part	1°18'10" N	170°40'0" E.
Knoy Island, N part	1°42'30" N	170°40'20" E.
Charlotte Island, center	1°55'30" N	170°30'38" E.
Matthews, N part	2°4'30" N	170°56'0" E.

The brig **Elizabeth** had also discovered an island in this neighborhood, which was named Cook and placed thus:²

Latitude	1°16'18" N
Longitude by lunar distances	170°32'58" E.
Longitude by chronometers	170°51'18" E.

This position being exactly the one we give to the south part of Knoy, we therefore conclude that Cook Island and Knoy Island are the same island. We will further note that there still exists a difference of 11' between our chronometers and those of the **Elizabeth**.

Mr. Krusenstern has assigned the name of Scarborough Group to these islands, which form the northern part of the Gilbert Islands.

1 John Purdy. *The Oriental Navigator*, page 154.

2 John Purdy. *The Oriental Navigator*, page 154.

We have covered the whole space comprised between 170° and 171° of longitude, and between 2° and 6° of latitude N., without meeting with one single island. We could not find either the group of islands placed on Butler's chart for 1822 in 4°20' lat. N.

Marshall Island Archipelago.

The time that we had to spend looking for discoveries did not allow us to re-examine the archipelago of the Marshall Islands, whose northern part was moreover visited by Captain Kotzebue in 1817. We limited our work to the rectification of the positions of the Mulgrave and Bonham Islands.

Mulgrave Islands.

On 29 May, our survey of these islands fixed the S part in

6°7'0" N and 169°35'0" E.

and the NW part in, 6°19'45" and 169°28'55" E.

The Mulgrave Islands, so named by Captain Marshall, consist of many islands of various sizes, linked by shoals and sand banks. They are a little higher than the previous ones, and the sea breaks at a short distance from the beaches, at least at the S and W points that we have sailed by very close to. We saw on the SW island very few inhabitants and only one canoe, pulled up the beach. The lookout announced very distant islands that the NE wind prevented us from investigating. They appeared to form a chain northeastward of those we had visited; all of them were very well wooded.

Bonham Islands.

On 28 May, we surveyed the north part of the Bonham [i.e. Jaluit] Islands, whose south part is yet another discovery made by the brig **Elizabeth** in 1807.

According to the observations made by this vessel, the islands in question were placed in the following position:¹

Latitude 5°48'18" E.

Longitude by lunar distances 167°36'10" E.

Longitude by chronometers 167°25'52" E.

According to our observations, the islands on the north side are in the following positions:

SE part 6°0'0" and 167°29'20" E.

NW part, 6°16'15" and 167°10'40" E.

If we apply corrections to the longitude given by the chronometers of the **Elizabeth**, by the 11' that we found for many of the Gilbert Islands, we will place the south part of the Bonham Islands in 5°48'18" N and 167°14'52" E.

These islands, covered by a very beautiful vegetation, are distributed around a lagoon that extends 30 miles along a SE-NW axis. They are generally higher and more populated than all the others that we saw along the track of Captain Marshall.

We keep the name of Elizabeth for the south part of the Bonham Islands, but we apply that of Coquille to the north part visited by us.

¹ John Purdy. The Oriental Navigator, page 154.

Survey of the Caroline Islands.

Butler, having supposed that Bonham Island was the same as Ebon, that Kadu had told Kotzebue about, I thought that Kili Island had to be N of it. So, I went up to 6°45' but did not see anything. From there, I headed WSW to look for this island in the position given to it by Captain Kotzebue.

On the 29th and 30th of May, our search was not successful, and I am certain that Kili is not between 165° and 168° of longitude nor between the parallels of 6°10' and 6°50' of lat. N. either. I therefore began to look westward along the parallel of Hope Island, as of 164°30' of longitude.

Boston Island.

On the 30th of May, we spoke with the American Captain George Joy, commanding the whaler **Boston**.¹ This captain had sighted Ocean Island, and he had discovered, on 25 May, that is, five days before our meeting, eight small low-lying islands on top of a reef of 30 miles in circumference, with an opening on the NE side.

He places this group in 4°45' N and 165°50" E. of Paris.

His longitude is the result of lunar distances, whose exactitude he has checked, when he sighted Baring Island, which seems to have been well determined by Captain Bond in 1792.

Captain Joy adds to this information, another to the effect that in March 1823, the American Captain Clark, commanding the whaler **Peruvian**,² had discovered a dangerous reef in 0°45' S. and 157°35' E. of Paris.

Stopover at Ualan Island.

We had been following the parallel of Hope Island,³ from the 165° of longitude without seeing anything. Although the weather continued to be beautiful, we lyeed to at night for fear of missing this island, which was indicated as very high. So, continuing our track westward, on 3 June, we reached the position assigned to Strong Island (same as the Ualan of the natives) by the American Captain Crozer [sic]⁴ who, commanding the **Nancy** of Boston, had sighted it on 20 December 1804.

The discovery of Strong Island, published in the *Moniteur* of 1 February 1806, had been made known to me by Mr. Buache a few days before my departure from France. The news item in the *Moniteur* said, more or less, that this island had been sighted from a distance of 11 leagues, and placed in the following position:

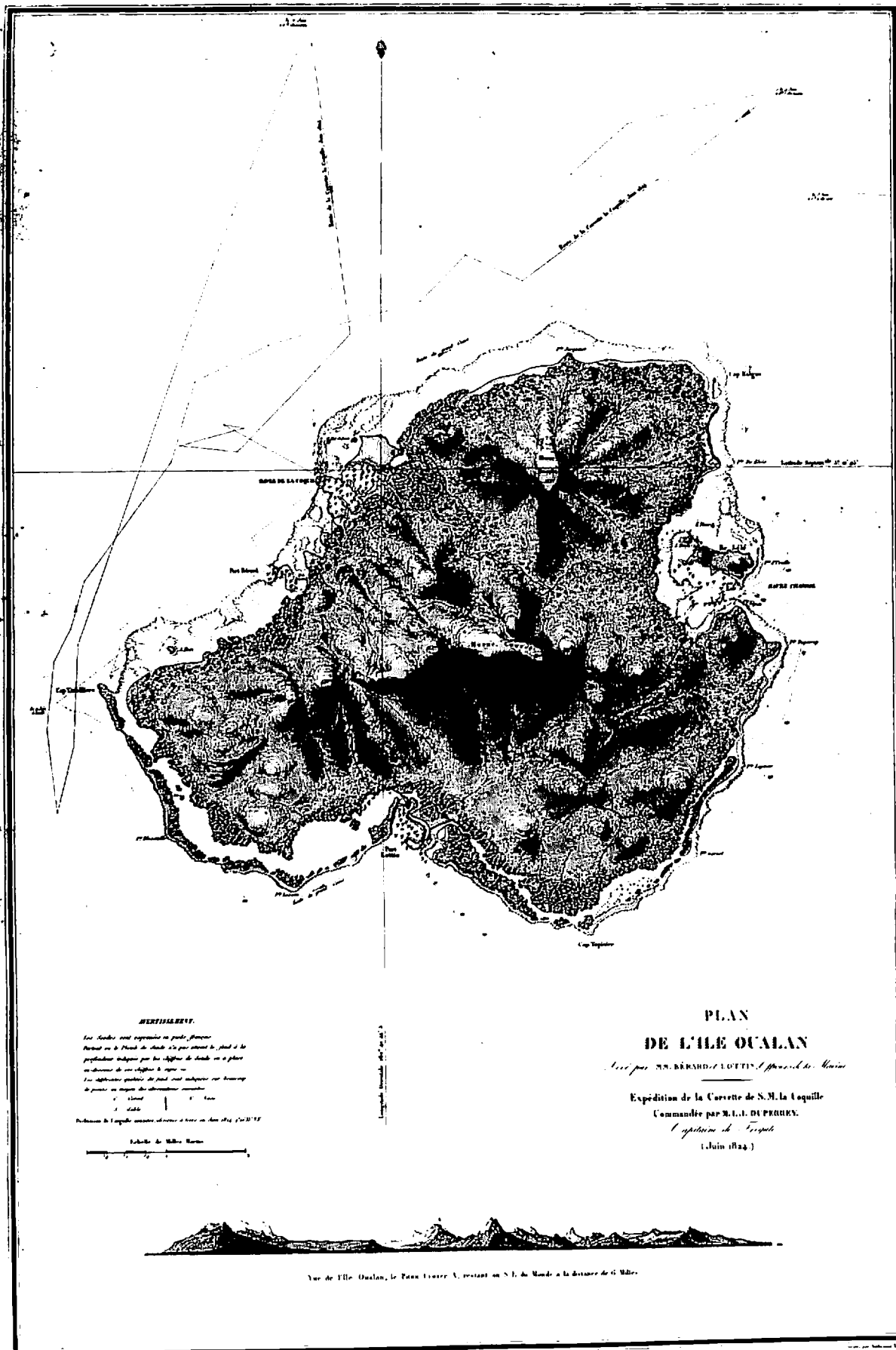
..... 5°12' N and 160°37'40" E. of Paris.

1 Ed. note: Left Nantucket on 18 December 1822 and returned to New York on 9 May 1825 (ref. Starbuck, pp. 242-243).

2 Ed. note: The *Peruvian* of Nantucket, Captain Edward Clark, left that port on 9 January 1822 and returned on 2 April 1824 (ref. Starbuck, pp. 242-243).

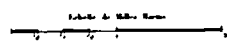
3 Ed. note: Reported by Captain Bromley of the ship *Hope* in 1807.

4 Ed. note: Transcription error for Crocker.



REMARQUES.

Les hauteurs sont indiquées en pieds, françaises.
 Partout où le relief du terrain n'a pu être déterminé par le plan et la perspective indiqués par les lignes de hachures on a placé un croquis de son relief à l'échelle de 1:1000.
 Les altitudes indiquées de pied sont indiquées par le nombre de pieds au-dessus des observations locales.
 1 Toise = 6 pieds
 1 Mètre = 3 pieds
 Publication de l'expédition commandée par M. de La Perouse le 15 Juin 1791.



**PLAN
 DE L'ILE OUALAN**

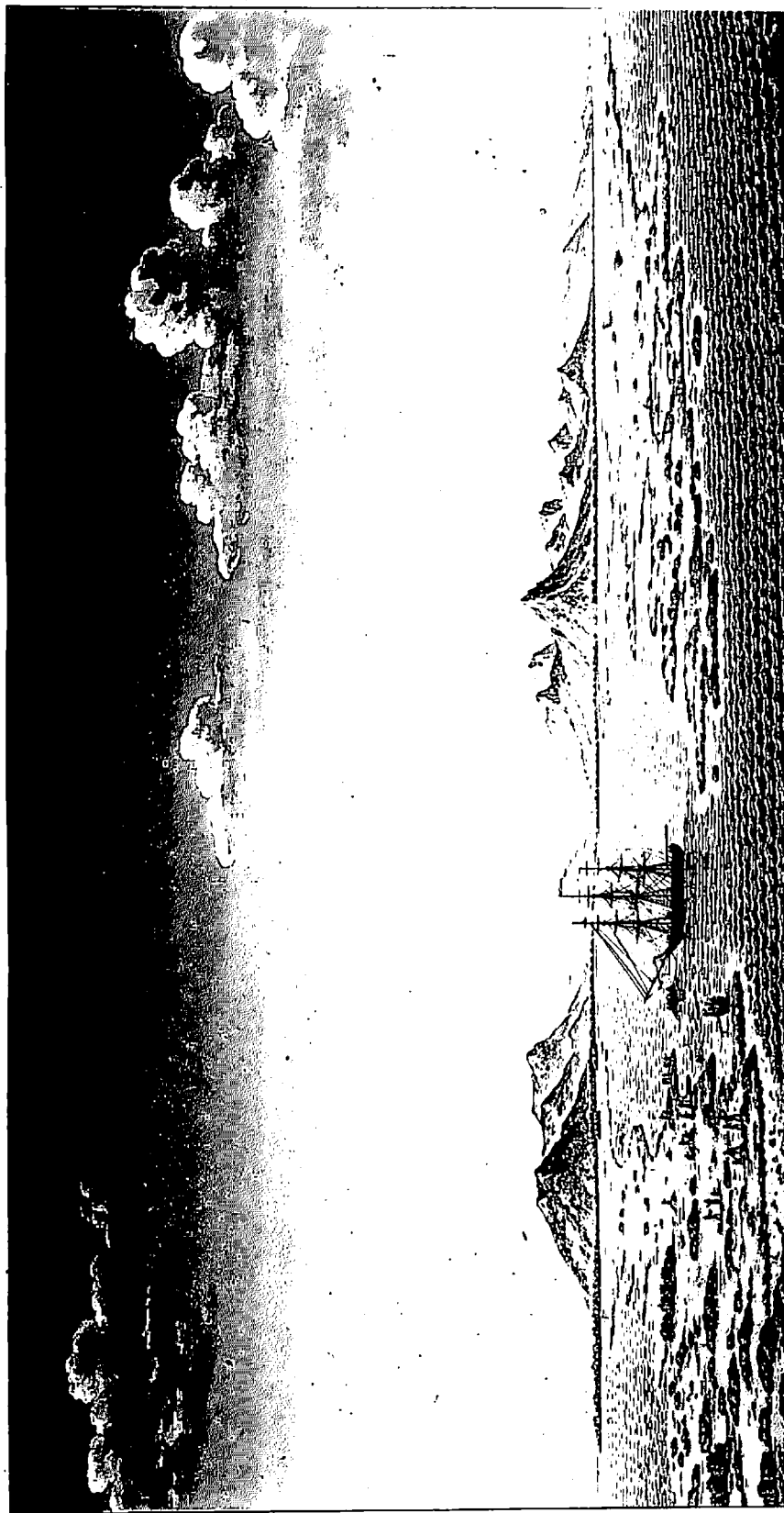
Levé par M. BÉRHARD LUTIN, Officier de Marine

Expédition de la Corvette de S.M. la Coquille
 Commandée par M. L. DU PÉROUX.

L'opérateur de l'expédition
 (1 Juin 1824.)



Vue de l'île Oualan, le Point Lasser A, restant au N.E. du Monde à la distance de 6 Mètres.



VUE DE L'ILE OUALAN PRISE DU HAVRE DE LA COQUILLE.
(ARRIVEE DES BATEAUX FRANÇAIS)

Antoine-Edouard Le Sueur

de l'Empire de France

Chancel del.

The longitude is the result of two series of lunar distances observed at about 50 miles from the island.

Our own observations, made in Coquille Harbor, which is situated at the NW point, place it in $5^{\circ}21'25''2$ N. and $160^{\circ}40'42''5$ E.

The agreement is such that the discovery of Captain Cruzer [sic] is thus verified, and, it also proves that, according to our track, Hope Island, seen in 1807, is the same as Ualan Island placed on a longitude too far east.

Since this island, a mountainous land that is such an exception in a sea of coral islands, had sparked our curiosity and we wished to explore it fully, on 5 June, after we had coasted its north shore, we discovered, in the middle of reefs that extend 1 mile beyond its NW point, a perfectly-sheltered harbor, to which we gave the name of Coquille. Once we were at the entrance of the pass, which faces west, the contrary wind and an ebbing tide forced us to drop a kedge anchor in 50 fathoms, rocky bottom, but we lost no time in warping our way in to a place whose water depth was from 16 to 17 fathoms, with an excellent bottom of black mud, upon which we anchored the corvette.

The reader can well imagine our hurry in going ashore at this island that Europeans were visiting for the first time. Our expeditions after natural history began on the first day. We collected as much information as we could on the islanders themselves, we sailed around the island in a boat, and the ports were entered and surveyed.

The astronomical observations (which are the specific purpose of this paper) were carried out on a small islet located at the bottom of the NE corner of Coquille Harbor.

Latitude.

Eight series of elevations of circummeridian stars, observed with the astronomical repeating circle, gave a latitude of $5^{\circ}21'25''2$ N.

Nine series of elevations of the sun, observed at the horizon, and corrected for the site of the observatory, gave $5^{\circ}21'41''$ N.

We have adopted the former result.

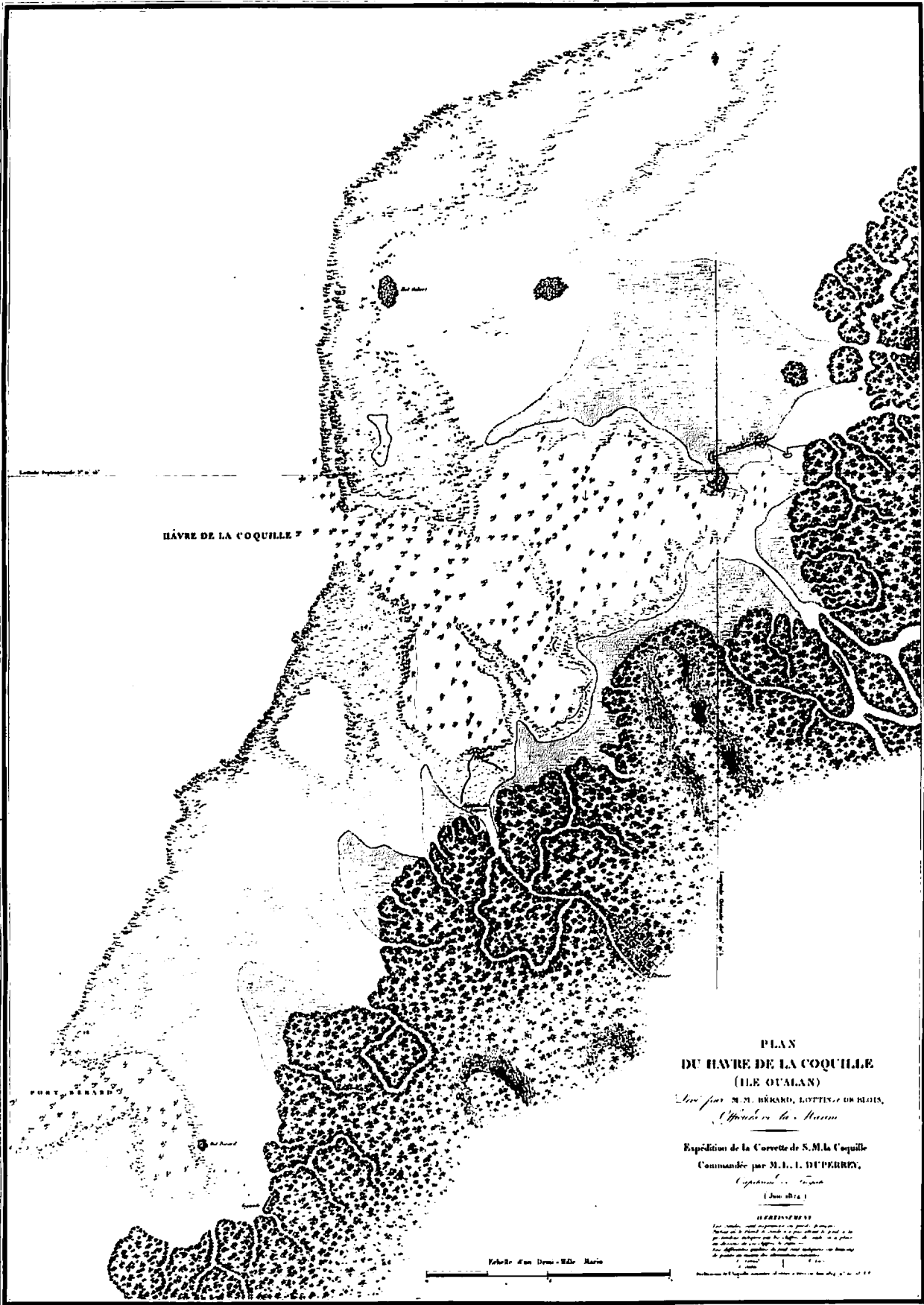
Longitude.

We have collected at that site 550 lunar distances, forming 93 series, whose average, taken between west and east observations, place Ualan at $160^{\circ}40'42''5$ E. of Paris.

We adopted this longitude, but we can still check it, by means of our Chronometer n^o 26 which we have successively adjusted at Port Jackson, at New Zealand, at Ualan, at Doreri, and at Surabaya, by making use of either the first, or the last, of these points as a reference meridian.

Beginning at Port Jackson, our Chronometer n^o 26, used with the average of its diurnal variations as measured at the ends of each daily run, would place Ualan Island thus:

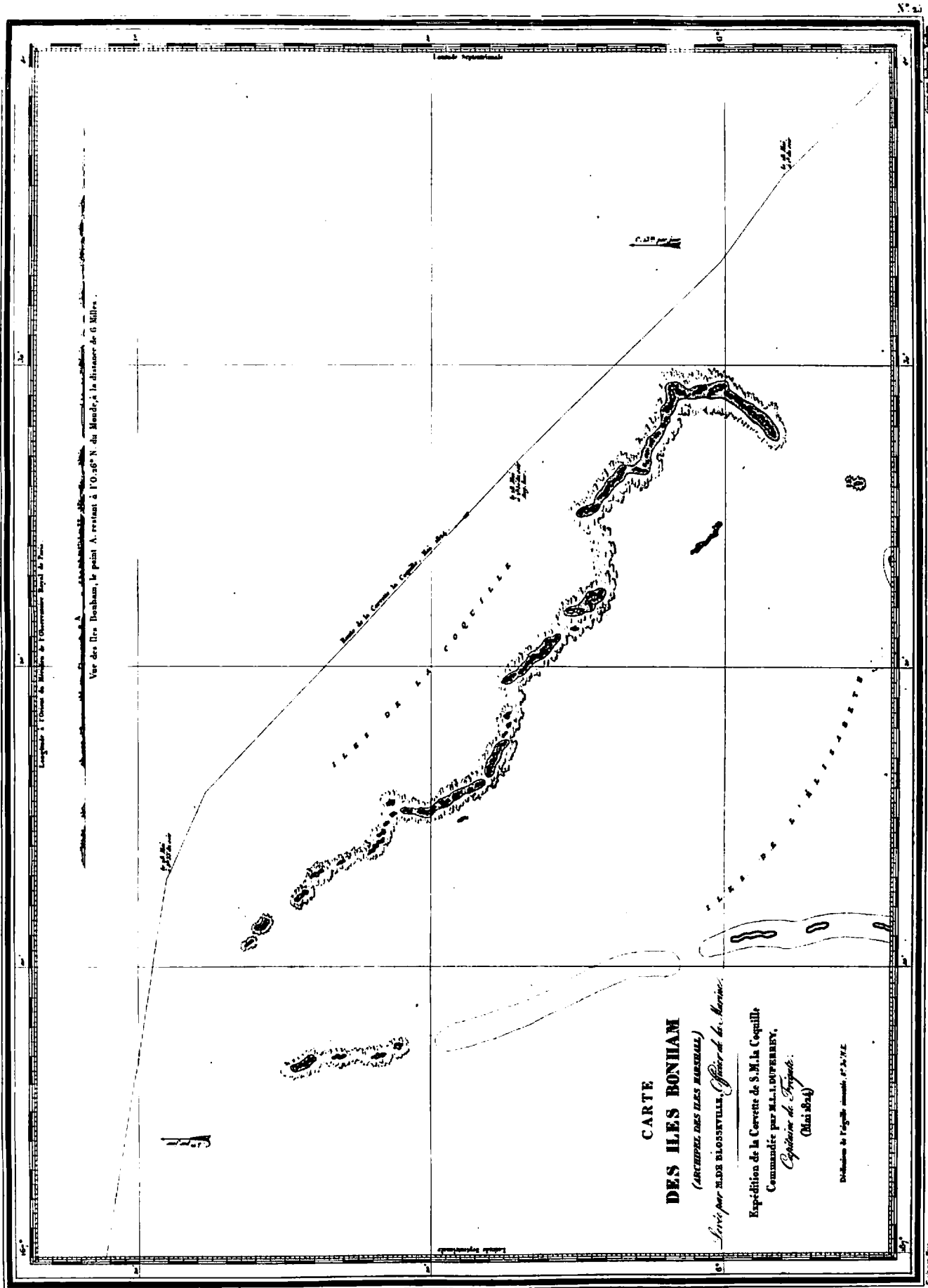
(Overleaf:) **View of Ualan Island, as seen from Coquille Harbor.**



Longitude adopted for Port Jackson	148°50'9" E.
New Zealand is east of Port Jackson by	23°0'57"5
Ualan Island is west of New Zealand by	- 11°9'47"7

Hence, first derived longitude for Ualan	160°41'18"8 E.
Later on, the same chronometer, in use as far as Surabaya, places Ualan east of Doreri by	28°53'43"2
of Surabaya by	21°21'2"
But we will place the entrance to the river of Surabaya in	110°23'2"5 E.

Hence, second derived longitude for Ualan	160°37'47"7 E.
Finally, if we take the average of these two results, we get	160°39'33".
This differs from the longitude that we have obtained by lunar distances by only 1'9".	



Vue des Iles Bonham, le point A. restant à 10,56° N. du Méridien, à la distance de 6 Miles.

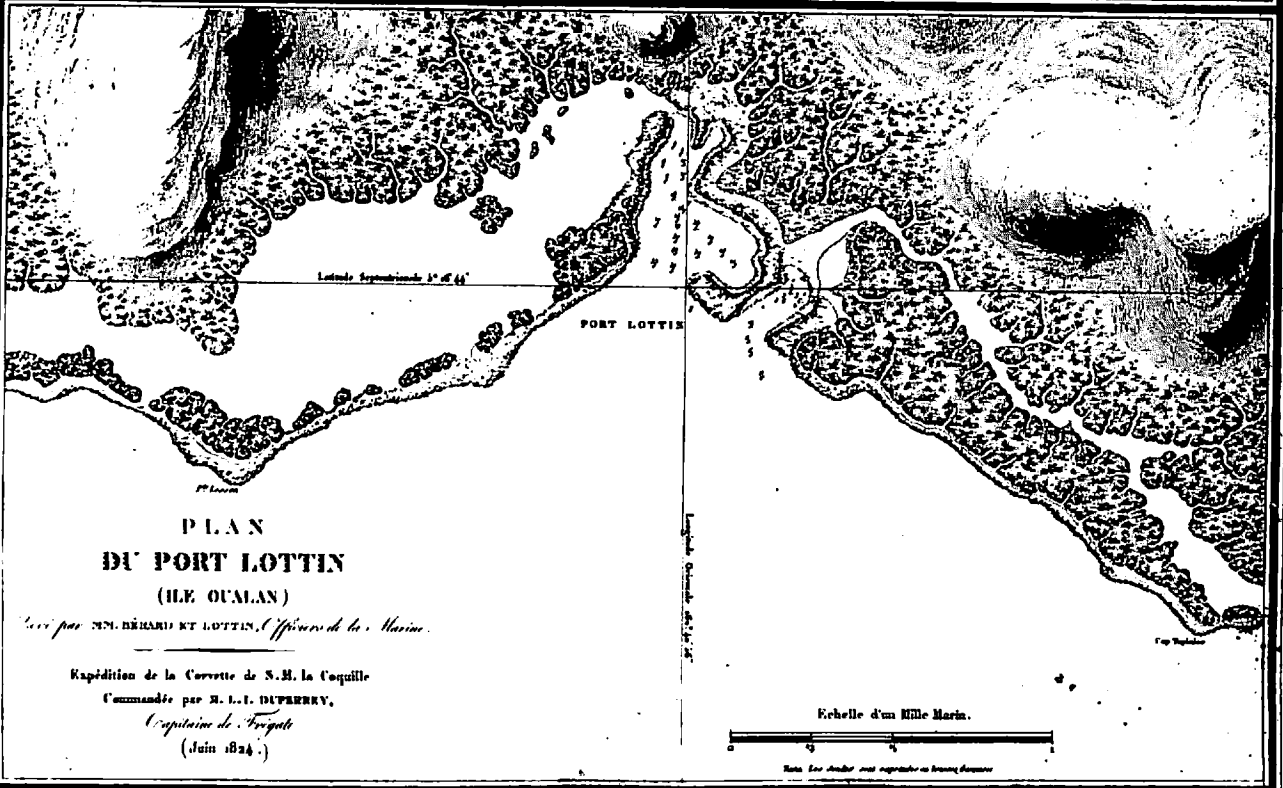
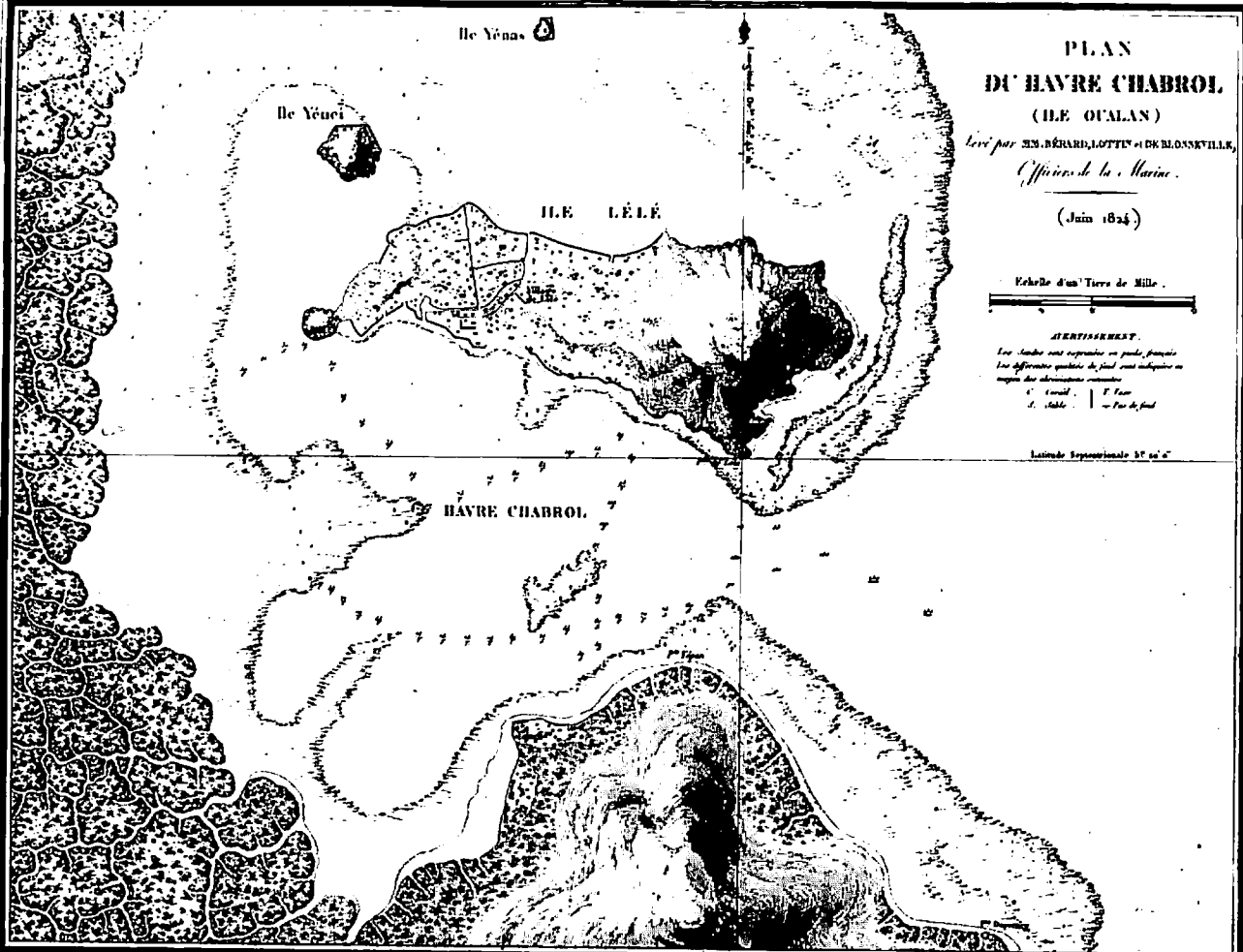
Longueurs de l'Échelle de 1000 Toises.

CARTE
DES ILES BONHAM
 (ARCHIPEL DES ILES MARSHALL)

Tracé par M. DE BLOSSVILLE, Officier de la Marine.

Expédition de la Corvette de S.M. la Coquille
 Commandée par M. L. D'EPHREASY,
 Capitaine de Frégate.
 (Mai 1824)

Échelle de 1000 Toises.



Remarks on Ualan Island.

According to the chart drawn by Messrs. Bérard and Lottin, Ualan Island, so called by its natives, is 9 miles from NE to SW, and 7 miles from SE to NW. The shore, except for the N part of the island which is lined with a beautiful beach of coral sand, is generally submerged and invaded by mangrove. The whole island is fringed by a coral reef that opens at some places to give access to very good anchorages, between it and the shore.

The mountains of Ualan, though covered to their summits by a healthy and varied vegetation that makes them inaccessible, show, by their conical and jagged forms, a volcanic origin, which was later confirmed by an examination of the rocks. The peak of the isolated Mt. Crozer [sic], which is higher than any other mountain in the interior of the island, is 657 meters in height. That of Mt. Buache, which overlooks the northern part of the island, is 583 meters.

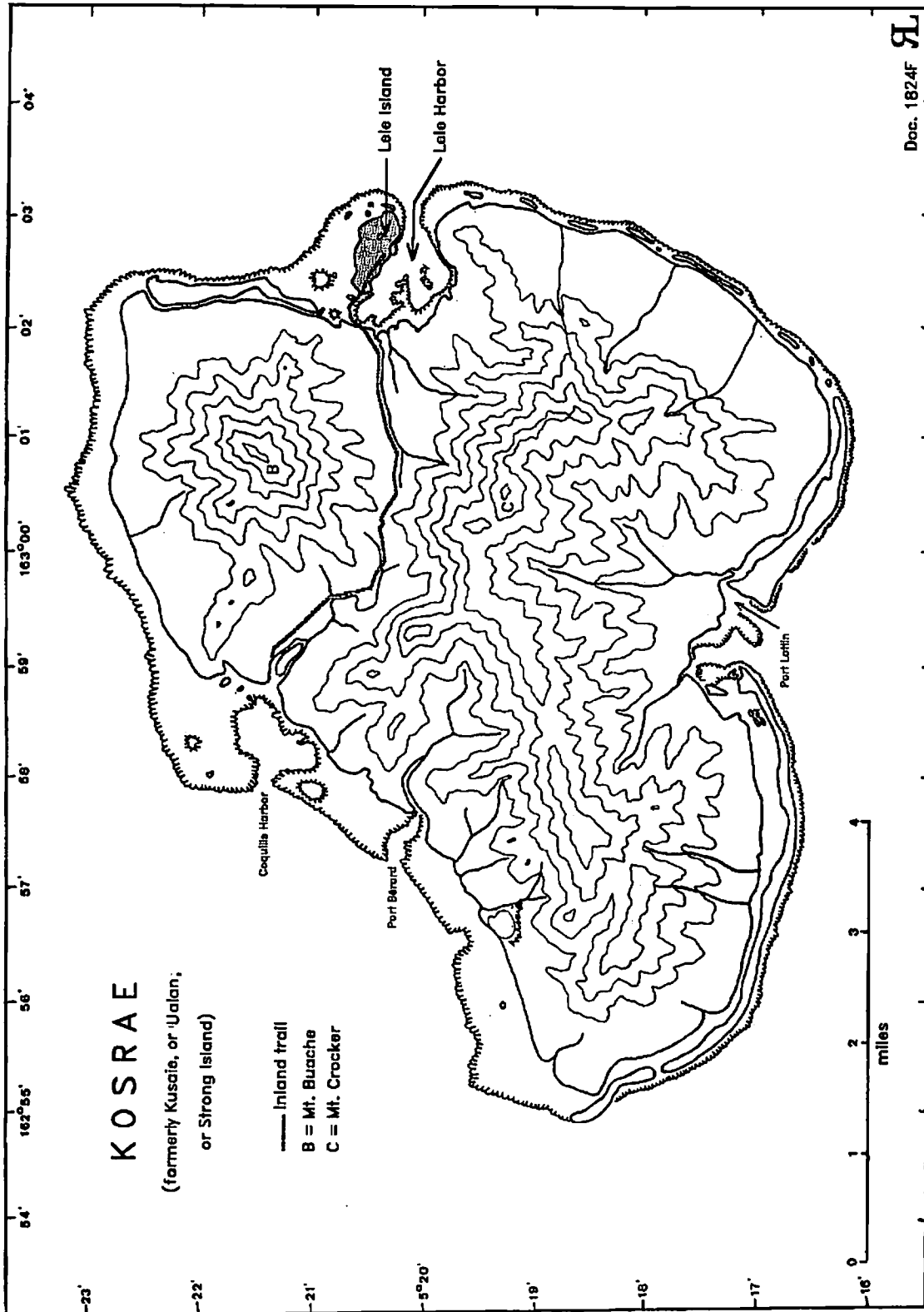
Mt. Buache is linked to the mountain saddles of the interior of the island by a hill of average height which forms the water divide between two deep valleys, one facing east toward Chabrol Harbor, the other facing northwest toward Coquille Harbor. These valleys are well watered by rivers that, after falling noisily from rock to rock, meanders silently in the plain before reaching the sea-shore.

Chabrol Harbor is located in the middle of reefs on the eastern part of the island. Its north part is formed by the small Island of Lele, upon which reside the main chiefs and most of the population. It is better than Coquille Harbor, from the point of view of being sheltered from all sides by high land. Ships of any size could anchor in all its parts, in 15 to 17 fathoms water, muddy bottom, and they would find, in a small cove toward the south, near the village of Yepan, that there are many places where a ship could be careened in safety.

The entrance into Chabrol Harbor is south of the east part of Lele Island; its depth is 35 fathoms, and its width, between two coral banks each linked with an adjacent point, is about 240 meters. This narrow pass is directly exposed to the prevailing winds that make the port easy of access at all hours of the day; however, to get out of it, one must take advantage of the land breeze that only blows during the night, and take care not to be caught during calm weather too close to the outer reefs upon which the sea breaks with an extreme violence.

Coquille Harbor, mentioned earlier, on the lee side of the island, has a pass that faces west, and its characteristics are the exact opposite. Getting out is easy, but to get in with the prevailing winds, one must tack under short sail and aim to sail very close to the reefs on the north side of the pass, then warp one's way into the anchorage, by means of kedge anchors that have been previously set.

Besides these two basins, made remarkable by their extent and the quality of their bottom, the coral reef that entirely surrounds the island offers two more excellent anchorages: one is Port Bérard, 2 miles SSW of Coquille Harbor, and the other is Port Lottin, situated in the middle of the south part of the island. In either one, it is possible to anchor in 25 fathoms water upon a bottom of coral sand mixed with coral dust.



The fact that rivers flow into all of these harbors makes watering and taking on firewood an easy operation. Food supplies are also available: yams, breadfruit, sugarcane, bananas of all kinds. However, there are few birds, and few shells; fishes are also rare. If it were not for the rats and a few lizards, quadrupeds would be entirely unknown. One cannot even find dogs, that everywhere else are the faithful companions of man.

The islanders were at first fearful and it took some time for them to overcome their repugnance to come on board the corvette, but, attracted by our presents, it did not take long for them to become familiar with us, but never becoming a nuisance.

We soon learned that the main chiefs lived on the small Island of Lele, situated on the windward side. Messieurs Lesson and de Blossville were the first to go there, by going up and down the two valleys that separate the north and south parts of Ualan Island.

Mr. Lejeune and I undertook this excursion on the 8th. The distance is only five miles, but at the beginning and at the end, the soil is submerged or cut by rivers that one must cross, or follow for a long time. The trail is not any better on higher ground, because it is only by climbing over rocks made slippery by torrents of water, that one manages to conquer them. However, the wet surroundings along the way not only contribute in no small way to temper the climate but also refreshes one's imagination by offering a quantity of sceneries that are well worth the effort.

When we had reached the crest of the hill that divides the two opposite valleys, we walked past many huts whose lesser buildings were encircled by light fences. The natives immediately came out of their huts and offered us some local products to eat. When we left, some of them joined our company to lead the way and carry the rest of the fruits that we had not had time to eat on the spot. This plain provides abundant food to the inhabitants and seemed also to provide them with a final abode. Indeed, we noticed among the plantations that covered it a few small sheds which we were told were graves.

While coming down the east valley, once more we followed the course of the rivers as far as Chabrol Harbor, and we went over to Lele Island by walking on top of a coral bank that links the entire north side of this small island with the shore of Ualan.

Lele Island is only one mile from east to west, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile in width. Its eastern part has an isolated hill, conical in shape and rather high; the rest of the island is very low-lying and would probably be invaded by the sea, with every tide, had not the natives, who have chosen this locality to set up their main residence, raised its surface by 15 to 20 feet above sea level, and encircled the whole thing with walls able to resist the strongest tides.

The village, made thus secure from floods by the industry of the inhabitants, is criss-crossed by canals that are easily accessible at high tide. The walls that form the sides of these canals and surround the island are composed of huge chunks of basalt and coral rocks that have been shaped with care and made to fit together one on top of another, without any cement. The natives who built them employed large-size ropes and levers in their work, and gave them a wide base, to resist the push of the earth that they are designed to hold in place.

Our arrival at Lele created a happy commotion: men, women and children began to follow us in droves. Their astonishment was focused on the color of our skin, which they touched, either with their hands or with their faces, while they uttered at every moment new expressions of wonder. In this way they led us to the house of the *Uros-ton*, or "high chief," before whom they squatted, in such a complete silence that we derived a good idea of the respect they had for his person.

This chief, overtaken with old age, was lying down between two mats at the bottom of a small, elegant, and very clean hut. His wife and a few servants were the only persons near him. A great silence reigned over the enclosed area, which was separated from the public road by a wall made of sugarcane stalks and leaves. As soon as he was informed of our arrival, he made a few efforts to rise to come toward us, but he did not have to, because we promptly took our places on a mat set next to his. While we were in that position, he made a long harangue, the meaning of which we could only wish to understand, but could only respond by offering some presents.

We have visited many other chiefs, including the man who governs immediately after the *Uros-ton*. This man appeared to be in charge of the general order; he was a lively character, in spite of his age, fairly big, and with a long white beard that made him look venerable.

This charming people showed by their faces that they have gentle customs; an example of these qualities could be seen in their moral conduct. The women were free whenever their men were numerous enough to be able to resist us, but they took the precaution to hide them whenever we were the stronger.

The men are of average size, with a skin that is not too dark, and very approachable and pleasant. The women are charming and well made; in addition, they excel by the whiteness of their teeth and the sparkle in their eyes, but above all by a natural modesty that would make them move away from us, every time we became too familiar with them.

In the study of the social conditions affecting the 2,000 or so individuals who make up this population, we have recognized that their society is divided into 7 classes: the *Ton*,¹ the *Pennem*, the *Lesigne*, the *Neas*,² the *Metkos*, and the *Memata*.³ The word *Uros* seemed to mean "chief."⁴ It may apply to the first four classes, but specially to the first two. The paramount chief is always from the class of the *Ton*, and bears these two titles, to which they add the word *Lealen*, which means "right", because he alone has the privilege of standing up during visits and meetings.⁵

1 Ed. note: *Ton* means "river eel" and this was clearly the totem of the chiefly tribe.

2 Ed. note: *Nes* is either a kind of tree, or a kind of fish (ref. Kee-dong Lee's Kusaiean-English Dictionary). Another totem?

3 Ed. note: *Mwet* simply means "the people."

4 Ed. note: Compare with Iroj in Marshallese (see Kotzebue Expedition).

5 Ed. note: The termination *-alin* seems to refer to talking; the word may have meant "spokesman" instead.

The *Uros* exercise an absolute power on the people, whom they keep squatting at a great distance from their person; they are reflective, silent and little communicative. They keep for themselves the privilege of having many wives, of controlling the coconut trees that are few on the island, and of drinking a strong liquor called *sequa*, or *doog-doog*.¹ Being the only ones who can own property, they have divided the town and the whole island among themselves and have isolated themselves behind those huge walls that I have talked about earlier. The part of the population that lives on the land itself is fed by the chief who owns it, but must contribute with the products of their labor, for instance, by working the land, building houses or canoes, or by fishing. This explains why the people in contact with the corvette during our stay would faithfully deliver to their respective chiefs the trade articles that they got from us.

The Ualan people are not warlike; the spears measuring from 10 to 12 feet that we saw in their hands were strictly used for fishing only. The walls that surrounds their properties are not meant to resist an invasion but to support the soil inside and prevent erosion during the rainy season; damage from running water must them be significant.

The Ualan people are not navigators either; the canoes which they build are beautiful indeed, but they do not use sails, and rarely venture outside of the reefs.

The industry of the inhabitants of Ualan is made evident, not only in the construction of canoes, but also in that of their houses that are rectangular in shape and have a high roof with triangular gables; these gables, higher than the central ridge, have lattice work in their upper part, designed it seems to let the air circulate better. Their average dimensions are about 30 feet long, 20 feet wide and 30 feet high. The side walls are made of closely-fitted slats, and the floor is covered with very clean reed mats. In the center, there is a fire pit made up of many stones upon which they cook fish, bananas and breadfruit by day, and maintain a fire at night, no doubt to counteract the high humidity of the earth.

Besides these individual houses, each district has a public house, open on all sides, and measuring 60 feet long, with gables that are also high. The chief and the part of the population who reside with him spend most of their time there. It serves as a shed under which are suspended, at a suitable height, the large canoes that are carefully preserved, and as a warehouse where all the tools used by the community are kept. We saw that the axes and other trade objects that they had received from us were stored there. So, we deduce that, if such property belongs to the chief, it is nevertheless available for use by any individual living in that district.

The most remarkable tool that we found in most of the houses is a small loom, ingeniously made, for the weaving of the only piece of cloth they need to use as clothing. The cloth that results from this operation is woven by using a shuttle similar to ours. The very fine thread used in this fabric is dyed of various brilliant colors, that do not fade.

1 Ed. note: The words for 'sakau', and pounding ('tuktuk') are recognizable.

The inhabitants who had led us to Lele took us back to Coquille Harbor. This time they took us along the beaches around the north part of Ualan. This route is more convenient than the trail through the valleys, but the sights along it are more monotonous: coral sand and coral banks upon which the sea breaks. However, we came across many houses, whose chiefs received us in a very friendly manner. They invited us to rest, and offered some fruits that they had carefully displayed on top of some pandanus leaves.

It is easy to become convinced that Ualan Island will one day be important. Placed as it is in the center [sic] of the Caroline Islands, along the track of the ships that go from New Holland to China, it offers not only a place for careenage, but also water in abundance and refreshments of all kinds. Soon, this generous and peaceful people will also be in a position to offer to ships a type of food that is indispensable at sea, thanks to two pregnant sows that we have given them, and which they have received with an emotional gratitude.

Crossing from Ualan Island to Doreri (New Guinea).

On 15 June, we set sail from Coquille Harbor and, heading NNW, went in search of Feyoa Island that appears on the Arrowsmith chart.

On the 16th, having reached its latitude, we headed due west and kept this heading until the 17th, without seeing anything. I have reasons to believe that this island does not exist. No doubt, it would be Ualan, badly placed in latitude, since it is said to be a high land.

MacAskill Islands.

On the 17th, at 10 in the morning, we sighted the MacAskill Islands, discovered in 1809 by the captain of same name aboard the **Lady Barlow**. They are two small low-lying islands on the same reef; the SE island is called Pelelap, and the NW one Tugulu. A very small islet at the S tip of the latter is called Takai. Our observations have given the following result:

N point of these islands in	6°14'25" N	158°27'45" E.
and the S point in	6°12'40"	158°27'55" E.

According to Captain MacAskill, they lie in the following position

.....	6°12'0"	158°32'40"
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While we were on the west side of these islands, 10 canoes came alongside, whose men lost no time in throwing upon our deck all the fruits that they had brought. This proof of trust deserved on our part a show of generosity that we granted them, way beyond their expectation. These islanders resemble the people of Ualan very much; however, the word Ualan was unknown to them. They told us that there was an island, named Ale, to the south of their islands. I think that this island may be that discovered by Captain Musgrave aboard the **Sugar Cane** in 1793.¹ It seems to me to be closer than

1 Ed. notes: Musgrave discovered their island, Pingelap, and so did MacAskill. By the way, Pingelap means 'big gossip' in the local language. As far as *Ale* is concerned, it is possibly a reference to Kapingamarangi, whose main island is called Hale. Remember that as far back as the 1537 Grijalva expedition, this group bore that name.

the MacAskill Islands to the track that he followed to reach the Islands of *Los Valientes* [i.e. Ngatik].

Duverrey Islands.

On the 18th, at 6 a.m., we sighted three low-lying islands that did not appear on the charts, and therefore belong to the Coquille Expedition. These islands, to which my officers wished to give my name, share a common reef between them with a lagoon that has passes for canoes only. Each island has a native name which we have recorded. The NW island is called Ugai, the E island is Mugul, and the S one is Aura. We place the S point of Mugul, which is the center of the group, in 6°39'0" N. and 157°29'25" E.

After we rounded the N point, I lyled to in order to wait for the natives of a canoe that was sailing toward us. It was manned by 10 men, one of whom stood up and, while showing us a coconut, half of which he held in each hand, made a long speech.

These islanders are tall, strong and well made. The beauty of their curled hair that was loose on their shoulders, a happy countenance and an extreme peace reflected on their faces told us that they were happy, enjoying an excellent health, and have nothing to desire from the rest of the world. All in all, they seemed to us to have much in common with the people of Ualan and MacAskill Islands. They know of Pelelap Island, which we had seen on the previous day, and they mentioned to us an island named Pulupa that we have searched for in the WNW, according to their direction, but we found nothing.¹

The charts of the MacAskill and Duverrey Islands have been drawn by Mr. de Blois.

D'Urville Island.

On 23 June, at 6 p.m., we made a survey of a new low-lying island which I have named d'Urville Island.

Its N point lies in 7°5'18" N. and 150°16'52" E.²

This island, covered with a beautiful vegetation, did not seem to be more than 1 mile from E to W. The approaching night did not allow us time to make a survey of it.

Bordelaise Island, discovered by Mr. Saliz in 1826.

A short time before the publication of this paper, Admiral de Rossel was good enough to advise me of the discovery of Bordelaise Island, in this neighborhood on 18 June 1826, by Mr. Saliz, aboard the ship *Péruvien* of Bordeaux.³

Mr. Saliz places this island, which is small and low-lying, in
..... 7°39'0" N. and 152°45'0" E.

1 Ed. note: Pulupa is obviously Ponape, or Pohnpei. If only Duverrey had searched a little better, he would have found it, and possibly given us a first-hand knowledge, as good as the one for Kosrae, as early as 1824.

2 Ed. note: This was Nama Island. It had already been discovered in 1807 by the ship Arthur, Captain Jenks.

3 Ed. note: Oroluk (see Doc. 1826D).

Its longitude is the result of two good chronometers: one made by Parkinson, and his n° 2981 by Bréguet. He had regulated them at Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands, which he later checked against the meridian of the Providence Islands, in New Guinea, that had been determined by the voyage of Dentrecaesteaux.

In order not to confuse d'Urville and Bordelaise Islands with the islands previously discovered by the Spanish in the same neighborhood, let us examine the notices given by Mr. José de Espinosa in his Hydrographical Notices.¹

Don Felipe Tompson discovered two islands in June 1773. One he named the Valientes, which he placed in 5°40' N. and 156°14' E. of Paris. The other he named Bajo Triste, or San Agustín, in 7°24' and 154°52'.

These determinations are based on estimates only, carried from New Guinea. However, on 6 November 1802, Captain Joaquin Lafita, came to the Valientes and carried out a series of observations of lunar distances, placing them in 5°43' N. and 155°43'23" E. of Paris. This longitude differs from that of Tompson by 30'37".

If we apply this correction to Tompson's longitude for San Agustín Island, this island would lie in 154°21'23" longitude, which means that d'Urville Island and San Agustín cannot be the same island.

In February 1806, Captain Juan Bautista Monteverde discovered an island, which he thought might be San Agustín, but his observations of lunar distances placed them in 7°18' N. and 151°33'23" E.

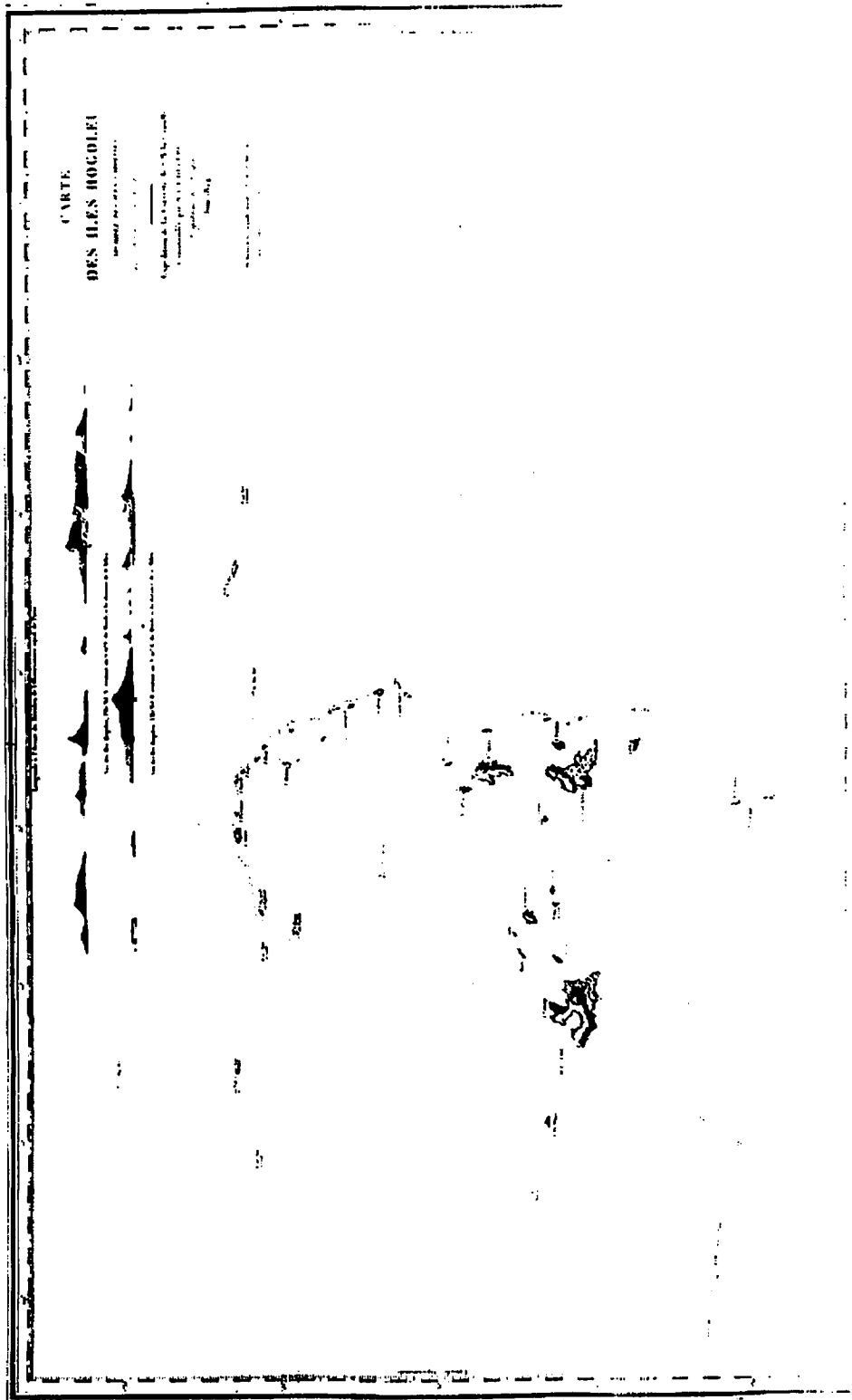
It is also obvious that this new island, thus placed between d'Urville and Bordelaise, cannot be confused with either of them, because one would then have to admit an error of 13' or 21' in latitude, and from 1°10' to 1°20' in longitudes, something which is not probable.²

This leads us to a conclusion that is important to mention here, though it has nothing to do with our expedition. It is, for the reason that we have just given, one must not consider identical the islands seen by Monteverde and Tompson, because the longitude of San Agustín, corrected by the error of 30' found by Lafita at the Valientes, is still farther east than that of Monteverde by 2°48', and error that would be impossible to attribute to observations by the method of lunar distances, either by Lafita or Monteverde, so recently. I therefore recommend to name the island discovered by Monteverde after his ship, and, for greater clarity, I will summarize their geographic positions in the following table:³

1 Memorias sobre las observaciones, vol. 2, pp. 16 and 21.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps for a scientific expedition, but not for the trading ship **San Rafael** of Captain Monteverde. In fact, his latitude for Nukuoro was also too low. Duperrey now gets carried away in what follows.

3 Ed. note: Note that the first is Ngatik, the next three being in fact the same island of Orolok, and the last one being Nama.



The Valientes, discovered by Tompson in 1773 and corrected by Lafita in 1802	5°43'0" N. and	155°43'23" E.
San Agustin, idem	7°24'0"	154°21'23"
Bordelaise, discovered by Mr. Saliz in 1826	7°39'0"	152°45'0"
San Rafael, discovered by Monteverde in 1806	7°18'0"	151°33'23"
D'Urville, discovered by us in 1824	7°5'18"	150°16'52"

In a paper published in 1819, Admiral Krusenstern¹ reports the longitude of the Valientes, after the observations made by Captain Musgrave aboard the **Sugar Cane** in 1793 as 5°40'0" and 155°11'40".

If we admit this position, San Agustin Island that Tompson has placed west of this one, by 30'37" would then be in 154°41'3".

This analysis does not make it identical with d'Urville, Bordelaise or San Rafael Islands either.

...²

Hogoleu Group of Islands.

After a run to NW and W, between the parallels of 7° and 9° as far as 152° of longitude, we headed for the parallel of a high island, one that does not appear on any chart, but whose existence had been mentioned by the lieutenant-governor of the Marianas, Don Luis de Torres, to Mr. Chamisso,³ as having been discovered in 1814 by Captain Dublon, commanding the **San Antonio** of Manila. Moreover, this track would allow me to check the systematic chart that Father Cantova had drawn up at Guam in 1722.⁴ Indeed, the discovery by the **Uranie** expedition of the Tamatam and Puluwat Islands renewed interest in this old chart, on which Hogoleu can be seen to lie directly east of Tamatam, according to the information that Cantova got from the natives of some of the Caroline Islands. I therefore decided to follow the parallel of Tamatam. I had one more reason to do so: Captain Kotzebue in 1817 had already sailed between 9° and 10°. Besides, I thought that the island seen by Dublon must have belonged to the group in question. The summary that follows will indeed prove that all of above reasons were well founded.

On 14 June, at 7 a.m., a high land divided into several small cones was sighted to WSW. At 6 p.m., we were still 6 miles distant, when we lied to for the night. This land then appeared as several small, but high, islands in the middle of a large lagoon enclosed by a reef upon which one could see a huge number of small low-lying islands.

On the 25th, at daybreak, we coasted the north part of it and we received alongside the natives of Pis Island. They gave us the names of the islands that were then in sight, as follows: Pis, Pisemeo, Ruac, Lamoil, Palalu, Ulalu, Iros, Falang, Tol, etc. The agree-

1 *Beitrag zur Hydrographie des grossern Ozean* (Leipzig, 1819).

2 Ed. note: Duperrey added a note, not reproduced here, pointing out a transcription error made by Mr. Gabert, a former officer of the Freycinet Expedition, when he translated Espinosa's Notices into French. This French translation, to my knowledge, has never been published.

3 Otto von Kotzebue. *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, etc.*, Vol. 3, p. 116.

4 *Lettre édifiantes, XVIII recueil*, p. 189 (1728).

ment between many of these names and those appearing on Cantova's chart left no doubt that we were then before the Hogoleu Group, as had been my hope. From this moment on, I had the satisfaction of being able to remove the veil that had been hiding this part of the Caroline Island archipelago until now.

We spent the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th in surveying this group. According to the chart made of them by Mr. de Blois, this group has a circumference of 37 leagues, and its extreme points lie in the following positions:¹

N part, Pis Island	7°42'35" N.	149°29'15" E.
E part, Gaudichaud I.	7°32'35"	149°39'10"
SE part, Chamisso I.	7°16'48"	149°37'20"
S part, Givry I.	7°8'55"	149°31'45"
SW part, Torres I.	7°20'0"	149°7'45"

The summits of the most remarkable high islands located within the lagoon have been placed in the following positions:

Iros [= Moen] ²	7°27'2" N.	149°33'28" E.
Falang [=Fefan]	7°21'22"	149°32'35"
Dublou [=Toloas]	7°22'15"	149°35'0"
Tol	7°21'8"	149°19'0"

I have named Dublon, the one island that came closest to the geographic position he had given for the group, which was .. 7°20'0" N. 149°34'40" E.

My choice corresponded, in fact, to a high island that must have been seen from a long distance.

The Hogoleu Island Group consists of two systems of small high islands whose conical peaks reveal an obvious volcanic origin. These small cones are in the middle of a huge lagoon enclosed within a reef upon which are distributed, at various distances one from another, some small low-lying islands, well wooded. Among these islets, the one named Pis in the native language, is the only one that appeared to us to have a considerable population. The high islands are hardly two leagues in circumference, and we have reasons to believe that they have few inhabitants. We had already noticed at Ualan that the natives prefer to live on low-lying coral islands, no doubt because the soil there is healthier and the weather more pleasant.

The islanders with whom we had contact are completely similar to the Carolinians, who have already been described by many travellers. They appeared to us to be turbu-

-
- 1 Ed. note: The first mentioned is a native name, meaning 'sand' islet, the next three being named after three Frenchmen, and the last one after Luis de Torres of Guam.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is interesting to note that the real discoverer of Chuuk, Captain Arellano in 1565, recorded the word Huruas [sic] as the true name of this island, that did not change until modern times (see HM2: 194).

lent, gay and hospitable. They all wore conical hats made of pandanus leaves, and ponchos in the style of the Spaniards. The only weapons that we saw in their hands were slings, artfully woven. Their canoes are built, and provided with sails, in the same manner as described by Admiral Anson in the Mariana Islands, and that we have had the opportunity of describing more fully in the voyage of the **Uranie**.

It would have been my wish to stop for a while here, if I had found the weather more favorable to a complete survey of the passes through the reef and of the lagoon itself. A few days spent in studying these small populations would have been desirable. However, when we had completed our trip around the islands, frequent rain showers and unsteady winds did not allow me to despatch a boat, and it would have been imprudent to expose men to the attacks of the natives without help at hand. Moreover, the season was too advanced, and I could feel that the west monsoon might not allow us to reach the end of the Caroline Islands.

Captain Saliz, already mentioned, reports in the narrative of his voyage, published in the *Annales maritimes* (May 1827), the discoveries made by Captain John Hall, aboard the ship **Lady Barlow**, during a crossing from Calcutta to Mexico, in April 1824.

Indeed, on 2 April, that is, about three months before us, Captain John Hall came up suddenly, at 2 in the morning, with this multitude of small islands, low and high, which he thought might be the Martires Islands. The next day, he coasted the north part of them and made some observations, by chronometers and by lunar distances, that place them between 6°58' and 7°39' lat. N., and from 149°30' and 149°40' long. E. of Paris. They correspond exactly to the same Hogoleu group that we have just described.

John Hall Group of Islands.

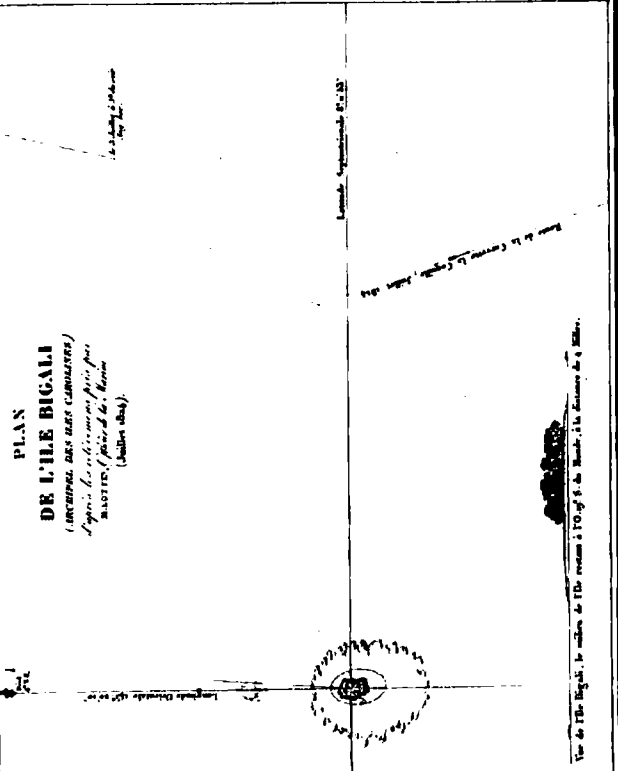
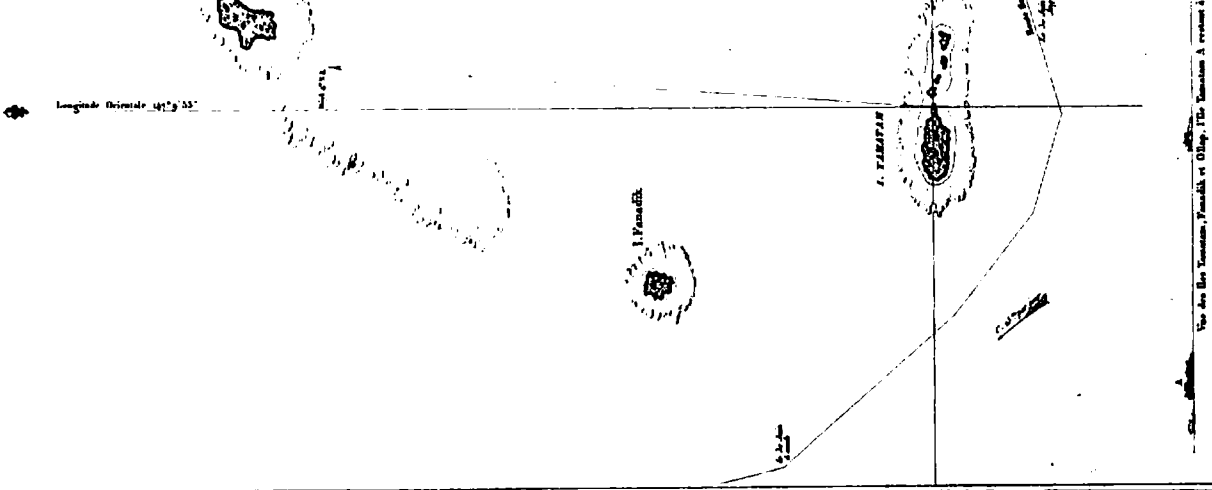
On the same day, at 11 at night, Captain John Hall, having headed northward, ran aground on a reef of a new group of islands, and he fortunately got free of it. He examined this group during the next day, passed through the center, and fixed its position in 8°45' N. and between 149°53'40" and 149°19'40" E.

The agreement that exists between Captain John Hall and ourselves for the Hogoleu Islands, allow us to accept the latter result as is, and we will include it in the summary tables that will accompany this paper.

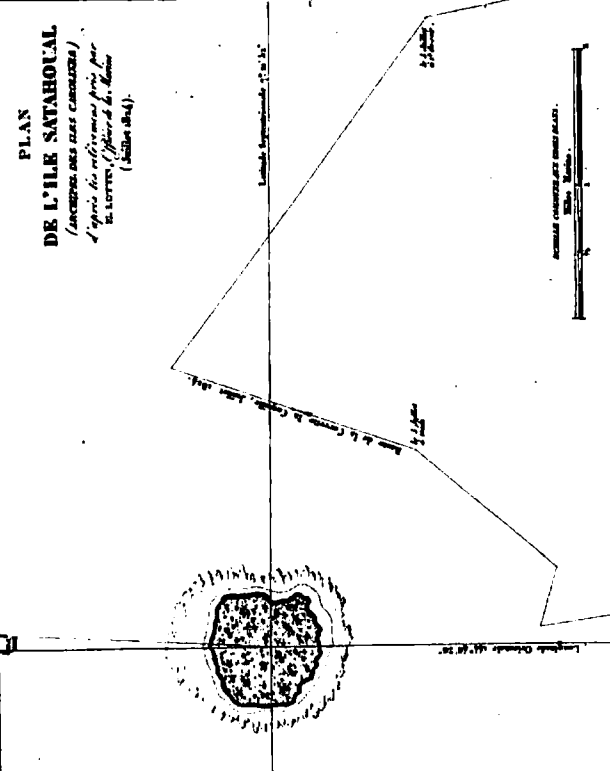
Remarks on the discovery of the Hogoleu and John Hall groups.

According to the above presentation, the centers of these two groups are placed,
 one in 7°25'45" N. 149°23'32" E.
 the other in 8°45'0" 149°37'10"

PLAN
DES ILES TANTAN, FANADIK ET OLLAP
(ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES)
d'après les relevements faits par
l'expédition de la Corvette de S. M. le Capitaine
Commandeur de B. L. L. de PARIS.
(Bulletin 1844)



PLAN
DE L'ILE BIGALI
(ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES)
d'après les relevements faits par
l'expédition de la Corvette de S. M. le Capitaine
Commandeur de B. L. L. de PARIS.
(Bulletin 1844)



PLAN
DE L'ILE SATAHOUAL
(ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES)
d'après les relevements faits par
l'expédition de la Corvette de S. M. le Capitaine
Commandeur de B. L. L. de PARIS.
(Bulletin 1844)

Many geographers have thought that the Hogoleu group had been discovered by Quiros in 1595, and if one accepts the hypothesis of Burney,¹ it would be located in 6°10'0" N. and 151°40'0" E.²

In the same manner, perhaps it might be possible to equate the John Hall group with the Arrecifes Islands, discovered in 1542 by Juan Gaetan and Bernardo de la Torre.³

However, the Spanish chart found on board the galleon that Admiral Anson captured in 1743, and another Spanish chart obtained by La Pérouse, when he stopped at Monterey, show three very large groups of islands in the neighborhood that we have just described.

One island, named San Esteban, shown surrounded by a rosary of small islands, is placed in ... 8° N. and 152°30' E.

The Garbanzos Island[s], smaller than the preceding but similarly surrounded, is placed in 9° 151°0'

Finally, Arrojas [rather Abreojos] Island is placed in 9° 154°0'

The chart of the Great Ocean, published by our Navy Hydrographic Office, has preserved these islands, but in the following positions:

San Esteban Island	8° N. and	150°0" E.
Garbanzos Island[s]	8°	148°30'
Arrojas [sic] Island	9°	151°21'

By comparing these positions with those that we have obtained, we see that our Hogoleu group could be the same as San Esteban Island, while that of Captain John Hall might correspond either to the Garbanzos Islands or to the Arrojas [sic] Islands, and the two latter groups may also be one and the same.⁴

Tamatam Islands.

Upon leaving the Hogoleu group, we headed along the parallel of the small Island of Tamatam, in order to compare our observations with those we made during the Freycinet Expedition.

On 30 June, being less than 1 mile from the south point of this island, observations of hourly angles, using Chronometer n° 26, placed it in

..... 7°33'17" N. and 147°9'53" E.

Chronometer n° 144 from Louis Berthaud, that Mr. Freycinet had used in 1819, between Rawak and the Mariana Islands, had placed it in 147°11'20".

1 Burney. *A Chronological History, etc. and Voyage of the Uranie*, navigation part.

2 Ed. note: Had Ponape been known to him, he might not have made this speculation.

3 De Brosse. *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*, vol. 1, p. 171. Ed. comment: The 1542 voyage did not pass by this group (see HM1:581).

4 Ed. note: The only certain group was the Garbanzos, or Chick-pea Islands, which corresponded to Ulithi.

The natives of Tamatam came aboard 27 canoes and we had once again the opportunity to study their character and products. **They made me correct an error that I have committed during the preceding voyage: the island that I had named Fanadik is in fact Olap [i.e. Pulap], and vice versa.**¹

At Lima, I had been provided with a manuscript chart of these islands, discovered in 1801 by Don Juan Ibargoitia, aboard the frigate **Filipino**. This chart agrees rather well with everything said about the islands seen by this navigator by Don José de Espinosa. It shows our three islands of Tamatan, Olap and Fanadik under the name of Los Martires, and the islands of Alet and Puluot seen by the voyage of the **Uranie** under the name of Cata. The [San] Bartolomé Island of this chart is probably our Pulusuk Island, although it is represented much larger in size, and in a longitude about 1° too far west.

Abiutac Island, seen by Ibargoitia after he followed a track NNW of Los Martires, is placed on his chart in 8°36' N. and 147°50'0" E.

It is Anonima Island, which Espinosa places in 8°30' 147°37'23".

From these islands, we headed northward to look for the Lamorsek, Ifeluk, and Isuluk Islands in the positions given for them by Arrowsmith, and by Don José Espinosa. We found nothing, but, after examining Father Cantova's chart, he placed them west of and on the same parallel as Hogoleu, we hoped to find them on that latitude, and probably in the neighborhood of the Tucker and Haweis Islands, discovered in 1797 by James Wilson.²

Bigali Island.

On 3 July, we discovered a low-lying island in ... 8°11'53" N. and 147°20'10" E.

This small island, on top of a coral reef, is less than one mile in diameter, and may be the Piguelao of the chart by Don Luis de Torres, but it seemed to me more correct to equate it with the Bigali of the Edock chart.³

Satawal Island.

On the 5th, we sighted the Tucker Island that Wilson placed in

..... 7°22'0" N. 144°27'40" E.

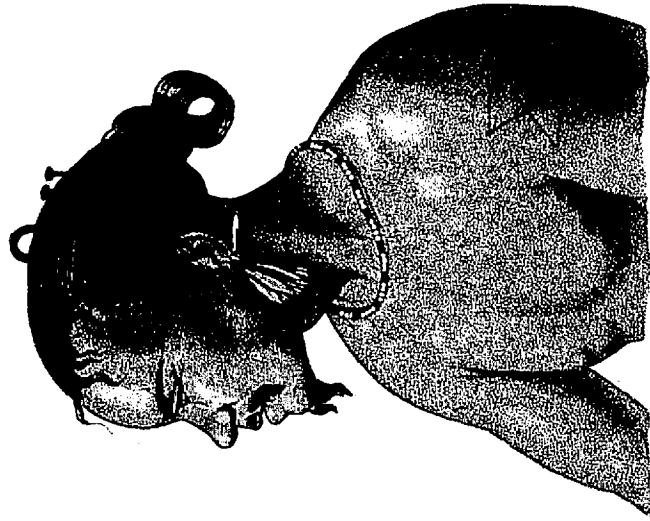
Our observations place it in 7°21'52" 144°46'36"

This result made us believe that the longitudes of this navigator were then too far west by 18'56" and we will not forget this when we come up with the islands that he had immediately encountered after leaving Tucker Island. Furthermore, I must point out that Chronometer n° 26, used by us since we left Ualan, had only 1'24" of error when we reached Doreri [in New Guinea].

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

2 A Missionary Voyage, etc. 1799.

3 See the charts accompanying Kotzebue's Voyage.



HABITANTS DE L'ILE OUALAN,
(ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES)

De l'imprimerie de Bouché.

Paris, chez M. Chouard del'É

We sailed rather close to this island which is at most one mile in diameter, and we received alongside a total of 23 canoes whose natives told us they belonged to Satawal Island. They added the information that the next group further west was Lamorsek, that is also called Mugnak;¹ that further west was Ifeluk, and beyond it was the Guliay, or Uliay, group.

If we examine the hypothetical chart of Don Luis de Torres and of Edock, published by Chamisso, we notice, firstly, that the names given by the local natives correspond perfectly but, secondly, we will derive the following conclusion: since the Lamorsek and Elat Islands are represented in the neighborhood of Satawal, whereas Ifeluk is closer to Guliay, the first two must correspond to the Haweis and Swede Islands, and the two others to Sister and Thirteen Islands, so called by Captain Wilson.²

To fix the position of the islands whose identity we have just discussed, we note that Captain Wilson placed them, with respect to Satawal thus:

Haweis	7°30' N. and	0°18' W. of Satawal.
Swede	7°30'	0°42' id.
Sister	7°14'	1°58' id.
Thirteen ...	7°16'	2°18' id.

However, we have placed Satawal Island in ... 7°21'52" and 144°46'36" E.

The conclusion of all that has just been said gives the following geographic positions:

Lamorsek	7°30' N. and	144°28'36" E.
Elat	7°	144°4'36"
Ifeluk	7°14'	142°48'36"
Guliay	7°16'	142°28'36" ³

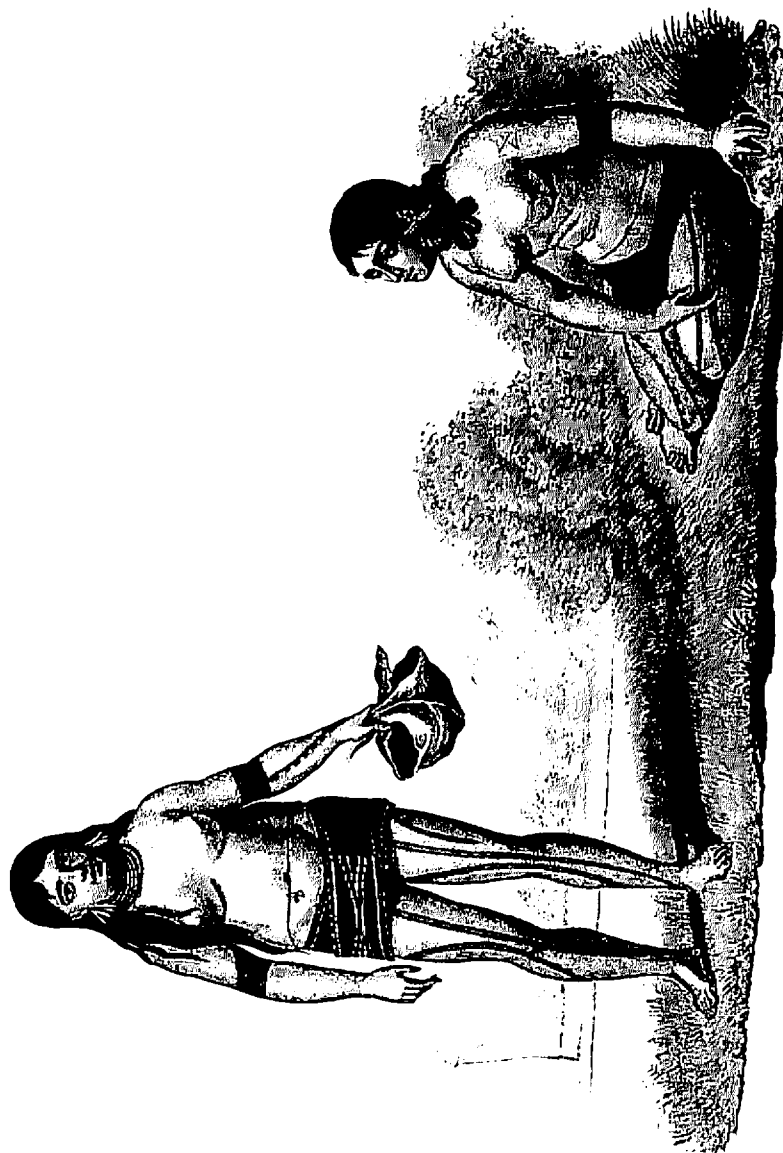
We have enjoyed our visit at all of these islands, but the season was too advanced. The west winds had been blowing strong for a few days already and the rain storms were very frequent. Not wishing to lose time fighting so many obstacles, a precious time that we could take better advantage of elsewhere, we headed for the north coast of New Guinea.

...

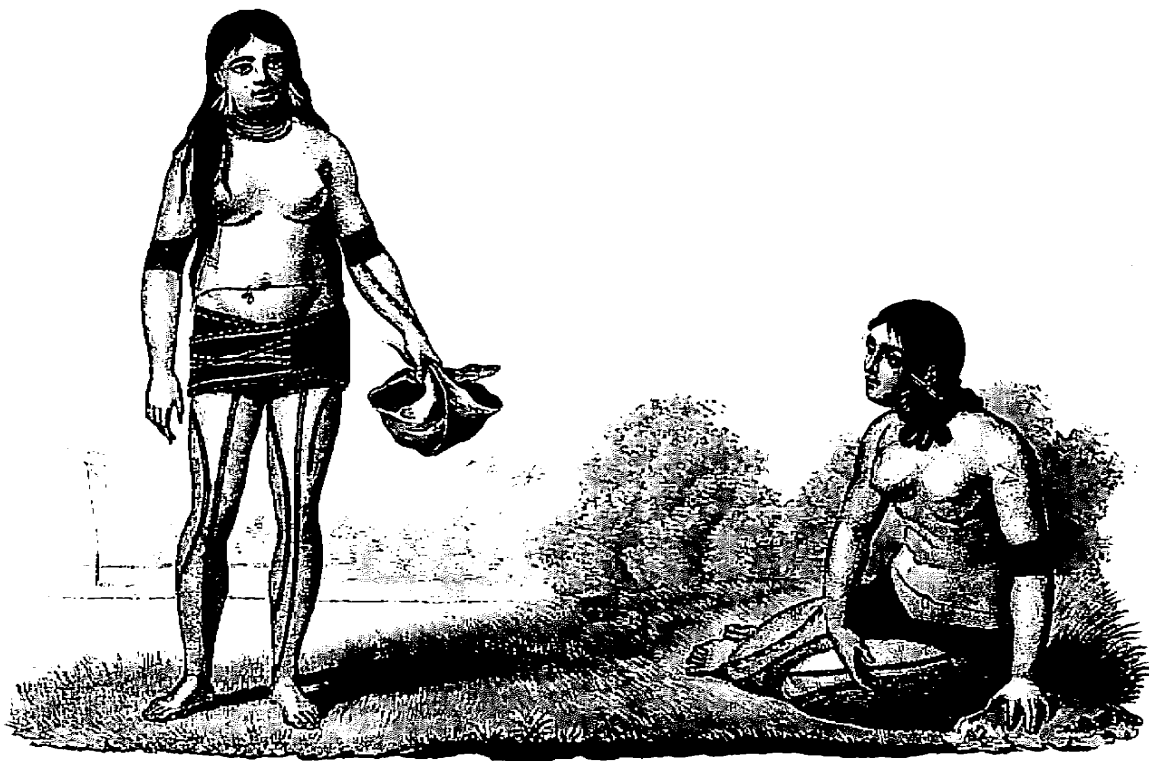
1 Ed. note: Perhaps this word was not an island, but an indication that they often visited it, as *mwogokk* means to go back and forth in Carolinian.

2 Ed. note: Right on all counts.

3 Ed. note: For comparison, the exact positions are: Lamotrek 7°29' & 143°60' E. of Paris; Elato 7°28' & 143°50'; Ifaluk 7°15' & 142°7'; Woleai 7°22' & 140°33'.



Women of Ualan Island.



Women of Ualan Island.



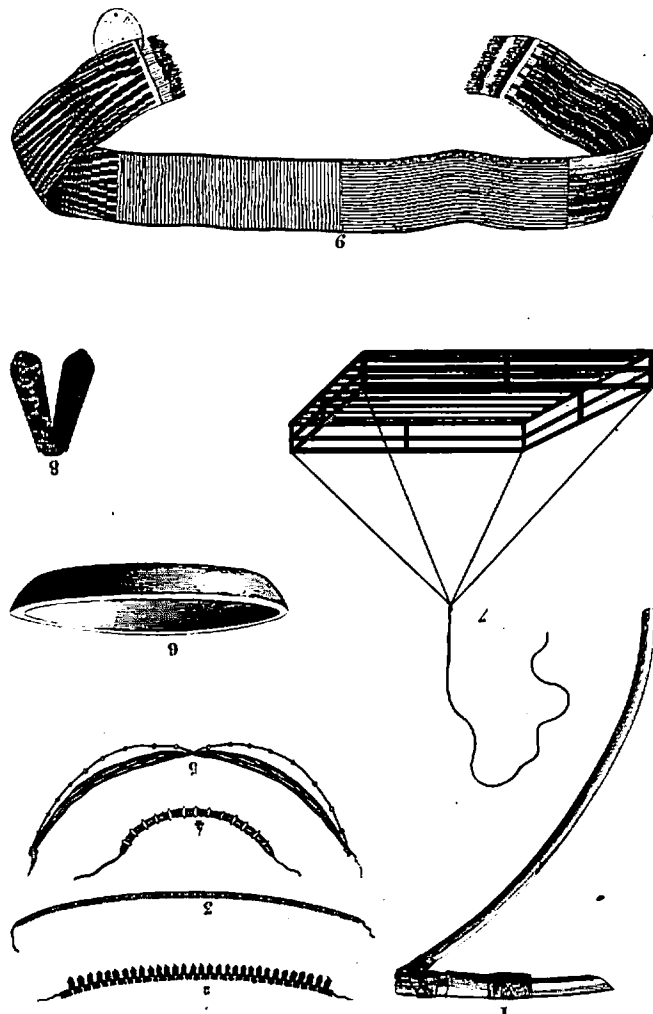
MAISONS DES HABITANTS DE L'ILE OUALAN,
ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES

Artifacts, Ualan Island: 1. Adze; 2 to 5. Necklaces; 6. Wood-
 en bowl; Wooden grill suspended over the fireplace; 8. Shell or-
 nament; 9. Belt.

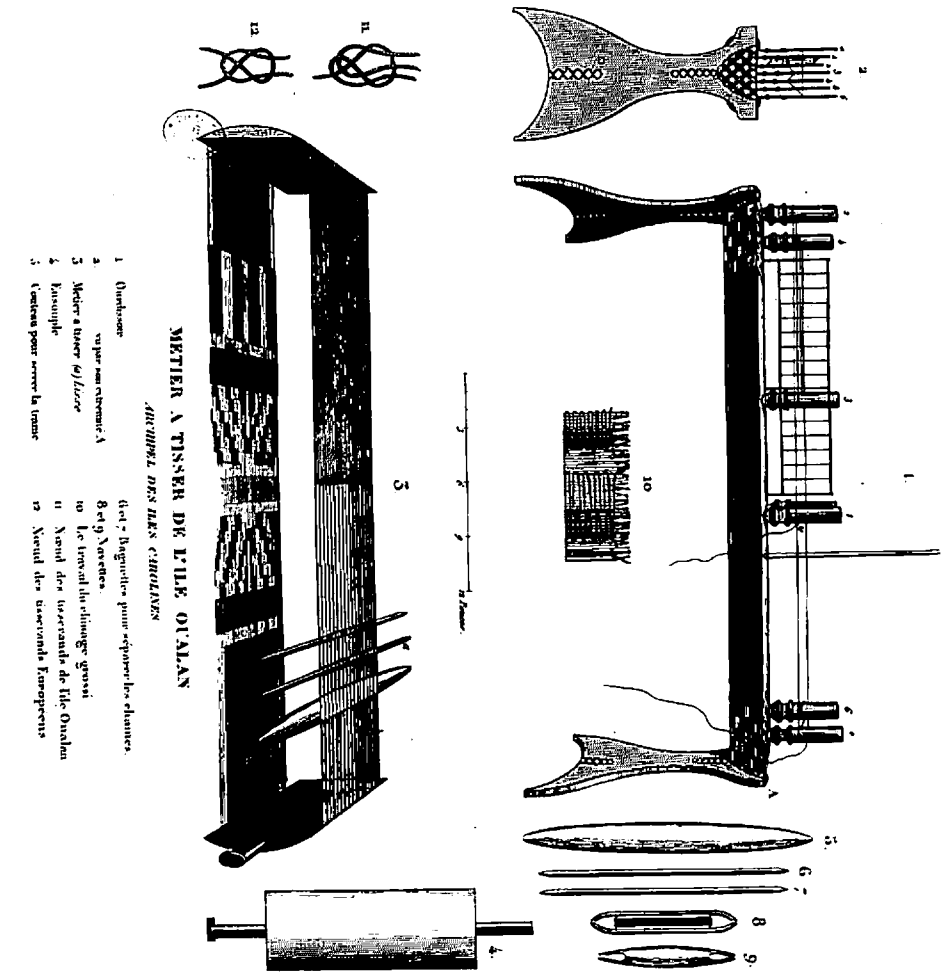
1. Hameille
 2, 3, 4, 5. Colliers
 6. Plat en bois
 7. Grille en bois qu'on suspend au dessus du foyer
 8. Ornement en coquille
 9. Ceinture

MOULIN DES MRS CAVALIERE

ILE OULAN



Weaving apparatus, Uaian [Kosrae] Island. 1. Warper (on top, about 1 meter in length), with knife to tighten the wool (5), needles to separate the threads (6-7), and shuttles (8-9). 4. Cylinder upon which threads of equal length are laid. 3. Loom (bottom, about 1-1/4 meters in length). 10. Web shown enlarged. 11. Knot, made by the weavers to Uaian. 12. Knot, made by European weavers.

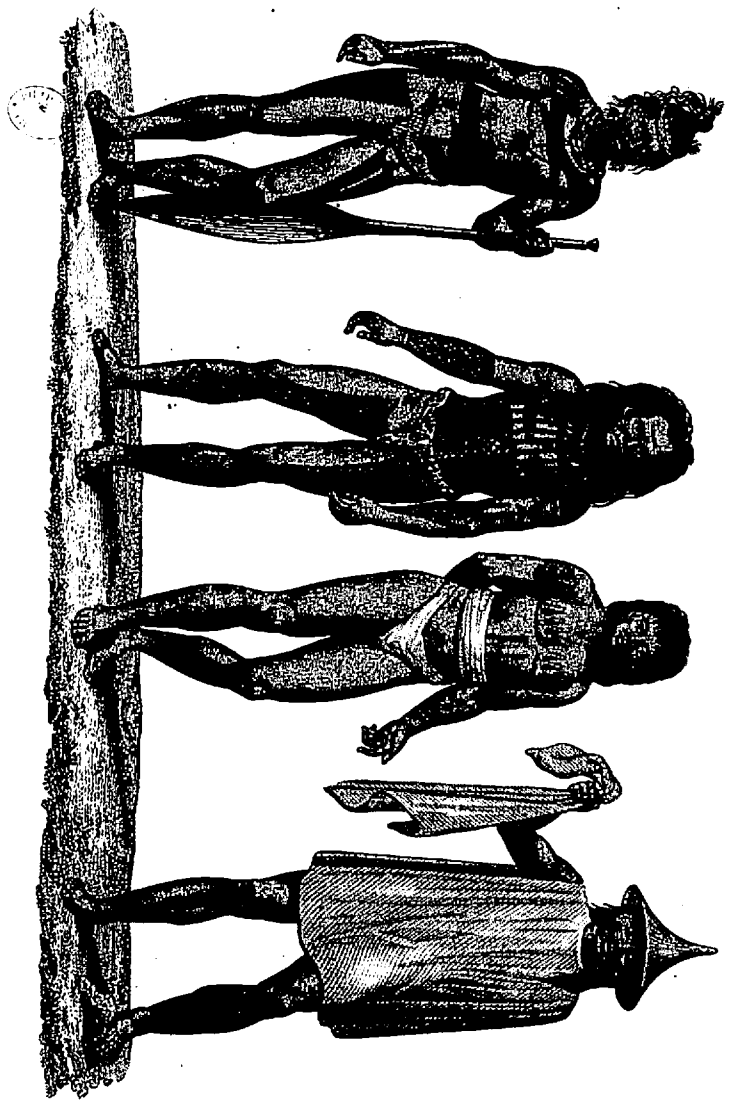


METIER A TISSER DE L'ILE OUALAN
APPAREIL DES ILES FRANÇAISES

- 1 Ourlozeuse
- 2 ou par son chariot A
- 3 Mètre à tisser (a) Lisse
- 4 Machine
- 5 L'outil pour serrer la laine
- 6 et 7 aiguilles pour séparer les échantons
- 8 et 9 Shuttle
- 10 Le travail du drapage grossi
- 11 Nœud des tisserands de l'île Oualan
- 12 Nœud des tisserands Européens

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Inhabitants of Pingelap, Moki and Chuk Islands.



NATIVES DES ILES IROS, PÉNELAP ET AOUARA.
(ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES.)

De l'oup "de l'oup"

Indes

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Documents 1824G

The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of R. P. Lesson

Source: Volume 2 of "Voyage Around the World — Undertaken by Order of the [French] Government Aboard the corvette La Coquille", by R. P. Lesson, Corresponding member of the Institute (Paris, P. Pourrat Frères, 1839).

G1. (Partial) Table of Contents of his Voyage around the world

- Chap. XXIV. Crossing from Rotuma Island to Ualan Island.
- Chap. XXV. General observations about Ualan Island, its soil, products, inhabitants, customs, language, etc.
- Chap. XXVI. Crossisng from Ualan Island to New Guinea...

...

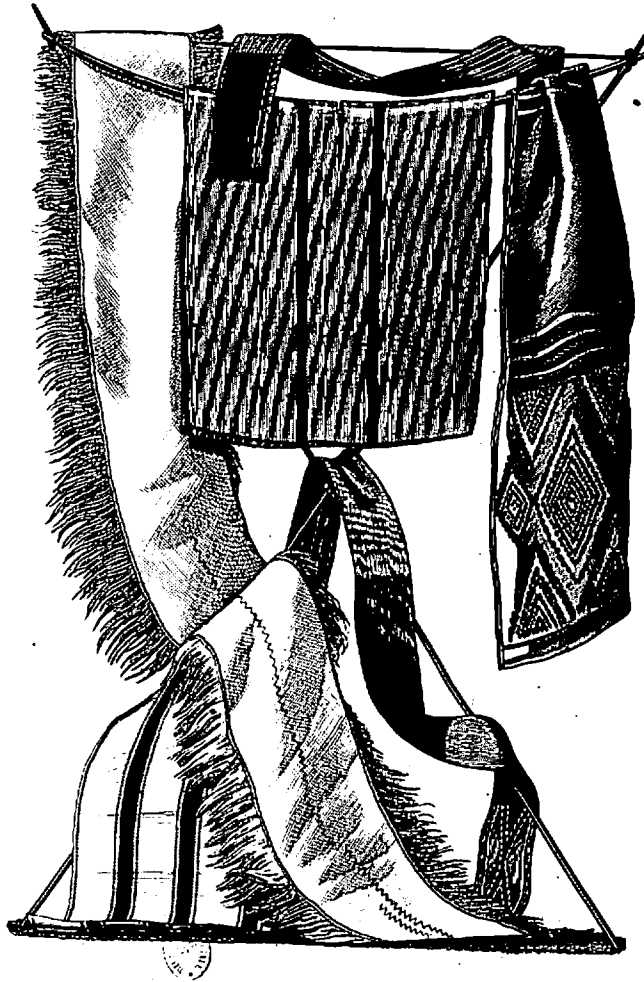
CHAPTER XXIV

Crossing from Rotuma Island to Ualan Island (from 1 May to 5 June 1824).

*Made contact with the Carolinians [sic] of the Gilbert atolls, Sydenham, Henderville and Woodle, and sighted Gran Cocal, St. Augustine, Drummond, Blaney, Dundas, Bonham, Mulgrave Islands, etc.*¹

After remaining all day May 1st before Rotuma, a storm burst at nightfall and forced us to move off quickly from this pleasant island, which is an outpost of the Pacific race. From the 1st to 6th, the nights were dark, the squalls frequent, the rains heavy. On the 4th, Mr. Duperrey and Mr. Durville had some punch distributed to the crew to celebrate the anniversary of the return of Louis XVIII to France. On the 8th, by 7° Lat.,

¹ Ed. note: Ualan is Kosrae Island; Sydenham is Nonouti Island; Henderville is Aranuka or Nanouki; Woodle is Kuria; Gran Cocal is Nanomana (Ellice Is. or Tuvalu); St. Augustine is Nanumea (Tuvalu); Drummond is Tabiteuea; Blaney is perhaps Nonouti also; Dundas is Apemama; Bonham is Jaluit; the Mulgraves are the Mili Atoll.

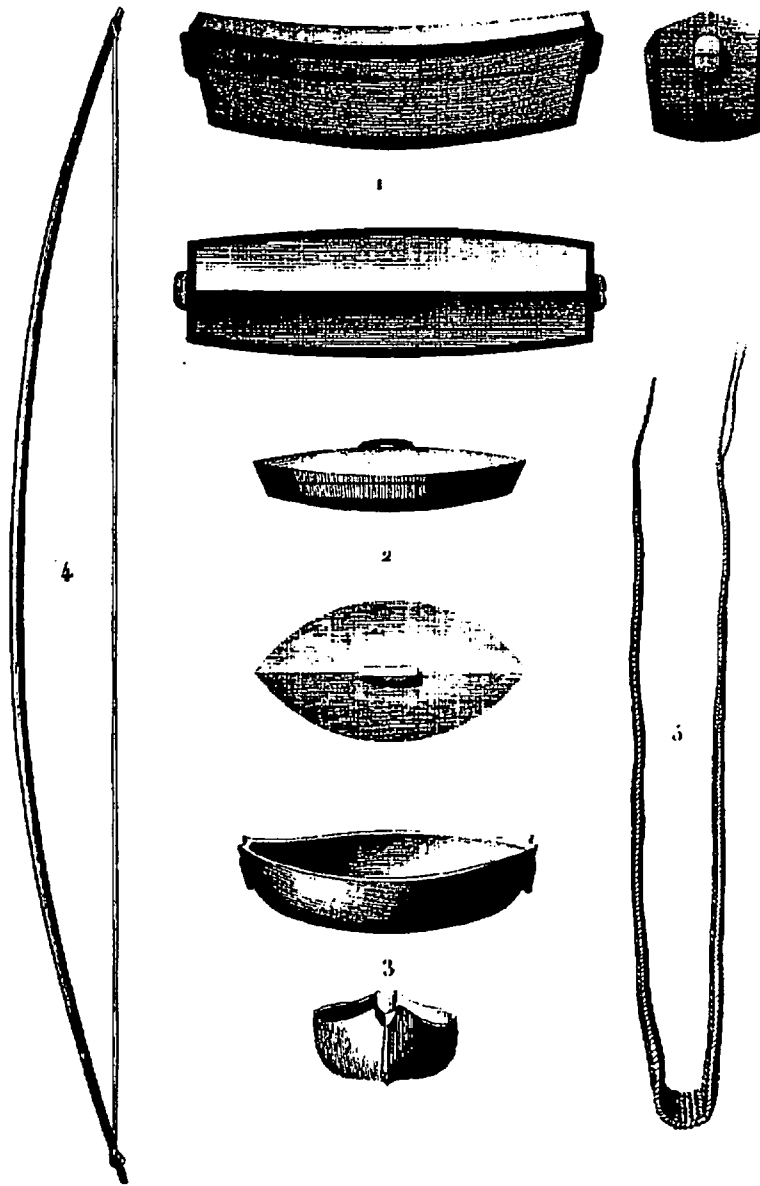


ÉTOFFES DES HABITANTS DES ILES CAROLINES.

de l'imprimerie de Bonard.

Ambroise Barthelemy Sculp.

Fabrics made in the Caroline Islands.



ARCHIPEL DES ILES CAROLINES

1. 2. Coffret . 3. Vase en bois . 4. Arc . 5. Fonde

Products of the Caroline Islands. 1-2. Chests. 3. Wooden bowl. 4. Bow. 5. Sling.

the tradewinds made us travel fast. The sky cleared and the flying fish jumped off the water surface like clouds of locusts. We caught a large quantity of small noddies, and we set them free after having tied a thin pewter strip to a leg upon which was engraved the name of our corvette, as fleeting signs of our passage through the archipelagos dotted with reefs of the Carolines. These birds, in case of shipwreck, could have become the messengers of our last news; dead, we would no doubt have become interesting travellers.

On the 9th, we sighted land in the distance, and at the speed we were making we soon came near it. The island that appeared before us was discovered by the navigator Mau-relle who named it Gran Cocal. It is only 12 miles from another island also seen by the same navigator and named San Agustin by him. We lyled to throughout the night in order to survey the latter which appeared to us as two regular coral patches covered with shrubs and coconut trees, lined with yellow sand beaches, themselves protected by a reef barrier upon which the sea breaks heavily. A village could be descried on the southern point and a few natives, running from the sides of the central lagoon, tried in vain to launch a canoe to come to us, but as our corvette was moving rapidly through the waves, they soon lost hope of ever reaching us and went back. The map of this island was sketched by me and will give an exact idea of the remarkable layout of such narrow islets dotting the surface of the sea, and provided with peaceful lagoons in their center where fish abound as in a reservoir that nature has placed in their midst to ensure their survival.

At last we have come into this garden of islands scattered north of the equator which are inhabited by a particular race that we have named the Mongolo-Pelagians, the people living exclusively in the Caroline Islands. A long series of district archipelagos cover from 132° to 173° of longitude in the northern hemisphere. The Carolines, thus named in honor of Charles II, king of Spain, have been, until recently, the object of the most daring speculations on the part of geographers. If they are now better known, it is thanks to the work of Messieurs Freycinet, Duperrey, Kotzebue, Litke and some others. They were mentioned for the first time in a rather elaborate fashion in the *Lettres édifiantes*¹ of the [Jesuit] missionaries; the name of Father Cantova is specially tied to the works that have made them better known. A map of these islands, made by Cantova, has kept geographers very busy because, drawn according to information given by the islanders, the position of each island has been marked in a very arbitrary manner, and his comments had only served to make matters worse so that the general opinion came to be that such islands did not exist. These days, the story is different because Cantova's indications are verified every day.

It is supposed that Eap [Yap] was discovered by the pilot Francisco Lazcano in 1686, after the conquest of the Marianas by the Spaniards. The Europeans paid much atten-

1 Ed. note: "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses..." Original edition by Father Le Gobien, Paris, 1702-1708. Many other editions followed, including some in English, such as that of John Lockman: "Travels of the Jesuits...", London, 1743.

tion to these islands during the period from 1696 to 1772. It was in 1696 that Don Juan Rodriguez sighted one of the large groups and became shipwrecked on the Santa Rosa Bank, about 45 leagues [south of] Guam.

In 1770, a few colonists were sent to the small island of St. Andrew [Sonsorol] to colonize it but they were all massacred. However, to review the history of these islands would take too much time whereas the reader can consult a few documents published on the subject. The main writings about the Carolines are: "Letters of Father Clain" in *Lettres édifiantes*, Vol. 1, p. 111; "Report in the form of a journal", *ibid.* VI, 75; "Letter of Father Cazier", *ibid.* XVI; "Letters of Father Cantova", *ibid.* XVIII, 188; **Journal of Wilson and shipwreck at the Pelew Islands** by Keate, French translation in 2 volumes in octavo; **Voyage around the World** by Captain Kotzebue, Vol. 3 of the English edition; "Mertens"; etc., etc.; **History of the Mariana Islands** by Charles Le Gobien, Paris, 1701.

[Kotzebue reports that] the Caroline Islanders call the island of Guam Wagal¹ and regard it as a big country where cattle, iron and many rich things can be found abundantly. Their food plants are the coconut, etc. Those Carolinians who visit the Mariana Islands belong mostly to Ulea, Lamursek, and Satawel Islands. They rendez-vous at Lamursek from where the fleets set out in April. Their first stopover is at Fayo, uninhabited islet, two days sailing away from their departure point. They return in May, or June at the latest, before the western monsoon which they fear in particular. In 1814, the fleet that visited Guam consisted of 18 proas, loaded with curious items, specially shells. In exchange, they received iron, glass necklaces and cloth. Don Luis de Torres indicated a large high land that the brig **San Antonio** of Marseille² sighted on 10 December 1814 and which was discovered by Captain Dublon. It is evidently, says Chamisso, Quiros or Hogoleu Island.

According to Mr. Chamisso, Ulea of Kadu, is pronounced Ola at Radak. Cantova wrote Ulee, Torres pronounced it Guliai³. They are the 13 islands sighted in 1797 by Wilson. Lamurrec of Kadu and Lamurrec of Cantova, La Mugnak of Torres, Lamursek of Krusenstern, Lamourca, Lamuirec or Falu of Fr. Le Gobien; Wilson called it Swede Islands.

Setoan of Kadu is Seteol of Cantova, Satahual of Torres, Tucker Island of Wilson.

Bigelle of Kadu is Piguelao of Torres. It is an uninhabited island that the Carolinians visit on fishing expeditions and it has no drinking water except that which fall from the sky and gathers in holes.

Logoleu of Cantova is called Lugulus or Prince Island by the Carolinians. Eap of Kadu, and Yap of Cantova, Yapa of Torres, and Ala-Cap in the narrative of the Pelew Islands. The Nassau Fleet mentions it in 1625 and the **Exeter** in 1793.

1 Ed. note: From the Spanish word "vaca," for the cows that the Carolinians first saw there.

2 Ed. note: Transcription error for Manilla.

3 Ed. note: Pronounced Huliai in Spanish.

Strong's (Korrae) Island and Teyoa Island of Arrowsmith, Hope Island of 1807, San Bartolome or Loyola [rather Teyoa] Island of 1526 (Ualan Island of **La Coquille**).

Thus the maps of Father Cantova and of Don Luis de Torres have given to the islands of this archipelago relationships that are undoubtedly not exact, because they have separated and placed at great distances from one another, islands that are part of the same systems of islands born by a same undersea plateau and which are called by the English "island groups" and for which I have proposed the name of "polynesia".¹

The huge Caroline archipelago thus consisted of a narrow band, between 6° and 10° degrees of latitude north, and this archipelago is itself the result of the grouping of certain groups, each one consisting of some 15 to 30 islets and dotted here and there with a few isolated islands, some high and a much greater number of low islands, all of them lying on submerged sea mounts.

The Pelew Islands are the first link of this chain on the west side, whereas the Ralik and Radak groups seem to be the last eastern link. The broken up low island groups of the Mulgraves, Gilberts and Marshalls are a branch of it bent under the equator and linking the Carolines with the rest of the islands of Oceania. The Mongolo-Pelagians do not indeed go beyond the St. Augustine Island of Maurelle.

Most of them being spread among low islands hardly rising above the waves, and inhabiting indiscriminately a few high and volcanic islands, the Carolinians have nothing in either their customs or manners that they share with the true Oceanians [i.e. Polynesians]. Skillful navigators, they possess a vast knowledge about the course of the stars. They build their canoes with a craftsmanship unknown by the other islanders of the South Sea. These peoples, who are still virtually unknown, need to be studied further. They must have come from the shores of Asia and their swarms colonized every nearby island as soon as it came out of the depths of the ocean. With their squadrons, they can be seen undertaking long voyages, taking advantage of the monsoon winds, guiding themselves by the stars and the prevailing winds. Let us go back now to the daily course of our navigation. Every day, as we progressed in these parts so dotted with islands, new beings came to our attention. They were stemes [sic] with their gracious shape, large sharks with the tips of their fins white in color, voracious tyrants of this warm sea, because one of those we caught had its stomach full of fish, and of squid still half-whole, and small grey porpoises.

On the 15th of May, we were sailing very near the low islands called Drummond [Tabiteuea] and Sydenham [Nonouti], the Kingsmills of the maps by Arrowsmith, discovered in June of 1788 by Captains Gilbert and Marshall. These islands, situated at 1°20' latitude South and 172°40' longitude East, extend as far as 10° latitude North and are like a narrow band of land lined with reefs and covered with coconuts trees. A single canoe manned by three men, dared to venture alongside the corvette, and it was only after many hesitations that they finally dared to climb aboard.

1 Ed. note: The proper word is "atoll."

The natives had nothing to trade with them; all they had at the bottom of their canoe were the giant tridacna mollusks which they had just taken from the reefs and which are no doubt one of their main food sources.

We gave them knives, which they appeared to call *tibi* [rather *biti*], and some fish-hooks which they called *matao*.¹ We could see that they appreciated iron but their language, unintelligible to us, had no similarity with the other dialects spoken in Oceania [i.e. Polynesia].

Their skin complexion was rather dark, and their limbs thin and weak, two facts which we can no doubt attribute to their living on open reefs that are not too productive. Their features are flat and coarse and their complexion is sort of dark copper; their intelligence appeared limited and their exterior depicted the misery and lack of resources of the soil they live on.

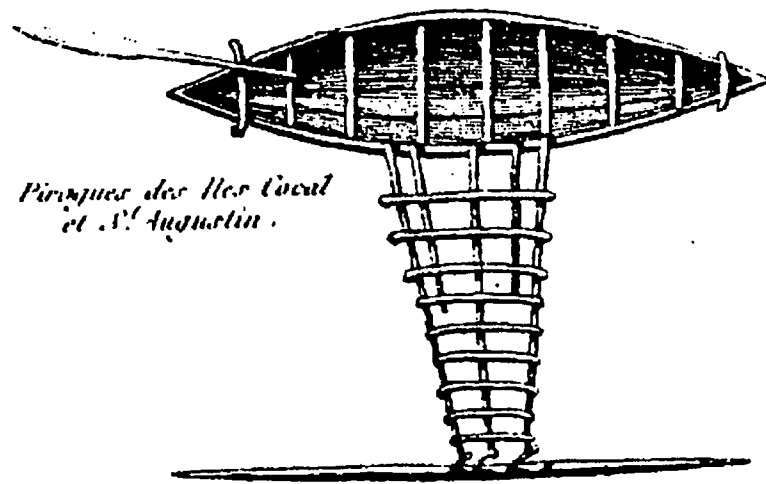
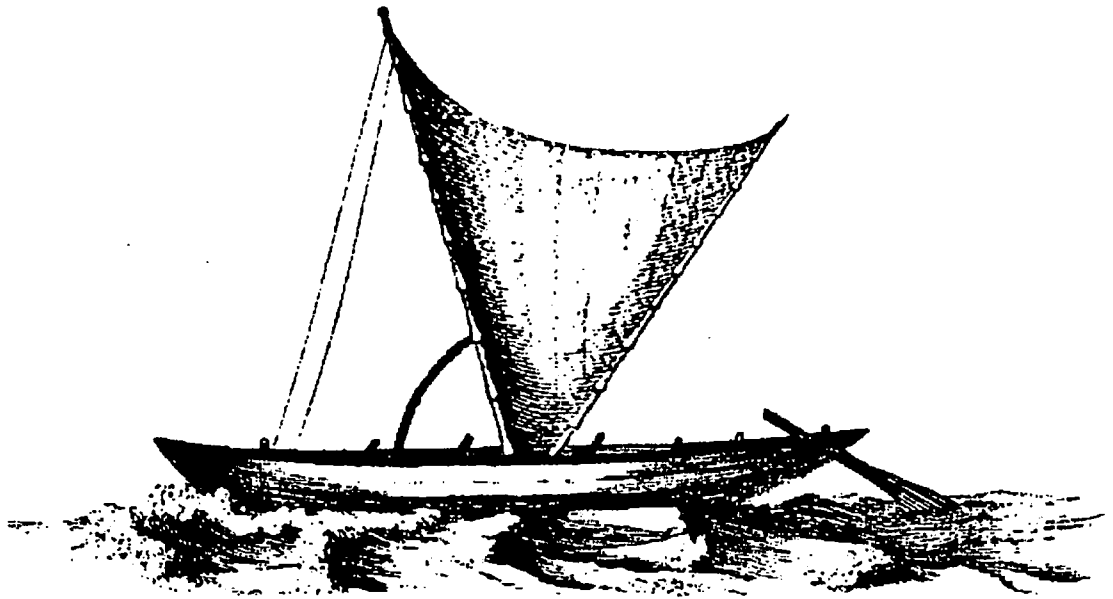
The youngest of the three individuals was covered with furfureous leprosy that is so common to all the black Pacific islanders, and that seems endemic to all the shore people who live almost exclusively on fish. These three men had the belly tied with many turns of the rope made with coconut coir. They do not remove their body hair nor are they circumcised. Nothing covered the sexual organs. These islanders had their hair cut short and have no beards or moustaches which they shave with shells.

They had no weapons of any kind in their hands. Their head covering consisted of a small round bonnet woven with the dry leaf strands of the coconut tree. The only clothes they wore was a roughly made mat pierced in the middle like the *poncho* of the Araucanos [of Chile], with which they protect their shoulders and chest.

They are familiar with navigation and go rather far from their island bringing with them a supply of fresh water inside coconut shells. Their canoes have nothing similar to those of the Oceanians and, although not built with much care, they have the shape of the so gracious proas of the western Carolines; one must think that the lack of wood and the absence of suitable materials are the only causes of the negligence that appears to have been prevalent during their construction. However, these craft are maneuvered the same way, by shifting the sail so that the prow becomes the poop, and vice versa. These proas are simple and about twenty feet in length by two in width. A beam used as an outrigger is solidly held at a certain distance from the hull by many rods, which support a sort of platform. The body of the canoe is made up of thin planks, concentric, very strongly sewn together and supported by a slender frame; both ends are pointed. The oarsmen sit on some small benches. The mast is leaning forward and stepped on the right side; some guys support it as well as a curved stay leaning on the outrigger platform. The sail is triangular in shape with the longest side being the upper one; it is made up of patches of very rough mats joined together. A long oar was used as a rudder.²

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1841L, Gilbertese vocabulary. *Matao* does mean fish-hook.

2 The lack of trees is the real cause of the apparent neglect with which the canoes of the low islands are built, because their masts, their outriggers, were made of many crooked pieces of some bad wood, such as the *hibiscus tiliaceus* and, in spite of this, they were carefully fitted together.



*Pirogues des Iles Cook
et St. Augustin.*

Canoe of Tuvalu, the former Ellice Islands, by Lesson, 1824.

The above facts are sufficient to make us recognize that they are excellent navigators, with very advanced ideas in the construction of the craft they use to go from island to island and upon the reefs to fish for food because, the coconuts of these submerged lands are not sufficient to feed the whole population and the food vegetables of the Oceanians (Polynesians) like the breadfruit trees, the yams, usually are in short supply on these islets. However, as we will make progress westward, we will see more of these proas with the same shapes, exhibit the ideal model of a canoe, with ornaments and the finish of their architecture, with their superior speed and the precision and elegance used in maneuvering them.

On the 16th at night, we sighted a fire in the northeast. We tacked back to make for the land at daybreak and by a fine morning we coasted along what we recognized to be Sydenham [Nonouti] Island, first discovered by Captain Bishop, and sighted in 1809 by the brig **Elizabeth** whose captain named it Blaney Island. This island lies at 0°32'0" Latitude South and 172°14' Longitude East; it is low and its shape is that of large arc, somewhat irregular, and only about twenty miles in length.

Its surface, of little elevation above sea level, is very wooded, specially in the southern part where a large number of huts in the middle of groves could be seen.

As soon as the islanders sighted the corvette **La Coquille** skirting their shore, they launched their canoes and in a jiffy we saw about twenty of them maneuvering in squadrons to reach us, but only one succeeded. It was manned by ten natives, tall, strong and nervous. The color of their skin was close to a deep soot-like black. Their hair, very black, was short and beard sparse. One of them had made himself a helmet with the skin of a big diodon [porcupine- or puffer-fish] and wore a cassock roughly made of coconut strands. The other natives were completely naked and all of them had their thighs tattooed with light circular lines. They had necklaces made of the red valves of a comb shell and they had around their waist many fathoms of a very fine sennet dyed black or some cords threaded with countless small wheels made of a very hard black wood.

Their hatchets are made of pieces of a tridacna shell, whose edge is sharpened, supported by a wooden handle. Their mats are woven with narrow strips of pandanus; they traded a few, as well as three fresh coconuts, the only ones they had in their canoes, for some nails, fish-hooks and knives which they called *tibi*. The mirrors caused the greatest surprise.

These islanders were showing bad faith in their exchanges. They rarely gave the object whose value they had received. The construction of their canoes was perfectly similar to that of the Drummond islanders. The facial expression of these ten men was little reassuring. Some large scars showed that they frequently are at war and this, added to the lack of resources in their island must give them inhospitable customs. They were voluble talkers; it was with much difficulty that we were able to get the name they use

to call their island which is *Motuia* for the southern half and *Motutera* for the northern half. The only words we were able to add to the above two were: *cari*, eyebrows; *te-pahi*, nose; and *taniga*, ear.¹

On 17 May 1824, we recognized Henderville [Aranuka] and Woodle [Kuria] Islands², which are separated by a five-mile channel. They are laid out in the shape of a horse-shoe and are lined by a wide reef belt whose center is a vast lagoon. Here and there can be seen a few huts, rather rough, whose roofs came down to the ground. A large number of natives covered the beach and made a sharp contrast with the sparkling whiteness of the coral sand; they all took part in a lively scene. The women and children, fixed to the shore by curiosity, remained as spectators, but the men carried canoes and launched them in an effort to reach the corvette.

These natives resembled the previous ones. They were entirely naked, but we noticed that they shaved their body hair carefully. One of them had upon his head a pointed hat made with a rolled-up banana leaf. Their skin tone, as is normal for men living directly on the equator, was very dark. An old native, who seemed to enjoy a certain authority, stood for a long time in the middle of a canoe and spoke with energy; no doubt he was addressing us with some speech whose words hit our ears in vain. He stood out by the facts that he had two Leda shells hanging from his neck, and bracelets made of very white threaded shells.

At about noon, we headed for the southern tip of Woodle Island which is only about 6-7 miles from Dundas [Abemama] Island. This island, discovered in 1809 by the ship *Elizabeth*, revealed to us a large population; we counted upwards of 300 natives running on the shore. A few were armed with long spears. The women had a wrap around the body but the men were completely naked. We could tell by their gestures, their shouts, that they rarely saw any European ship in these parts. A large number of canoes immediately made for the *Coquille* but, as a favorable wind was pushing us, only two of them, more persistent, managed to reach us when we were 3 leagues from the land. The natives on board them had nothing to trade, but they showed keen interest in the knives, nails, fish-hooks and iron under any shape whatever. Their ornaments were belts made of circular pieces of shells, placed around the body, neck, wrists and legs. These two canoes were smaller than the previous ones but built like them with sewn planks, and outriggers. The crew consisted of only four men who did not even have a fig leaf as clothing; they were clean-shaven except one. Their skin, deeply tanned, was nevertheless already lighter in tone than that of the first Carolinians whom we had seen. All bore three scars from deep gashes on the tegument of the right shoulder. Their features were rather regular generally, although they expressed a wild and ferocious look. Their height was average. One of them, who appeared to enjoy some authority

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- 1 Ed. note: Some misunderstandings, and misprints: Motu-ia means islet in Polynesian; Ia means where? era, how many? Eyebrow is ari; nose is paini, or baini...
 - 2 Their position is 0°10' Lat. N. and 171°25' Long. E.

upon his companions was tattooed upon the thighs and on his back in light lines, drawn artistically around his parts.

By the way, they climbed aboard without hesitation and without showing any fear. They had no weapons and they traded in good faith. Like their neighbors, their ornaments consisted of Leda shells. Their power of observation is such that they soon noticed that some clouds were gathering at the horizon and meant bad weather coming. So, they hurried to get back to their island and, as soon as they landed, sudden and violent showers hit us.

On the following days, we passed by the Hall Islands [Maiana], Gilbert Island [Maiana also], Knoy [Tarawa], Charlotte [Abaiang], as well as the Marshall archipelago [Makin] and the Mulgrave Islands [Mili] and Bonham [Jaluit]. They appeared with the same shapes, the same human race inhabiting them, identical characteristics as those we have just reported on. All these islands are therefore completely low-lying, formed by massive coral banks which are themselves the result of some slow and continuous work of animals that are almost not noticeable. These polyps, soft and jelly-like, are able to decompose sea water to extract calcium carbonate from it in order to raise some platform to wave level. Such platforms first receive colonies of vegetable matter, then animals and finally human migrants.

However, do these rock creators build their walls at any place in the depths of the sea or only at certain depths? Some recent positive tests have shown that it is only upon the summits of shoals or undersea mountains, which criss-cross and form basins at the bottom of the ocean, that they build the foundations of their structures. Thus, we notice that the coral rocks adapt the weirdest shapes in their layout at the surface of the sea. Also we see them form barriers around high volcanic peaks in the great archipelagos. Elsewhere, where the submerged volcano does not rise above the surface, there are low plateaus that often take the shape of the crater rim, so that the interior remains empty on account of the great depth of water. Thus originated the islands with interior lagoons. That is why we have in the middle of the Carolines high volcanic islands such as Ualan [Kosrae] and Hogolus [Chuuk] possessing coral barriers around them and upon which there rise some *motus* or islets covered with vegetable matters, whereas the interior shows only one or two isolated peaks of volcanic origin.

On the 30th, we had communication with a whaler; it was the **Boston** of Nantucket which was on the way to the Japan whaling grounds. It had taken ten whales between the Mulgraves and the Caroline Islands.

On June 1st, we found ourselves in the middle of a crowd of creatures that were frolicking in the air and the sea. Some noddies, frigate birds, boobies, tropic birds criss-crossed in flight whereas the schools of tuna fish, clouds of flying fish jumped or flew above the gentle waves that rippled the surface of the ocean.

On June 3rd, we sighted a high land that we skirted in order to find an anchorage. Mr. Bérard, despatched in a boat, came back after having discovered a safe but small harbor. It was only on the 5th that we decided to go in. This high land is Ualan Island.

CHAPTER XXV

General observations about Ualan Island¹ (soil, products, inhabitants, customs, language, etc.) (5-15 June 1824).

Ualan Island, thus named by the natives who live on it, appears to have been discovered in 1804 by the American captain Crozier [sic]² who gave it the name of Strong Island, in honor of the Governor of the State of Massachusetts. It does not appear that he had any contact with the islanders. This discovery, announced in the newspapers of that period, did not appear authentic, because it is not shown on the latest English maps (1822), whereas there can be seen Teyoa and Hope Islands, which of course correspond to Ualan as we were able to ascertain for one of them, whereas Hope Island, supposedly discovered in 1807, is due to an error of longitude. Finally, Mr. Chamisso even thinks that Ualan is also the island called San Bartolome de Loyola, sighted in 1526.

The position of Strong Island given by Captain Crozier [sic] differs very little from that found by the officers of the corvette **La Coquille**. The position is 5°21'32" Latitude North and 160°48'22" Longitude East. Variation is 8°50' NE.

Ualan Island is isolated, at about an equal distance between the Caroline Group and the Mulgrave and Gilbert archipelagos. It represents a noteworthy exception, on account of its mountainous aspect, in the midst of low coral islands dotting those parts. It runs from NE to SW and is only 24 miles in circumference (8 miles in length by 9 in width). However, a thick belt of coral surrounds it completely. There are a few *motus* or coral islets, wooded, on its southern part. The mountains are cut by ravines and jagged; a few are characterized by sharp peaks. The thickest of vegetation covers the whole island, whereas mangrove forests stretch out along the shore, amid fetid muds accumulated by the mixing of fresh and salt water.

The reefs form a barrier, sometimes one mile in width, that is cut in a few places to form five harbors where good anchorage can be found; two of them in particular are able to accommodate large ships. Lele Harbor, or Pane Bay in the language of the natives, is the largest; it is sheltered on all sides except to the east where the reef barrier opens to create a narrow pass. However, this anchorage, which would be very convenient on account of its proximity to the village of Lele where the chiefs and the majority of the population reside, is directly leeward of the prevailing ESE wind, so that, if it is easy to enter, it is not so easy to leave. Also, there is the disadvantage of being unable to tow the vessel out of the pass because bottom can no longer be reached just outside the corals, where the surf is strongest.

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- 1 This chapter has been published in the *Journal des voyages* in 1825 (Vol. XXVI, pages 129 & 273). I had to keep the same style that shows the effect of a long voyage, as it was published as soon as I arrived in France, because it has been quoted by the Russian traveller Lütke who has made comments on various passages.
 - 2 Ed. note: The correct name of this captain was Crocker. Also the island was discovered by a French ship shortly before Crocker's visit (See Doc. 1804D).

Coquille Harbor, where we anchored, received its name from the corvette. It is located on the west coast of the island and is rather large although some shoals clutter up its basin. The anchorage is easily accessible. However, we let go a kedge anchor in the pass and gained entry by towing into the inner harbor, after avoiding a few small coral heads at sea level. The sea is calm inside and as smooth as a pond, hardly rippled by the prevailing wind. The anchorage is very good and steady; the bottom is black mud, mixed with some powdered coral mortar in the vicinity of the two small islets that are at the bottom of the harbor. One of the latter was chosen to establish the observatory.

During the ten days that we spent in Coquille Harbor, the wind blew almost constantly from NE, NNE and ENE but was very light. Often, we had spells of perfect calm; the heat was then intense. The weather was superb when we landed and it stayed that way for the first three days of our layover. Later on, we suffered a few wind and rain storms that lasted about four days and beat down rather strongly, but they ended up with dying squalls and some rain showers that were sudden and of short duration. The majority of the downpours, attracted by the summits of the mountains, would fall upon the lower valleys. The abundant and rich vegetation of Ualan, its many springs and streams, the constant humidity of the soil, bear witness to the frequency of the rains during the winter season. The barometer, at noon time, maintained itself at 28 inches, except that on the 6th, it dropped to 27 inches, 11 lines plus. The thermometer, at noon and in the shade, climbed to a maximum of over 31°C and came down to a minimum just below 28°C. The air temperature, in the middle of the night, remains about constant at over 28°C. The temperature of the air, even at midnight, was not more than one degree difference from that of the water. The days were extremely hot; the heat was biting and very uncomfortable. The nights were clear and peaceful, on good days, but at about 4 o'clock, the humidity and coolness of the air were very noticeable.

The mountains that form Ualan Island are high and rugged. Their volcanic origin can be guessed at first sight and this opinion is confirmed later upon examination of the rocks. The highest mountain is capped by one sharp, isolated peak (678 m.), whereas twin peaks crown the nearby mountain. The other mountains are not so characteristic, being ordinary twists common to a land of volcanic origin. A deep valley seems to split the island into two parts, apparently linked by a low pass; this feature gives it the shape of a clover leaf on paper. The mountain on the north side is 106 meters in height.¹ Its summit is truncated and this plateau is most often bathed in clouds. The main mountain chain that links the various peaks lies NE to SW and the elevation decreases slightly toward the SW. Valleys and gorges separate these various links of the chain and the central valley seems to be the edge of a long extinct crater. This valley is well watered, very fertile and wide. The islanders have made plantations and placed huts there. Ridges, cut sharp and steep, generally line the ravines. Most of the peaks are so steep and the bushes so thick that they appear inaccessible.

1 Ed. note: Misprint for 606 meters, I think.

The heat of the day constantly vaporizes a large quantity of water and such vapors condense in part on the flanks of the mountains. The result is a very large number of streams that flow down from everywhere, eroding narrow beds, shaded by beautiful trees or, where they meet with some obstacles, fall down in small cascades upon pebbled beds. Such streams zigzag through the valleys, joining then dividing further on. Their fresh babbling waters eventually form small rivers that disappear into the sea, after cutting their way through the thick mud of the mangrove swamps that line the coast. At the mouth of such streams, there is hardly more than three feet of water and at best one or two feet further up where the water still runs down. A great lushness results from this abundance of water coupled with the heat; this fertility begs to be put to good use. The water that the visiting ships would need is, however, not easy to get because the reefs prevent the boats from crossing the bar and going up the rivers. It is necessary to roll the casks on the surface and to go fairly high up the river to get fresh water. Without this precaution, it often happens that only salty water is obtained, as happened to us. The sailors in charge of this chore roll the casks while wading waist deep in the water. By the way, it is not possible to step ashore around Coquille Harbor without getting down onto the reefs and then following the river courses in order to reach the interior. It would otherwise be difficult to cross the space occupied by a shoreline made up of half-liquid mud into which one sinks and cannot get out, amidst an inextricable mess of innumerable mangrove roots. On the other hand, the southern and northern parts of Ualan are lined with regular sandy beaches protected from erosion by pandanus and other large trees. Upon these beaches, the natives have established their small villages surrounded by sparse coconut groves.

The rock that makes up most of the mountains, called *holl* by the natives,¹ is a porous trachyte. There must also be some basalt somewhere because I saw huge pentagonal prisms of basalt within the walls of Lele, and at the home of an islander, I saw a mortar to pound the kava that was a large pentagonal disk. I also had the opportunity to see a few basalt hatchets inside some huts as well as pieces of obsidian or volcanic glass. All the pebbles in the ravines are also made of trachyte. However, I know of only one spot on a mountain where a conical prism can be seen above the surface. Everywhere else the soil is covered with a network of climbing vines amid thickets made of various species of trees. On the coast, there can be found some spathed corals which the natives use to make their hatchets.

The reef barrier that surrounds the island consists of coral polyps that the sea has pushed and broken up into blocks, sometimes large ones which are mostly exposed at low tide. The surf beats mercilessly upon the uprooted blocks that are found on the edge of the reef. The space between the reef and the land is a flat area of fine coral sand covered by a few inches of water except where deeper pools exist. Every day, trees appropriate to this kind of colonization advance restlessly upon it and thus increase the size of the island. Upon this flat area, there can be found plenty of polyps of the opun-

1 Ed. note: Mountain is now written 'ohl'.

tia variety, some small fucus [algae?], a zostere, as well as a sort of flexuose sponge consisting of tubes perforated at the top, and another with a single vertical tube. I noticed many moray eels, cones, very small fry adorned with rich colors, the starfish with five blue legs, some black ophiuræ watching for their prey from under some rocks, many urchins, specially the cydarite. The true *trepang* (sea cucumber) covers these vast banks; this holothuria is so abundant here that I have never seen anything like it in the islands and seas reported favorable to it by European fishermen who sell it to the Chinese. As for a few remarks upon the origin of corals, they will be found elsewhere in this book.

The vegetation that spontaneously grows on Ualan Island is gigantic in size. Although there are not that many species, they have not left the slightest bit of soil bare. Everywhere, the clayish earth, mixed with a great proportion of humus or black, firm compost, gives them a rich and plentiful food supply. The same plants that grow in the valleys also grow on the mountains. I would not be far from the truth by judging the total number of species as one hundred. During our stay (June 1824), there were hardly twenty species in bloom. The botany of Ualan Island is similar to that of the South Sea Islands. It offers plants that are also found in the Moluccas and lands to the east of them. For instance, one can find the same plants, animals, specially fish, as in New Ireland, but the 200 leagues that separate these two islands make this fact not too surprising, specially given that both places are located on the 5th parallel, New Ireland at 5° S and Ualan 5° N.

Marchantias, jungermannias and ferns generally cover the tree trunks, the naked stones and the damp soil. The ferns stand out by their many species; one in particular has a slender stalk topped by a bundle of leaves that make it look like a miniature palm tree. The gramineæ, and small grasses in general, are lacking because they cannot survive in the shade of trees. In the ravines and valleys, there are nevertheless a few reeds, or else a sharp grass that is common in the South Seas. Everywhere, the West Indian cabbage and sugarcane grow wild. The banana tree and the chestnut-type breadfruit tree grow in the bush as far up as the crest of the highest mountains, and are accompanied by a type of stylish areca palm and tree-like fern. The *hibiscus tiliaceus*, so useful to the natives, forms the heaviest thickets. The *urtica tenacissima*, a yellow malvacea, an ixora with reddish corymbs, are found here and there in the woods, amid some baringtonias, some *loume* or flat-rooted trees, some *inocarpus edulis*, some *morinda citrifolia*. The beautiful bind-weed (*convolvulus peltatus*) entwines them and may even hide them under its cordate leaves. The plants living on the plain are a very pungent basil, a very common *synantherea* with yellow flowers, a *cucurbitacea*, a *pancratium*, the *piper methysticum*, some *arum esculentum* and *macrorhizon*, many species of orchids, some *maranta* and *dracaena*, etc. The plants are rather regular and not diversified. On the sea shore, in places where there are sandy beaches, one can find two types of pandanus [screw-pine], some *scaevolia lobelia*, some *vitex trifoliatus*, etc. The muddy beaches are covered with mangrove trees whose trunks are more than 60 to 70 feet in height. I noticed, at only one place, a dwarf palm tree covered with fruits but I do not

know what species it could belong to. The trees growing on the mountains are at least fifteen feet tall and they are generally wild breadfruit trees.

The native food plants have been propagated upon this small island to an astonishing degree. That is why the people inhabiting it have remained indolent in body and mind. They are vegetarian only; one could draw the conclusion that their soft and peaceful life is free from the cruel acts that degrade other nations. The natives have established plantations everywhere. The coconut tree, this so useful palm tree, is planted near the huts. Sugarcane is planted in regular square patches, generally on the hills. The ground is carefully weeded out and each bundle of cane is propped up by a long stake. This care extends to the arum that gives the *taro* which they plant along the rivers. This plant is thriving here and there on its own more so than in any prepared soil. The small gardens that surround the native huts are remarkable, not by the care shown but by the mixture of all kinds of plants that can be found there. Their enclosures are made with the *dracaena terminalis* [dragon's blood], whose wide leaves with pronounced nerves are capped with white or pink flowers, and which form a lattice with some slender poles. It appears that this plant provides a sweet substance that is much sought after by them.

The tree that provides the staple food of these islanders is the breadfruit tree. The fruits of this plant are so common that they litter the ground everywhere. The type that is used for food is called *mosse*, whereas they call *mosse sukossa* the wild variety of the same fruit which, instead of being round like the former, is oblong and has the areoles of its skin more pronounced and some seeds similar to chestnuts in the center of its parenchyma. As for the seeds themselves, they are not used by the Ualanese but sought after by the Carolinians.

Wild sugarcane, which they call *ta* (*saccharum spontaneum*) is evidently spontaneous and belongs to the species that has big red stalks, known as the Tahiti variety. Everywhere, there grows a new species of wild sugarcane like some tall grass.

The banana trees thrive everywhere as well; there are many varieties but the quality of their fruits is generally mediocre. The best kind of banana is called *une* and the natives did not want to give us any. It is long, curved, and bright yellow when it is ripe. The most common kind is a big banana, roundish, bright yellow or even orange in color, whose pulp is sour and that instantly turns the urine of those who eat it into a very bright saffron yellow. The fruits of this very remarkable variety grow in very big bunches, are edible only when cooked, although the natives who call them *une kalas*, seem to like them as well.

The West Indian cabbage or *arum esculentum* seems to be a food reserved for when the other foods are not available; they call it *taka* and they cultivate it in damp places. The large species of taro (*arum macrorrhizon*), which they call *monaca*, and which is remarkable by the abnormally-large size of its leaves contains in its stems much starch inside a parenchyma surrounded by an acrid sap which is highly corrosive. A certain number of men were sent from the ship to collect some taro roots for the crew; they brought back the developed stems of this arum and all of those who ate it suffered from throat inflammations for one hour, although the parenchyma of these roots had been

boiled for a long time. By washing it, the inhabitants get a starch similar to that obtained from cassava. They also wear its flowers in the lobe of their ears. At the time of germination, the heat of this spadix, called here *une ketak*, swells greatly and persists half a day; at this time, a sweet fragrance similar to that of the iris of Florence is released.

The coconut tree is not very common on Ualan Island. This precious plant, called *nu*, can be seen only in small groves near the huts of a few chiefs. The natives place a high value on its nuts which they consider a delicacy. When they came to visit us, they brought few of them along and they only gave one in exchange for each nail, whereas one nail could buy a large quantity of cooked breadfruits, sugarcane or bananas. The type that grows on the island has a much smaller nut than that of the Society Islands [Tahiti Group]. We noticed that some wooden squares had been placed at the top of these palm trees, and we were unable to learn their purpose¹. The natives show some remarkable skill in removing with their teeth the tough husk that surrounds the nut. The husk they call *fua*, the meat *kwano*, the emulsive milk *sano*, and the coir *kake*.²

The fruit of the *inocarpus edulis* that natives call *hi* is very common. This great tree grows everywhere in the woods where its chestnuts fall on the ground; I have not seen the natives look for them. The same thing happens to the fruits of the *morinda citrifolia*, and to a sort of potato-like tuber that grows off the joints of a climbing plant that entwines the trunk of trees.

The lemon and orange trees seem to me to be indigenous. These beautiful trees grow tall and can be found either near a few huts or in the most isolated parts of the woods. Their fruits, called *meozas*, not having received the benefits of grafting, are very sour, and cannot be used. A much-liked plant, one that provides a drink, called *seka* or *shia-ka*,³ which islanders enjoy, is a climbing species of the [betel] pepper plant, akin to the *piper siriboa*. They also make great use of some plants for their daily needs; such are: the *hibiscus tiliaceus*, called *lo*, whose wood, white and light, is used to make fire [by rubbing], and it provides materials for building huts; the [screw-pine or] *pandanus odorantissimus*, whose leaves are used for roofing; two malvaceae [cotton plants] and one nettle (*urtica tenacissima?*) are used to make excellent ropes out of their bark fibers; the *morinda* which is used for dyes, etc.

The Ualan people love bright or fragrant flowers. The women place in the lobes of their ears which are pierced for this purpose big bundles of *tihō* flowers (*pancratium amboinense*).

They usually cultivate, near their houses, a shrub found commonly in the woods, and that produces corymbs that are bright red in color; it is an *ixora* which they call

1 Ed. note: The probable use of these barriers was to prevent rats and coconut crabs from reaching the nuts.

2 Ed. note: Recognizeable words are: "fuh" meaning husk, but "kaki" now means copra.

3 Ed. note: Now written "suhka," it is "sakau" in Pohnpei, and "kawa" in Polynesia.

kalce.¹ There is also a fruit-bearing basil, called *haren*, that gives out a sweet smell (as the name *haren*, which means perfume in the local language, indicates).² They also have the dracaena, called *ine-ka*.

Animals normally used for food appear to be unknown to them. Their life seems to be entirely vegetarian. The hens they have are few in number and live in the wood in a wild state; they lay their eggs and hatch them without the natives bothering them in the least. They are called *mone*, and since that word also means bird, the hen seems to be considered as the bird par excellence. Maybe the chiefs eat some on rare occasions but we were unable to learn for sure. What astonished me most was the fact that neither the dog, man's companion in all climates, nor the pig, spread today to almost all the islands of the South Sea, is present. They even showed a great surprise at seeing a pig which inspired great fear among them. We thought that it would be very important for future navigators who will stop here on their way to China and Japan to be able to find this precious quadruped here. Even though our food supply would be thereby diminished, because we had only three live pigs left, we did not hesitate to leave behind a pregnant sow. We entrusted it to a native after having instructed him on the infinite usefulness of this animal for the island, and he grasped the idea so well that he made a large enclosure for it and, during our whole stay there, he cared for it very well. The word *cochon*, which the natives pronounced very clearly, as well as other French words for many useful things, will probably remain in their language.³ The Captain also gave a sow to a Penneme in the vicinity.

The rat and the vampire bat are the only quadrupeds that I observed on Ualan; both exist in excessive numbers. The rat (*kusik*)⁴ prefer the dead trees when they can be seen in the daytime in groups of twenty or so hanging from branches.

Ornithology is poor, or rather offers little variety. I have been able to acquire only eleven species of birds, among which, it is true, three or four belong exclusively to this island; at least we did not see any like them in any of the other places we visited. Flocks of noddies, called *pale* by the natives, fly over the mangrove where they live with a pretty little white sea swallow. Sometimes, tropic birds can be seen; they nest in the mountains. Upon the reefs, the common birds are the golden plover and two kinds of sandpipers, as well as white and grey herons, called *lugulap*.⁵ Once, a large bird similar to a crane was seen.

A dove, very common on the island, is called *muleu*⁶ and a blackbird, uniformly brown in color, is called *uwaizai*. The woods are made prettier by a small red climbing

1 Ed. note: Now written "kalsruh."

2 Ed. note: "Arihng" now means herb; "kweng" is perfume.

3 Ed. note: See Lütke's voyage of 1828, where it is mentioned that the word *cochon* [pig], spelled *kosho* or *kosro* nowadays, did indeed become part of the Kosraean language.

4

5 Ed. note: Now written "noklahp."

6 Ed. note: Or *muluess*, even "muleux" as mentioned below the attached illustration; it is now simply "ule."

Voy. de la Coquille.

N° 41.



COLOMBE Océanique. (Columba oceanica N.)

Moulouesse ou Muleux, dans la langue des naturels.

ILE D'UVALAN.

Oceanic dove (Columba oceanica). *Mulues, or Muleu, in the language of the inhabitants of Ualan, or Kosrae, Island. (From Atlas zoologique: Première série, Oiseaux, Plate 41, Lesson, 1824).*

- 2 Ed. note: Island off the NW tip of New Guinea.
- 3 Ed. note: Perhaps as "mwe osra."
- 4 Ed. note: *Mooa* in the vocabulary below.
- 5 Ed. note: Now written "semihs."

bird, called *sis*,¹ whose plumage, uniformly red, makes a sharp contrast with the green vegetation. A small swallow, akin to the *salangane*, and a fig-bird, the size of a wren, are also part of our collections.

Among the oviparous quadrupeds, I was able to see only two species of lizards, and a small grey gecko. The first one is the size of the green lizard of France and resembles it very much, except that it has the ability to change its color from the brightest green to that of dull steel brown. The second species is the same as that found throughout the South Sea, with golden stripes on its back and a blue tail. I was told that a big serpent was seen climbing a tree. The ordinary turtle visits the shore areas.

The fishes are many and varied. Almost all of them belong to the families of fishes that live around coral reefs; they are decorated with the brightest colors. I was able to recognize many of those I had seen or sketched at the Society Islands, in New Ireland, at Waigi², or in the Moluccas. The balistapus [trigger-fish], the acanthurus [surgeon-fish] are represented by a good number of species. I found the same golden yellow box-fish, called *heduhotse*, and the unicorn fish, called *mossa*,³ which are very common in the sea around New Guinea. A black acanthurus, with a white tail, is very surprisingly *ali-ala*. The jumping blenny, called *mova* here,⁴ teems in the rivers, at some distance from their mouths.

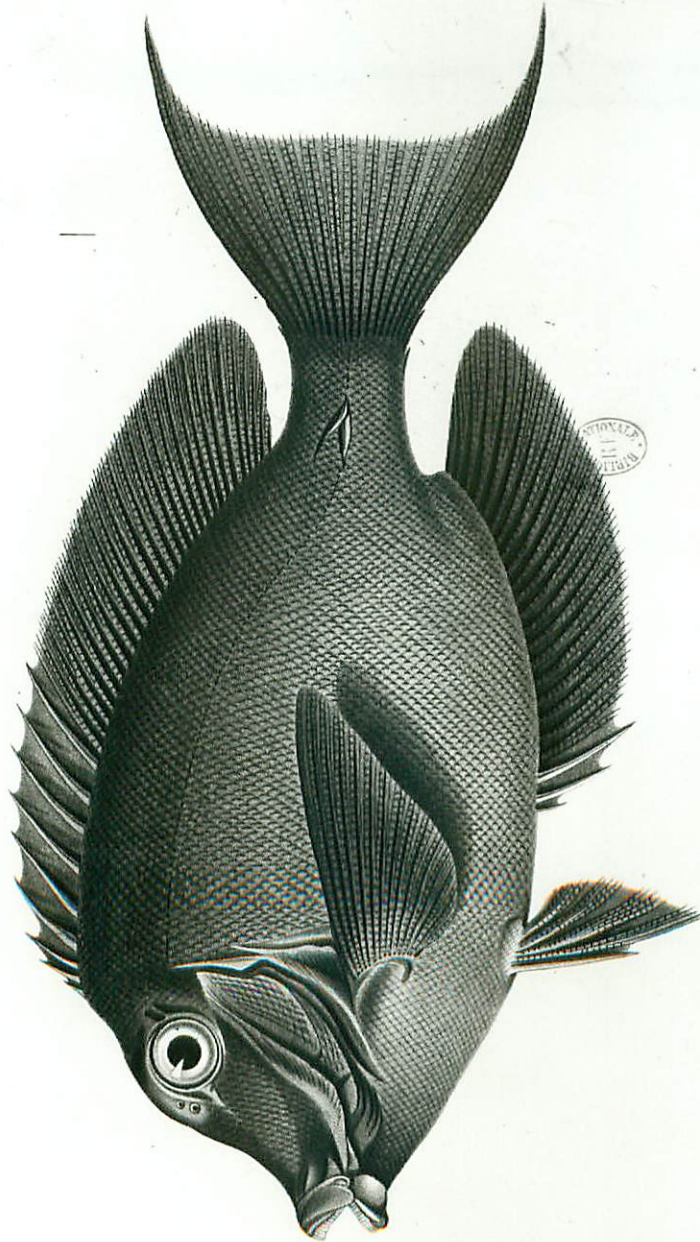
A large eel of a fair size lives in fresh or salt water, in the company of small fry, samples which I was unable to get. A tiger-spotted moray swarms on the reef; its bite, although not venomous, causes some deep incisions. The natives called it *shaymiss*,⁵ and its flesh is very hard to digest and is full of sharp and loose fish-bones. Sometimes we saw, swimming in the harbor, the large devil ray (*raia aquila*).

The natives did not bring us much fish; they called fish *ik*, a word which is close to the Malay word *ikan*. We ourselves did not have much success with fishing; we only had the above-mentioned moray in large quantities because it was easy to kill with sticks.

The shells are not as abundant as the extent of the reefs at low tide would make us suppose. I only found two types of cones, the striped auger, the episcopal miter, some oysters, tridacnas, Leda eggs, tiger cowries, etc. and they are all rather rare. A small bulimus, a helix, and a nerite were the only land or river testaceans that I found. The crustaceans comprised lobsters, two types of crabs, various shrimps and one crayfish that lives in fresh water on the mountain slopes.

We only saw three butterflies already seen at the Society Islands and two cicadas, very small and very agile.

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- 1 Ed. note: Perhaps same as "sik."
 - 2 Ed. note: Island off the NW tip of New Guinea.
 - 3 Ed. note: Perhaps as "mwe osra."
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 - 5 Ed. note: Now written "semihs."



1. ACANTHURE ÉPARAI. (Acanthurus eparai, Less.) ÎLE D'O-TAHITI.

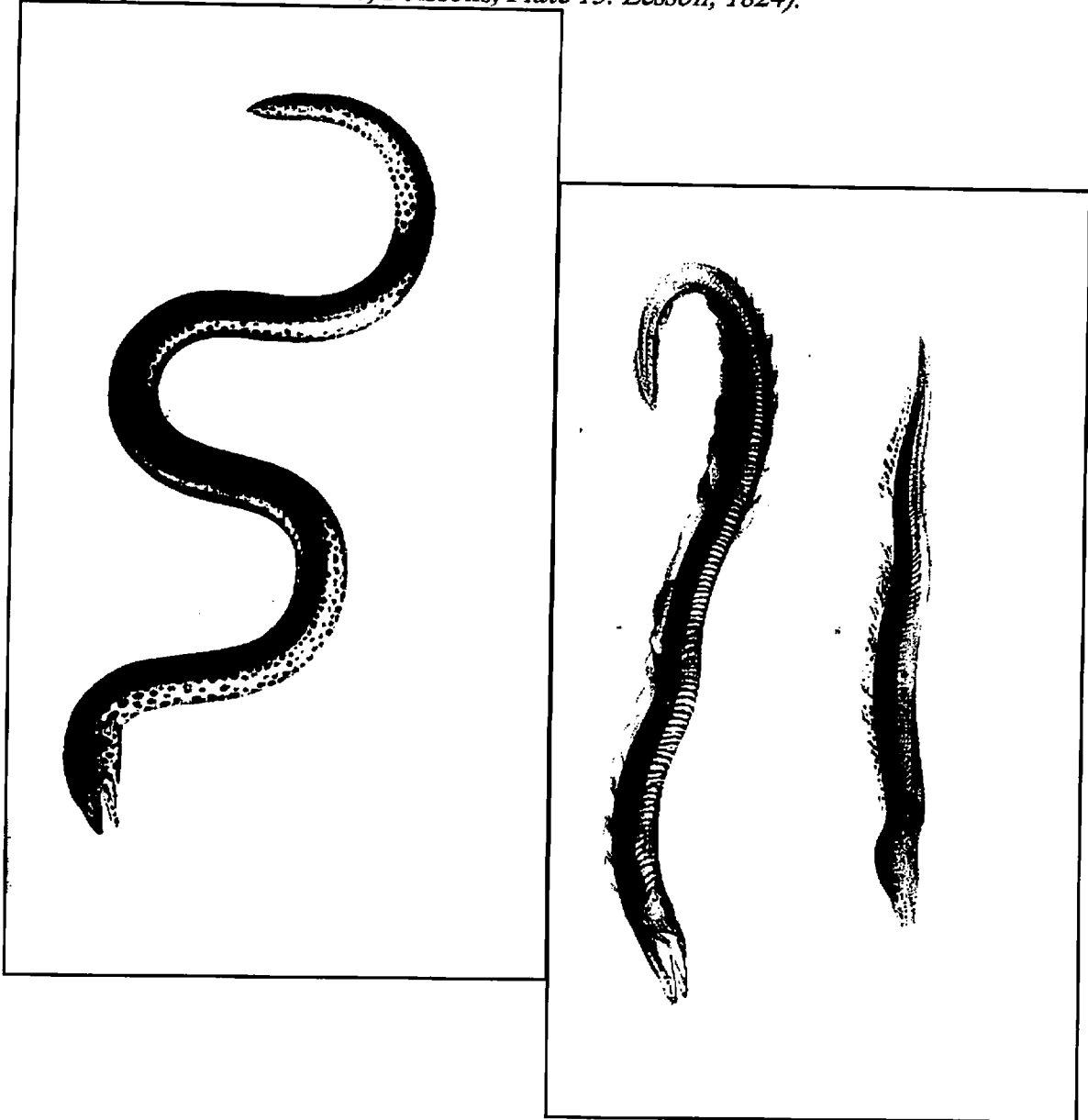
2. ACANTHURE FULIGINEUX. (Acanthurus fuliginosus, Less.) ÎLES CAROLINES.

H. LeGrand sculp.

De l'impr. de Bouché.

Imprimerie de Bouché.

Tiger-spotted moray eel, Kosrae (*Ichthyophis pantherinus*). (From *Atlas zoologique: Deuxième série, Poissons, Plate 13. Lesson, 1824*).



Moray eels of the Caroline Islands. *Murænophus lineata* and *Murænophus flavola*. (From *Atlas zoologique: Deuxième série, Poissons, Plate 11. Lesson, 1824*).

come from some advanced people with a high civilization, judging from the remains of the customs which they have preserved through tradition, such as the authority of the chiefs, the classes of society and even the remains of the arts that are still practiced. Therefore, after having carefully considered a series of rather convincing data, one tends to conclude that the hierarchy and the existence of well-established castes, the all-powerful authority of the chiefs, the almost religious honor paid to them, above all the physical characteristics, a few common words, such as *iapan* that means west and often northwest, the language without similarity to the Oceanian [Polynesian] language, must undoubtedly convince the impartial analyst to conclude that the Ualan islanders, as well as the Carolinians, and maybe part of the Chamorros of the Marianas, and the Tagalogs of the Philippines come from some of the provinces of the Japanese empire.¹

The Japanese are sailors; not so long ago even a junk, a long way from the Japan Sea, was seen wandering along the California coast. It is also known that the Mongols have visited those islands for a long time, on the way to New Guinea and the Moluccas to trade. Besides, when one sees the Ualan islanders, he cannot refuse to accept this origin that seems very probable. By the way, to see clearly through the mixtures of races is not an easy thing to do. One cannot say how these branches can occupy isolated and faraway places in the midst of the vast Pacific Ocean without avoiding some more or less hypothetical speculations.

These people, during our intercourse with them and during the whole period of our stay, appeared to us to be simple, kind, with peaceful and hospitable customs. They do not practice theft, or at least practice it only on rare occasions. They do not know about war and disasters. They live in peace from the purely vegetarian products of their island. In other words, they give the appearance of being noble savages, a scene that would look seductive and enchanting if narrated by a skillful author. The Ualan people did not appear to us to have any leftover from barbaric customs. None of their tools appeared to have been modified to turn them into weapons. Placed as they are in an isolated position, upon a high island that largely provides all their needs, ignorant of their nearest neighbors, they spent their lives in indolence, with no idea about a happier condition or a kinder fate.

Judging from the extraordinary astonishment that our appearance and our smallest gestures inspired in the natives when we visited them, it appeared evident that they had never seen Europeans on their island. It is almost certain that the French were the first Europeans received by them. They should long remember their first visitors on account of the presents and good treatment they were given, if only thankfulness were not a virtue that the heart of man forgets.

1 Mr. Mertens, in his very curious Memorial on the Caroline Archipelago and mainly on the low islands, has written: "It is inconceivable that Mr. Lesson has given a Japanese origin to the features of these islanders who differ as much from us as from the Japanese." I only know about the Japanese through some public portraits, but I have examined the Chinese type very well and for me, the Carolinians differ as much from the Oceanians [Polynesians] as from the Malays or Indians. What is then their origin? Undoubtedly one of the northern provinces of Asia.



Inhabitants of Ualan, or Kosrae, Island in 1824.

The astonishment created by the sight of the corvette when they got near it, the amazement that our clothes, our mannerisms, our white skin caused in their minds, were the cause of much bother during our investigation. I have to regret not having been able to penetrate some of their basic customs or a few of their social customs. The little I was able to learn is very interesting; they deserve to be studied further, through a long stay.

Before I go into the general details about the Ualan islanders, I will narrate the manner with which Mr. de Blossville and I were welcomed when we tried to find out the degree of civilization of the inhabitants by going to the big village of Lele.

On June 6, 1824, as soon as **La Coquille** was anchored in the harbor that bears its name, Mr. de Blossville and I landed. As no-one had yet set foot ashore, we decided at last to find out if the natives who were covering the shore possessed kind-hearted and hospitable customs. Our intention, by the way, was to reach the big village that we had seen from the deck in the eastern part of the island when skirting the shore.

We were still rather far from the coast when our small boat, paddled by one of our servants, could not proceed farther. We jumped into the water right away and we stepped ashore near a large hut where over one hundred natives were squatting and taking their meals. When they spotted us, they all uttered a long "buai-ai",¹ so loud that we were astounded and did not know what to think. We soon learned that that was their way of showing their own astonishment. The natives urged us to sit among them. There, everyone came close to satisfy their curiosity. One would try and find out if the white skin was not the effect of some paint, but they all showed the biggest surprise when they saw us take off our hat and shoes or remove our jacket; these good people probably thought that such objects were part of our anatomy. As this reaction occurred in all the huts we went into, and on the part of all the natives we met, it will be sufficient to say once and for all that the ever-present *buai-ai*, accompanied by a thousand contortions and grimaces, always peculiar, followed our least gesture during the whole day. One of the natives hurried to bring us some coconuts and breadfruits, as well as a cupful of *shiaka* which I only tasted. We rewarded their hospitality with some trifles that made them happy. We then asked them for some guides to accompany us to the big village by crossing the island. They understood our signs perfectly; three of them stepped forward and led the way. One of them took over my botanical kit and carried it carefully as far as the village. He kept on a steady chatter although I could not understand a word of the pretty things he must have said. The road that we took first went through swampy ground covered with mangrove trees, then over an average hill and eastward down the other side. The soil was becoming very productive, covered with huts and well-kept plantations of sugarcane or bananas. Some beautiful trees, mixed with lemon trees and breadfruit trees, formed lush groves over the tombs of the inhabitants that are covered by light huts. We silently enjoyed this new scenery that opened up before our eyes, while following our guides whose desire to please was charming.

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We were following the cheerful valley in the center of the island and we had to the right of us the highest peak and the mountain with twin peaks. In all the huts we received the most eager hospitality, the simplest of attentions. Our appearance would produce surprise but the women and girls would specially be frightened at first, but soon our guides and our procedures would re-assure them, and trust was established on a solid basis.

In one of the huts, a young woman pushed aside my jacket and saw part of my chest. She was so struck by what she saw that she tried to deprive me of all my clothes in order to find out, I suppose, if we belonged to a race of men built differently from theirs. I did not think I should oblige her that much. These women had the most beautiful eyes in the world, a mouth with magnificent teeth, rather regular features but they were not well built. A narrow strip of cloth was the only veil hiding their charm. They would not stop talking and although we could not communicate except by signs, often unsuccessfully, they would not stop and proved to us that women everywhere, civilized or savage, love to talk. Near them were the pretty looms with which they make the cloth for their *maro*.¹ After resting a while, we set out again. We followed new guides because the first ones did not wish to go farther and they had tried for some time to convince us not to go inland. We followed a river bed whose cool water, under the dark roof of century-old trees, caused me to catch some fibrous rheumatism.² This rheumatism almost made it impossible for me to go back on board. This water flows over a gravel bed, forms small cascades when falling from a high hill, and reaches the shore a mile farther down. There, it crosses the mangrove swamp and its shores are of thick mud. We found a large canoe that the natives launched and which we boarded. Soon we were sailing in Pane Bay to the eastern part of the island with the small island of Lele before us. The king of Ualan and most of the population live there. This small island is linked with the mainland by a strip of reefs upon which one could walk with water waist-high only. We were delivered to the beach in triumph; our guides appeared proud to bring to their chief such curious objects, as we must have appeared to them. We crossed a large number of winding streets, lined with wide walls made of coral blocks; they were full of water. We noticed with astonishment a huge wall, made up of blocks whose shape was truly cyclopean, and we tried to imagine how and for what purpose these massive 15-foot high walls had been built. The stylish huts of the islanders lining the streets have been built upon raised platforms, because the whole downhill part of Lele seems to be covered by sea water. That must be no doubt why it is enclosed completely by walls. From everywhere people surged from their homes; men, women and children hastened to follow our steps, with the same eagerness as similar crowds in the streets of Paris.

1 The word *maro* is Tahitian. We use it as a generic term to mean the strips of cloth that are the only clothes of most of these children of nature.

2 This rheumatism lasted 10 years and threatened my life, but was the butt of Mr. d'Urville's jokes in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834). If I had Mr. d'Urville's character, I could take some cruel revenge but I disdain such means. Mr. d'Urville can keep all the cold irony which he showed toward one of his companions then gravely ill.

Every time we stopped, our guides appeared to become impatient; no doubt we were not following the proper etiquette because they were forbidding us to speak to those who followed our retinue. It is with this train that we arrived at a large common house around which the whole population was sitting in a circle on the ground.

When we crossed the gathering to reach the chiefs, we were greeted by a general *buai-ai* and the most complete amazement was painted on all the faces. A chief came to help us introduce ourselves. Our guides then became nobodies, dragging themselves on hands and knees in the midst of over 300 men. About 200 women sat apart and there were many children. Under the great public hut, without walls, there were five old chiefs sitting on separate mats at some distance from one another. These chiefs bore no distinctive marks; they were either naked like the other islanders or wore nothing but a narrow *maro* around the hips. The very entertaining scenes caused by their surprise were repeated, and our gifts won us general applause. More than a thousand eyes followed our least movements. Our presence upon some mats in the midst of this new population, near old and venerable chiefs, in stylishly-built huts, resembled a scene from a Thousand-and-one Nights. The circumstance in which we found ourselves was so novel that we could feel it but describe it only with difficulty. At last, a chief came to take us by the hand and he led us to a nearby hut that had a reed flooring; it was the house of the king of the island, whom they call the *Uros tone*. We found him lying on a mat, and he covered his head when we came near him. We made him a few presents that calmed him down, because one does not go near such savage kings with empty hands. We noticed that all the gifts we had already given to the chiefs had been given to him and my tin box, full of plants and other specimens of natural history that a native had carried for me with so much eagerness, had already been offered to the king. I claimed it back in vain; it appears that what goes into the court does not come out again. I made a sacrifice of it and I only regretted having to lose its contents. This *Uros* was an old man on the edge of the grave, burdened by the years. His dying eye seemed to tell us, before closing forever: What peculiar and queer species of man! because the color of our skin and our clothes which are the opposite of theirs, must no doubt appear very strange to them. While we rested, only the chiefs came to sit near us, and the people did not leave their places. However, the women seem to enjoy more freedom because they formed a circle at a short distance from us, and no-one made them withdraw.

The second *Uros* was a vigorous old man, very jovial, whose severe and calm features exuded soft authority. His hair and his long white beard that curled up on his chest gave him a venerable look. The respect shown to them by the inhabitants is so servile that, better than any other line of reasoning, it points out to an Asian origin.

The sun was on its way down and we hurried on our course. We chose to go back to the ship by another route, by way of the beaches, following the coast. The length of the route by the first road we took was, according to the map, only five nautical miles, but it is very bad; the second way was about eight miles. We followed the reefs, met with a few huts here and there, some coconut groves, and were followed by a large number of

chiefs were very old; we saw only a few, four or five, who were still in their youth and full of vigor. The *Uros tone* groaned under the yoke of the passing years, and the respect given to this savage monarch is tremendous. His name is pronounced, as if it were divine, only with veneration and humility. It happened to me that, when I was accompanied by many natives, I saw them all drop to their knees, crawl on their hands and knees, and their face turned toward a *Uros* who was coming toward me. When spoken to, they keep the same position, then go and sit down some twenty paces away and do not get up before he is already far off. As they saw us break this ritual, and treat their *Uros* as equal, they transferred part of this respect unto us, and many times I was honored by people stooping before me. Soon though they caught on and toward the end of our stay, they passed near us without any bother. So much servility denotes a Mongolian origin for sure.

India, this ancient cradle of civilization, so long stifled by the almost indestructible sway of superstitious ideas, has been for centuries divided into castes that hate one another or that mutually despise one another. A member of the Bramin caste would judge himself soiled by the touch of a member of the vile Pariah caste... Well, in Ualan, one finds the main features of this social order, so little in harmony with reason. There too, a small population is divided into many castes. The lowest one, that of the *Singue*, is the slave caste. According to some of the findings collected during our too restricted and therefore incomplete studies, it appears that the chiefs have an absolute right over the properties of the common men who are born in their respective districts. We saw some natives who had just received some axes or nails, in exchange for objects that belonged to them, have these taken immediately from them by the chiefs. They would turn toward us and show us this action, but they did not appear to be roused by it; in fact, the action was normal to them. However, this passive obedience is also imposed on the chiefs with respect to the king; we saw that all the gifts they received were in turn given to him immediately.

The *Uros* generally differ from the people, in an obvious manner, by their better-shaped bodies, their more imposing, more serious and more arrogant behavior. Their tattoos are better executed. Their hair is neatly arranged, made shiny with coconut oil, and tied on the nape of the neck. It is probable that the fact that they take their wives only from their own caste may be the cause of the differences we observed among these people; such differences are so striking that it is possible to believe in the existence of many races on the island.

The polyps and other coral-like animals are of many species, as well as the urchins that gave me the cydarite, the urchin with black prickles, a spatangus and some scutella.

The resources offered by Ualan Island to the navigator are few. Indeed, it is only possible to get supplies of breadfruit, which does not last beyond four or five days, some sugarcane stalks and plenty of bananas. A ship that would stop there to replenish its water supply or that would have sick people, specially those suffering from scurvy, would always be sure to find bananas and they would be obtained in a large number for trifles, specially for nails.

This island would be very suitable for trepang gathering; a vessel could in a short time get a full load of this commodity so praised by Orientals. This type is the true Malayan *trepang* (*holothuria priapus*) whose value as a trade item is very high, one that occupies a certain number of English and American ships employed in this branch of commerce.

The abundance of sugarcane is such on Ualan Island that sugar could be exported if the natives ever learned how to make it. This graminea could very well cover the whole island, given that the soil is so proper for its culture. By the way, all tropical crops could be grown but its small size would be an obstacle to the idea of establishing a European colony there.

The geological formation of the island and the atmospheric conditions to which it is subject must undoubtedly make its climate unhealthy. An island that cannot be stepped on without being in the water or in the shore muds first, must not be without health risks. The natives themselves prefer to go from one place to another by following the rivers if possible because they offer a beaten and open path. However, these long immersions produce, among the Europeans as well as the natives, some painful tumefactions on the legs, and specially some atonic ulcers, called *rofū* by the natives,¹ a number of whom were affected by them. During the rainy season, dysentery would be common among the Europeans who would stay there, and who would be within an atmosphere overheated by the sun, then at the zenith, bathed by the steamy masses of air that rise from the well-wooded earth.

During one of my scientific excursions, I saw inside a hut a native suffering from such a despondency that he appeared to be a living skeleton. Most of the population is covered with a sort of leprosy, called *uaranit* locally;² it is noteworthy that it turns the skin of those affected by it white and that at some distance they look like Europeans. This disease is accompanied by an uncomfortable itch. A few inhabitants showed me large burn marks. One of them had a broken finger that had perfectly healed. This case is called *ponac*. Many old people were affected by old catarrhs, etc.

The islanders inhabiting Ualan differ noticeably, in our estimation, from the Oceanic branch that inhabits most of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. I think that these natives

1 Ed. note: "Ruf" now refers to infections from yaws.

2 Ed. note: Now written "warniht."

come from some advanced people with a high civilization, judging from the remains of the customs which they have preserved through tradition, such as the authority of the chiefs, the classes of society and even the remains of the arts that are still practiced. Therefore, after having carefully considered a series of rather convincing data, one tends to conclude that the hierarchy and the existence of well-established castes, the all-powerful authority of the chiefs, the almost religious honor paid to them, above all the physical characteristics, a few common words, such as *iapan* that means west and often northwest, the language without similarity to the Oceanian [Polynesian] language, must undoubtedly convince the impartial analyst to conclude that the Ualan islanders, as well as the Carolinians, and maybe part of the Chamorros of the Marianas, and the Tagalogs of the Philippines come from some of the provinces of the Japanese empire.¹

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These people, during our intercourse with them and during the whole period of our stay, appeared to us to be simple, kind, with peaceful and hospitable customs. They do not practice theft, or at least practice it only on rare occasions. They do not know about war and disasters. They live in peace from the purely vegetarian products of their island. In other words, they give the appearance of being noble savages, a scene that would look seductive and enchanting if narrated by a skillful author. The Ualan people did not appear to us to have any leftover from barbaric customs. None of their tools appeared to have been modified to turn them into weapons. Placed as they are in an isolated position, upon a high island that largely provides all their needs, ignorant of their nearest neighbors, they spent their lives in indolence, with no idea about a happier condition or a kinder fate.

Judging from the extraordinary astonishment that our appearance and our smallest gestures inspired in the natives when we visited them, it appeared evident that they had never seen Europeans on their island. It is almost certain that the French were the first Europeans received by them. They should long remember their first visitors on account of the presents and good treatment they were given, if only thankfulness were not a virtue that the heart of man forgets.

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Inhabitants of Ualan, or Kosrae, Island in 1824.

The astonishment created by the sight of the corvette when they got near it, the amazement that our clothes, our mannerisms, our white skin caused in their minds, were the cause of much bother during our investigation. I have to regret not having been able to penetrate some of their basic customs or a few of their social customs. The little I was able to learn is very interesting; they deserve to be studied further, through a long stay.

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We were still rather far from the coast when our small boat, paddled by one of our servants, could not proceed farther. We jumped into the water right away and we stepped ashore near a large hut where over one hundred natives were squatting and taking their meals. When they spotted us, they all uttered a long "buai-ai",¹ so loud that we were astounded and did not know what to think. We soon learned that that was their way of showing their own astonishment. The natives urged us to sit among them. There, everyone came close to satisfy their curiosity. One would try and find out if the white skin was not the effect of some paint, but they all showed the biggest surprise when they saw us take off our hat and shoes or remove our jacket; these good people probably thought that such objects were part of our anatomy. As this reaction occurred in all the huts we went into, and on the part of all the natives we met, it will be sufficient to say once and for all that the ever-present *buai-ai*, accompanied by a thousand contortions and grimaces, always peculiar, followed our least gesture during the whole day. One of the natives hurried to bring us some coconuts and breadfruits, as well as a cupful of *shiaka* which I only tasted. We rewarded their hospitality with some trifles that made them happy. We then asked them for some guides to accompany us to the big village by crossing the island. They understood our signs perfectly; three of them stepped forward and led the way. One of them took over my botanical kit and carried it carefully as far as the village. He kept on a steady chatter although I could not understand a word of the pretty things he must have said. The road that we took first went through swampy ground covered with mangrove trees, then over an average hill and eastward down the other side. The soil was becoming very productive, covered with huts and well-kept plantations of sugarcane or bananas. Some beautiful trees, mixed with lemon trees and breadfruit trees, formed lush groves over the tombs of the inhabitants that are covered by light huts. We silently enjoyed this new scenery that opened up before our eyes, while following our guides whose desire to please was charming.

1 Ed. note: Either "wah," or "pei-pei," or both.

Every time we stopped, our guides appeared to become impatient; no doubt we were not following the proper etiquette because they were forbidding us to speak to those who followed our retinue. It is with this train that we arrived at a large common house around which the whole population was sitting in a circle on the ground.

When we crossed the gathering to reach the chiefs, we were greeted by a general *buai-ai* and the most complete amazement was painted on all the faces. A chief came to help us introduce ourselves. Our guides then became nobodies, dragging themselves on hands and knees in the midst of over 300 men. About 200 women sat apart and there were many children. Under the great public hut, without walls, there were five old chiefs sitting on separate mats at some distance from one another. These chiefs bore no distinctive marks; they were either naked like the other islanders or wore nothing but a narrow *maro* around the hips. The very entertaining scenes caused by their surprise were repeated, and our gifts won us general applauses. More than a thousand eyes followed our least movements. Our presence upon some mats in the midst of this new population, near old and venerable chiefs, in stylishly-built huts, resembled a scene from a Thousand-and-one Nights. The circumstance in which we found ourselves was so novel that we could feel it but describe it only with difficulty. At last, a chief came to take us by the hand and he led us to a nearby hut that had a reed flooring; it was the house of the king of the island, whom they call the *Uros tone*. We found him lying on a mat, and he covered his head when we came near him. We made him a few presents that calmed him down, because one does not go near such savage kings with empty hands. We noticed that all the gifts we had already given to the chiefs had been given to him and my tin box, full of plants and other specimens of natural history that a native had carried for me with so much eagerness, had already been offered to the king. I claimed it back in vain; it appears that what goes into the court does not come out again. I made a sacrifice of it and I only regretted having to lose its contents. This *Uros* was an old man on the edge of the grave, burdened by the years. His dying eye seemed to tell us, before closing forever: What peculiar and queer species of man! because the color of our skin and our clothes which are the opposite of theirs, must no doubt appear very strange to them. While we rested, only the chiefs came to sit near us, and the people did not leave their places. However, the women seem to enjoy more freedom because they formed a circle at a short distance from us, and no-one made them withdraw.

The second *Uros* was a vigorous old man, very jovial, whose severe and calm features exuded soft authority. His hair and his long white beard that curled up on his chest gave him a venerable look. The respect shown to them by the inhabitants is so servile that, better than any other line of reasoning, it points out to an Asian origin.

The sun was on its way down and we hurried on our course. We chose to go back to the ship by another route, by way of the beaches, following the coast. The length of the route by the first road we took was, according to the map, only five nautical miles, but it is very bad; the second way was about eight miles. We followed the reefs, met with a few huts here and there, some coconut groves, and were followed by a large number of

natives. It was very late when we got back on board. Never have I felt so tired even after longer excursions. The narrative we made to our colleagues made them decide to go the next day to Lele, where the natives, already recovered from their first emotion, appeared less curious. A few visits later, their astonishment was completely gone. Is it not the same among civilized men? The proverb that says: "Anything new is beautiful" is one of the truest maxims.

The Ualan inhabitants show differences in size as well as in appearance. They appear to be divided into two distinctive classes, the nobles or *uros* who are noticeably more beautiful, and the people who are not so favored by nature. These natives are generally short in stature, a fair number being under five feet tall. A few were not more than four feet six or eight inches in height. The tallest among them did not exceed five feet two or three inches. The women are generally small but very fat and well developed. The typical face among the men is one with a bare and narrow forehead, thick eyebrows, small and slanted eyes, a flat nose, a wide mouth, very white and well preserved teeth, very red gums. They wear their hair knotted on the nape of the neck, their beard and hair are very black, long and straight. The beard of some of them is rough and extends to the chest; it is not out of superstition that they keep it long because many had a shave on board. Most of them have but a slim beard, sparse, that forms a thin wick under the chin, a characteristic feature of the Mongolian race. They do not pull their hair and do not practise circumcision, their limbs are roundish and well made, specially the legs. Their skin is very smooth. The sole of their feet, due to their habit of walking barefoot on coral, is as thick and strong as the solid sole of a shoe. Their complexion is some sort of light orange-yellow. They do not chew any substance of the *betel* nut kind nor other Oriental sialogues [masticatories]. These men, not at all used to working, are soft and effeminate; they are soon affected by fatigue, and no doubt it is the worst inconvenience for them.

The women and girls have a pleasant face; they have many attractive features: bright black eyes and a mouth adorned with superb teeth, very regularly formed. However, they are not as well endowed as their New Zealand counterparts. Their breasts are big, soft and tipped with two very pointed black tits; even the young girls do not vary much from this norm. The color of their skin, less exposed to the sun, was much lighter than that of the men. We saw a few of them who were very beautiful; they were in the prime of their lives. Generally, their gait is awkward because their hips are too big and they hold their arms forward. These women showed a lively curiosity upon seeing us. They seemed to be very playful and very fun-loving, although restrained and modest. When they get excited, the serious look on their husbands' faces soon made them more reserved.

The women, as well as the men, have but a simple piece of cloth upon their body. Both sexes make large holes in their right ear only, in which they placed everything we gave them. Oftentimes, they put in very peculiar things like bottles, nails, etc. Normally, the women place there a bundle of flowers from the *pancratium* which they love; could it be a romantic flower? Frequently, with this coquettish air that the civilized woman

or the young girl of the same civilization possess so highly, the girls took from their ear these fragrant flowers and tried to place them in ours, smiling most alarmingly all the while. The men also adorn their heads with the red flowers of the *kalce* or with the spadix of the arum.

No clothes are used to protect the body from the showers in the rainy season. A few old men protect themselves from the rays of the uncomfortable sun by using big arum leaves which they place upon their shoulders. The chiefs, out of vanity, seem to wish not to expose themselves as much as the common people. They are a little whiter than the others, are better built and more handsome men but they wear no special mark other than some tattoos. However, I noticed that they often placed some feathers in their hair bun. When they got some nails, they always placed them there, arrayed as to form a diadem.

Women as well as men always go bareheaded. Women wear their hair loose; the men tie theirs. The women wrap a very large number of twisted threads around their neck; the whole thing resembles a big necktie. Their *maro*, a simple strip of cloth eight inches in width by three feet in length, is simply wrapped around their waist, whereas the men fold theirs four times and place them in a manner that is more immodest than useful. The women's *maro* is so badly fastened that they can be seen always busy holding it with their hands; it does not serve its purpose very well. The girls seem to be married young because I saw very young mothers taking excellent care of the children they wore on their back. Their work seems to be limited to household chores because I never saw any of them working outside or preparing food. However, at the arrival of the **Coquille**, the reefs by the pass were covered with people and we noticed some women carrying nets; they probably had been fishing with their husbands. I do not know whether these islanders are monogamous or not, but I believe I understood an intelligent native to say that the upper classes could have many wives. Indeed, I noticed in their huts many young wives breast-feeding their children and, next to them, some older women.

The women seem to be considered inferior beings but in front of us they were treated with kindness and singular attentions. They are very chaste; I believe that this virtue comes from the heart and is not the result of an excessive jealousy on the part of the men who were particularly uninclined to allow the least traffic between their women and our crew. Right from the beginning of our stay among them, the natives indeed appeared to grasp very well the meaning of a few requests made to them by some sailors; they laughed about it a lot and repeated the requests by expressive signs. From that very moment, all those who lived on the western coast of the island in front of our anchorage had their women taken inland and, in spite of the good treatments we gave them, the gifts that certain persons piled on them, the care we took not to offend their jealous dispositions, they in turn, although they called themselves our friends and often visited us every day on board, brought back their families only after our departure. They were hidden in small huts on a mountain where one day by chance, during one of my scientific excursions, I came upon them. It was only in the huts surrounding and specially inside the village of Lele that we were able to examine the interiors of the lodg-

chiefs were very old; we saw only a few, four or five, who were still in their youth and full of vigor. The *Uros tone* groaned under the yoke of the passing years, and the respect given to this savage monarch is tremendous. His name is pronounced, as if it were divine, only with veneration and humility. It happened to me that, when I was accompanied by many natives, I saw them all drop to their knees, crawl on their hands and knees, and their face turned toward a *Uros* who was coming toward me. When spoken to, they keep the same position, then go and sit down some twenty paces away and do not get up before he is already far off. As they saw us break this ritual, and treat their *Uros* as equal, they transferred part of this respect unto us, and many times I was honored by people stooping before me. Soon though they caught on and toward the end of our stay, they passed near us without any bother. So much servility denotes a Mongolian origin for sure.

India, this ancient cradle of civilization, so long stifled by the almost indestructible sway of superstitious ideas, has been for centuries divided into castes that hate one another or that mutually despise one another. A member of the Bramin caste would judge himself soiled by the touch of a member of the vile Pariah caste... Well, in Ualan, one finds the main features of this social order, so little in harmony with reason. There too, a small population is divided into many castes. The lowest one, that of the *Singue*, is the slave caste. According to some of the findings collected during our too restricted and therefore incomplete studies, it appears that the chiefs have an absolute right over the properties of the common men who are born in their respective districts. We saw some natives who had just received some axes or nails, in exchange for objects that belonged to them, have these taken immediately from them by the chiefs. They would turn toward us and show us this action, but they did not appear to be roused by it; in fact, the action was normal to them. However, this passive obedience is also imposed on the chiefs with respect to the king; we saw that all the gifts they received were in turn given to him immediately.

The *Uros* generally differ from the people, in an obvious manner, by their better-shaped bodies, their more imposing, more serious and more arrogant behavior. Their tattoos are better executed. Their hair is neatly arranged, made shiny with coconut oil, and tied on the nape of the neck. It is probable that the fact that they take their wives only from their own caste may be the cause of the differences we observed among these people; such differences are so striking that it is possible to believe in the existence of many races on the island.



Inhabitants of Lele Island, Kosrae, in 1824.

The information that we received from the natives with respect to the names of the castes is as follows:

1) *Uros* seems to mean king and nobility. This name is given to the district chiefs; this is the only title people kowtow to. The word *ton*, taken alone, seems to a generic term meaning high, powerful, first, or even head of family.¹ Thus the king's title is *Uros ton*, although the people usually estimate the number of *Uros* in Ualan to be about one hundred; at least one out of every twelve persons must be one of them.

2) *Pennem* is the second class which would correspond (if a comparison can be made) to the liberal professions or the fine arts in our old Europe. Our friends from the village of Tahignie belonged to this caste. They were canoe builders and no doubt that this art, foremost among them, was distinguished on account of the required know-how and skill. Other old men also belonged to this class and were proud of it. One of them gave me the proof that group spirit or guild loyalty has as much sway among them as among civilized people and that men unschooled in the refinements of civilization are just as much governed by it. I told an old man who had just arrived that I was a *pen-nem* of the "great canoe" (our corvette). As soon as he understood what I meant, he jumped forward and embraced me, and applied his nose on my chest while sniffing it, which would appear to be some form of politeness because I saw him repeat the performance many times afterwards. I had some difficulty in getting rid of the leprous arms of my *pennem* but he quickly went to get some breadfruits and coconuts with his canoe and came back to give them to me, whereas he remained indifferent towards those of my colleagues who called themselves "uros".

3) The third class, called *Lisign*, seems to correspond to our bourgeoisie. This caste is also esteemed and consists, I think, of the land-owners.

4) Finally, the common people are called *Sin* or *Sing*.² They are assigned the most tiring work and they supply servants and workers. This class is distributed among the chiefs, prepares the meals, goes and collects the fruits, rows the canoes, cultivates the land, cuts the wood used in building huts; in one word, they devote their time to the lowest jobs.

5) Three more divisions seem to exist, that of the *Lias* or *Neas*, that of the *Metkao*, and that of the *Memata*, but the last two appear doubtful to me. I would be tempted to believe that they are names of profession or origin; by the way, they are rarely used.³

1 Ed. note: From the vocabulary given further on, "ton" also means "eel" which in fact was the totem of the principal clan.

2 Ed. note: From "sinkac" meaning wall, I think.

3 Ed. note: In the 1860s, it will be reported that Kosrae had four tribes (not castes), as follows: (1) the *Peinuii*, a word which means "true" or "correct"; (2) the *Ton*, a word whose totem was the eel; (3) the *Lisuge*, a partition; and (4) the *Neus*, the word for "foot" (See Ward, iv, pp. 455-457). Ed. comment: Apart from the word 'ton', the rest may be misinterpretations, although the word 'niyac' does mean leg.

One can see that such rank distinctions and such degrees of consideration that are hereditary in each caste, must come from a series of ideas transmitted and modified by oral tradition and inherited from a civilized people, themselves subject to a system of despotic laws, such as the Oriental peoples. It is also probable that the Carolinians who live on the low islands, as well as those of Pelliou [i.e. Palau] and Yap, can trace their origin to the same source. Later on, we will amply develop this subject, in a study of the South Sea peoples which is the subject of our continuous research.

One fact that is very peculiar is the difference of knowledge between the castes, and even in the language which they speak. One may conceive, that in making up a vocabulary, there is not a little degree of difficulty in accepting words from the first persons seen. Oftentimes, a *pennem* named an object in front of him, whereas the *sin* nearby gave us another name for it, most often very different. In general, the *uros* are the most knowledgeable. Their intelligence was able to grasp easily what was expressed to them and, so as not to doubt their meaning, they would use very precise sign language to put across their ideas. Their pronunciation is clear, the words clear and distinct whereas the [common] people have a faulty pronunciation that varies from mouth to mouth. We had the opportunity to judge the knowledge of a *pennem* by tracing for him on a paper the course of the sun. He was very well able to tell us the idea they have about its course by telling us that the Sun turns around the Earth and that in the morning, *huat atak*,¹ the sun rose, that at noon, being at the zenith, *kun inlen*,² and that it then lit a new land. Daytime is called *lenlik*, and night-time, *fongahonu*. It appears that they call their month, one moon, *aluait*.³ He also described to us how this heavenly body turned around the earth in a direction opposite to that of the sun.

We could not obtain any satisfactory answer to questions regarding the existence of some islands in the vicinity of theirs. He appeared to name two islands under the names of **Haat** and **Necat**,⁴ and above all one located W1/4W [sic = W1/4NW?] of Ualan which he called **Nun-Monsol**.⁵

Ualan Island is generally not heavily populated. I was unable to discover what are the causes that keep the population within such narrow limits, other than some vicious practices that dictate the sacrifice of children upon the death of chiefs or even due to the unhealthy state of the country. The latter supposition is the least probable, given that one meets with a large number of old people of both sexes.

The big village of Lele, the most populated place in the whole island, may have from 500 to 600 souls. The rest of the island has but hamlets of three to four huts each, or even isolated huts, spread along the sandy beaches and in the valleys of the interior. All

1 Ed. note: Now written "faht tak."

2 Ed. note: Now "infulwen lwen."

3 Ed. note: "Alwat" is a phase of the moon. Month is "mahlwem."

4 Ed. note: Would the former be Jaluit?

5 It is probably a word which means something else other than the name of an island, because in their language *monsol* or rather *molsul* means the sea, taken in its entirety (i.e. ocean). Ed. comment: Was he pointing toward Nan-madol in Pohnpei? Maybe.

in all, one cannot be far from the truth when estimating the total population at 1,200 persons at most. The names of the districts in which these people live are as follows: (1) those of the eastern part, Lele, capital, Siola, Ura, Hala, Lassi, Ukak, Melo, Ulall; (2) those of the western part, Peter, Piesik, Siala, Uyac and Mehval; (3) those in the north, Limol, Moto, Leap, Liulep, Issa, Nessali, Selmoa, Tatura and Uti; (4) those in the south, Petok [rather Potak], Toiat [rather Topat], Saventiac [rather Tafonsak], etc.

One may ask what power maintains the established order among this isolated population, what could be the punishment inflicted upon those who fail to blindly obey the chiefs, how is it possible that men, always inclined to go beyond the limits imposed by duty, be so submissive before a few men who transmit power between themselves? Have religious ideas something to do with it? Are the chiefs also religious leaders? This last supposition could have some basis in fact, because the *uros*, even after they die, appear to be the objects of deep veneration and a tacit cult; that at least is my opinion after I observed the care with which the natives build mausoleums to them and the aversion they exhibited when they saw us go near them and the respectful way they speak of them.

The village of Lele, built upon an islet whose low-lying land must at times be flooded by the sea, is situated in an unfavorable place, in the middle of foul slime covered with mangrove and smelly stagnant water between the huts that are upon raised platforms. The chiefs' homes and that of the king are built at the foot of a high hill.

The shape of these huts is very elegant and their construction is skillfully executed. All those not forming part of Lele are spread around the bay or amid the trees along the shore. Their situation amid imposing trees, under the huge sunshades that are the coconut trees, gives them a new look that had not impressed me before. The houses of Ualan are very spacious and they are as much as forty feet in height with the length in proportion; what proves that the island is never hit by hurricanes are the enormous roof structures that cover the houses. They are made of light frame and pandanus leaves. They rise at both ends so as to form an arc facing upwards, and come down upon the side walls of the hut as close as three feet from the ground. The ridge-pole is fixed only by simple juxtaposition. The side walls of the hut consist of laths made of the light white wood of the hibiscus, fixed upon a lattice framework, and placed half an inch apart. The doors are made on the sides, and the laths themselves are painted carefully and neatly finished. The front and rear parts of the house have the following distinctive feature: the upper part of the facade is bent inward under the roof and forms a sort of sunshade in trellis-work painted with different colors so that the air can circulate freely in the upper part of the house through this elegant lattice-work. The lower part of the facade has a small awning kind of roof that comes down to three feet from the ground above the door. The floor of the house is covered with thin bamboo laths of a regular size, with the pieces cut with the same length and tied together side by side to form a very neat and cool surface. The islanders take the greatest care in the construction of these huts. Those of the chiefs, although built on the same model, are more spacious, have a better finish and have not one piece of wood that is not painted red, black, yel-

low or white. The ordinary houses are much smaller and divided into rooms where the family lives. The native bed is simply a mat spread on the floor. The doors are so low that one must stoop to get into the huts of the common people but in the chiefs' houses there are large doors, ordinarily closed, that seem to be opened during ceremonies. We left the king's house through such doors. There are few noticeable differences between the construction of one house and another, but there are some for community or public use, and others for individual use.

The native works that deserve to be mentioned are the thick walls they call *pot* and which they must have built with difficulty, judging from the large size of the stones that went into it, and by the lack of means at their disposal. The village of Lele is thus subdivided into streets and wards, and the circumference of Lele Island itself is delineated by an enclosure of these walls, made up of very large pieces of coral, placed one upon another. The huge size of the stone blocks we saw there astonished us by their extraordinary sizes. They were part of some walls, some fifteen to twenty feet in height, that enclose a hill that has been levelled down to the level of the walls and form a rectangular place upon which grow some banana or coconut groves. We learned that this place was used as the burial place for the *uros* and, although the natives were extremely reluctant to let us take a close look at it, we managed to see its surface and it was only covered with a thick lawn. It would be very interesting to be able to study the moral ideas of these people, to learn their ideas about religion and about life after death, if only it were possible to attend some of their big ceremonies such as the funeral of an *uros*, etc. At different places on the island, there are other small islets that have also been enclosed by rectangular walls, maybe to keep the fish in.

To come back to the daily customs of the islanders, they gather in a sort of communal house where they prepare their meals together. They call it *lom unu*,¹ and sometimes *pae*.² It is not so clean but much larger than those where they spend the night. There are no hamlets too small to contain at least one such large house. They are used to store the stone hatchets for work, the long pointed spears for fishing; bunches of banana that are used for daily meals hang from the roof. In these houses, as in the others, there are few household utensils. The latter consist of wooden troughs in which the starch of the poisonous root of the *arum macrorhizon* is precipitated; coconut shells used as dishes; a mortar to crush breadfruit or the pepper plant used to make *kava*; a few rough mats; a loom to make *maros* with; a few fishing nets, etc. As can be seen, the furniture of the Ualan natives is not very cumbersome.

The big communal house of the chiefs of Lele is similar in every way to those spread over the various districts. Such huts have a large rectangular vacant space in the middle, with bamboo flooring only all around it. The soil can be seen there and this space is used as a fireplace for cooking. A shallow hole, filled with hot stones (round trachyte pebbles), is the oven where breadfruit is cooked in the manner common to almost all

1 Ed. note: "Lohm um" meaning 'house, earth oven,' i.e. cook-house.

2 Ed. note: Recognizable as a word of Oceanic origin, 'bai' or 'fai', no longer used in Kosrae.

of the South Sea islands. While the servants from the *sing* class prepare the food, the old men as well as the men who are heads of families sit upon their mats and receive the food as soon as it is prepared. I have always seen a large number of men eating together, waited on by young men who later ate the leftovers. Here is the system I observed one day when I was on a hunt and found myself an invited guest. The natives were seated on their mats around the hut. I was next to an old man who appeared to enjoy a certain authority. Some *sing* were always on the move and kept the fire going. As soon as the breadfruit was cooked properly, it was distributed to each person, and a bundle of sugarcane, cleaned and peeled, as well as a few bananas were put near each one. That constitutes the basic and most solid part of the meal. While most of the hunger was thus appeased, some fish was being lightly grilled, although the small species are generally eaten raw, then the servants brought a porridge called *wawa*¹ made with arum starch and powdered breadfruit sprinkled with coconut milk and sugarcane juice, and served on a piece of banana leaf. The old man near whom I was sitting ate a little of it with his fingers, then very obligingly passed this dish over to me but his action made it seem more revolting to me as its preparation appeared not too clean; my stomach was revolting although it did not taste specially bad. During this time, other servants were busy pounding fresh pepper stalks upon basalt stones sunk into the ground and used for that purpose. They sprinkle water on these stalks to extract the whole juice; the stalks are pounded with a pestle called *to*. The greenish liquid that comes from it is called *shiaka*.² It is collected into coconut shells, filtered through a piece of vegetable membrane and offered to each guest who swallows this drink with a most complete air of satisfaction. I found that it tasted at first sweetish, then aromatic and stimulating; it is the same thing as the *kava* of all the Polynesian islands. The normal drink of the Ualan people is pure water. They collect this liquid with containers they make instantly out of banana leaves. This plant aptly provides them with [improvised] dishes and table linen. The small quantity of coconuts that the natives possess has made them keep them for the season when breadfruit is lacking, or maybe reserve them for their chiefs. They are stingy with them and they put a high value on them. I never saw them eat *taro* but instead they eat a large quantity of wild breadfruits whose sweetish pulp they roast slightly. As for the chestnuts or seeds inside the fruit, they throw them away, whereas the Carolinians prefer them. They eat the small fishes and the *aplysias* without roasting them because they say they taste better that way.

I do not know what time in the morning they take their first meal. They take their lunch at about 11:30 a.m. They eat the evening meal at sunset. After lunch, the natives fall back on their small mat, and sleep. Everyone has a place reserved for him. It appears that women and children eat apart [from the men] but together; at least, they appear to be always together when they work, as well as their husbands, which proves by the way, that man is naturally a social animal. I have noticed that women could eat in

1 Ed. note: It was the kind of taro used that was called "wasrwasr."

2 Ed. note: Rather "tok" and "suhka" respectively.

the presence of men, a prerogative which the Oceanians [Polynesians] prohibit. The female occupations are limited to the care of children, the making of cloth for the *maros*. The men build houses, cultivate fruits, build canoes, and go fishing. The old men do nothing but drink, eat and sleep, or give advice.

Hospitality is a distinctive characteristic of the Ualan inhabitants. In whatever hut you visit, the people hasten to make you sit down, and to fetch fruits. It is probable that they provide their equals, or the superior classes, the same care they gave us with such eagerness. They are not hard to please; they do not in fact ask for anything in exchange for their food, but the smallest present seemed to fill them with happiness. Such kind and generous dispositions did not exist among the *uros*; either out of pride, vanity or greediness, or because they thought our presents were due them, they showed themselves to be insatiable, and with no nobility or generosity in their character. We forced them to come down from their pretensions by limiting ourselves to bartering for the objects they owned, and strictly giving the amount agreed upon, but we acted differently with their vassals.

Theft is almost unknown at Ualan, and the people never gave us the least complaint on this score. The only thieves were some *uros* who, even alongside [the ship] showed an obvious bad faith. One of them went so far as to order the removal of the rudder of the small boat, under our eyes, and he hid it at the bottom of his canoe; we made him give it back without imposing a correction which he surely deserved. It was the same *uros* who ordered his people to despoil Mr. de Blossville, when this officer went back a second time, alone, to the village of Lele. However, as these men are coward and soft, the least gesture was sufficient to intimidate them. Nevertheless, I believe that a few disputes would have resulted between us and the chiefs if we had kept going individually where they were numerous. As for the people, their kindness and respectful submission never failed. Always thoughtful and obliging, in all the huts I went into while hunting, the natives have always anticipated my wishes, have never tried to steal the least thing from me, have supplied me with guides when I showed a need for them, and all this quite naturally.

The industry of the Ualan people can be seen in the elegant construction of their canoes, and in the making of the narrow bands of cloth they use as *maros*, the climate not having made them feel the need for more clothing. One cannot fail to be astonished by the vividness of the colors used in dyeing the threads of the cloth; it is made as in Europe and ornamented with designs, diamond shapes, borders, which is not duplicated in any other island. They do not use tree barks to make cloth as they do in the Society and Sandwich Islands, and they ignore what resources they could get in this respect from the inner bark of the breadfruit tree.

To give some idea of their manufacture, I will describe what I learned from a native. The threads they use are gotten from the fibers of a wild banana tree similar to the *abaca* [hemp] of the Philippines, the *musa textilis* of Mr. Leschenault. They are separated by retting the gum that binds them, then they are placed in bundles upon screens exposed to the sun in order to make the dye fast. It is amazing that they have never tried to use

the *hibiscus tiliaceus* and the silvery nettle that grow so abundantly on their island, and that provide infinite resources elsewhere.

Their main color for dyes and paints is a dark red which is obtained from a big fibrous root called *mahori*; they steep it in water under the sun. They place the nets they want to dye into this bath, and leave them there for several days; no fixer is used as far as I know. They apparently do not have nor know how to make use of the fig tree that gives the Oceanian people such a beautiful red color. The other main colors they have are: a very bright black whose source I ignore, a very bright golden yellow that comes from the bark of the *morinda citrifolia*, a precious dye wood that grows abundantly in all the islands I visited in the South Sea. The Carolinians of the low islands use *curcuma* [turmeric] which is bright at first but which they have not been able to make fast.

It is the women who make the *maros* with a small loom upon which they make the designs, whereas to weave the cloth itself, they only need two square frames. The woof is laid out in a process similar to one used by our weavers. They use four spindles covered with thread, one shuttle called *katap*, and one wooden knife called *epop*. The loom is called *peus*.¹

The *maros*, called *tol*² at Ualan, are 8 inches in width and over 5 feet in length. The women's *maros* are three to four inches wider, and the men among the common people wear some made from a slacker and coarser material. The body of the *maros* is usually plain and black. Those of a few chiefs are white, or red and black. The end part that is tied in front is about the fifth of the whole length and presents diamond-shaped designs in the four colors of their paints. Some stripes, scallops or even fringes yet adorn this cloth, which is something interesting to witness among a small unknown population lost in the midst of the Great Ocean.

The canoes are made with stone or shell adzes, and, in spite of the imperfect means at their disposal, the islanders use them with such skill that it makes up for the coarseness of their tools. Their canoes have a characteristic shape that we have seen nowhere else. The ends are high and form almost a right angle with the keel, or what is used as such. The hull is made from a single tree trunk, often very big, whose gunwale is raised by fitting some wide wash-boards, sewn so to speak with cords. The holes must be the most difficult part of the work because they can only make them with [auger] shells. Thus, a primitive kind of patience is required to execute such work; no wonder they showed just as great a desire to acquire long and sharp nails. The holes and the joints of the wash-boards are caulked with a white putty called *puas* which I believe comes from the milky sap of the breadfruit tree mixed with the pulp of its fruit when it is still green. The trunk of an *artocarpus* [breadfruit tree] gives an average-size canoe, the biggest being sometimes made up of many trees together. These craft, though big, are lean and very light. They appear very narrow on account of the vertical nature of their sides. The wood has been so polished with pumice-stones and rasps from the skin of the devil-

1 Ed. note: See illustration above, page 376..

2 Ed. note: The word "tol" still means loin-cloth.

fish or skate that the red paint on top appears like varnish. An European carpenter would not give a better finish with a plane. Therefore, the natives take extreme care of these craft which they keep inside large huts where they hang them from the roof. The everyday needs are fulfilled by the small canoes which are not so well made.

We noticed that it was highly peculiar for the Ualan Islanders not to use any sails or masts. We never saw the least bit of evidence of them. They only use oars. These oars have a long handle, are very narrow and end up in a sharp point. They could very well be used as defensive weapons but they are not too good for rowing. The skill of the natives in handling their canoes needs no mention but, as these people are not fishermen in the proper sense of the word, and as they have never felt the need to wrest their subsistence from the sea, they have lost the knowledge in which the Carolinians excel. The canoes are called *vuak*.¹ Those of the chiefs are differentiated by some sort of Chinese [conical] hat made entirely with brown and white shells alternately strung on poles, and placed upon the outrigger; they are called *palpa*.

The working tools of these people are few in number. The adze, *tala*,² is the first one in importance due to its usefulness and the ingenious manner with which it is made. All of them are identical in shape and differ only in size. There are some very big ones and very small ones, meant for all kinds of work and made with a striped auger [shell] or an episcopal miter honed at their big end to form a cutting edge. The islanders also use the valves of the giant [*tridacna*] clam for the same purpose but, instead of such shells, they most often resort to a sort of spathed madreporite, of very fine grain similar to ivory, very hard, to which they give the right shape by rubbing it with basalt dust. What makes me believe that the latter kind are made with a very hard coral are the convergent lines that can be seen inside as well as a few pores that can be clearly seen. Their surface is like that of ivory or that of some sugary marbles. The chisel part of this tool or its cutting edge cannot be better compared than with the arrangement of an incisor tooth, because it is strongly fastened to a base fitted to the handle in such a way as to be either parallel or perpendicular to it, thus being used as an axe or an adze. The handle, made of light hibiscus wood, is slightly curved. It is painted red and the base black. The larger ones are used to hollow out the canoes by hitting hard and describing a big circle at the end of the lever that moves them in rhythm. They weigh many pounds and the people are so used to them that the iron axes we gave them did not please them as much, out of ignorance of the proper manner of using them successfully. With their axes, they fell trees, build canoes, fashion the frame of the houses and hollow out wooden troughs to keep water or to serve other purposes.

We had the opportunity to see in their huts some long, pointed javelins, carefully worked, which we thought were weapons, as well as a stick pointed at one end and carved at the other end which was painted very neatly in red. The javelin is called *uessa*³

1 Ed. note: Now written "oak."

2 Ed. note: Now written "tuhla."

3 Ed. note: Now written either "osra" or "ahksro."

and the stick *sag*.¹ However, later on we saw the inhabitants use them for [spear] fishing. Their skill is not so great at it, but the manner of their fishery on the edge of the reef where the sea breaks is peculiar to them. They choose some rectangular spaces which they enclose with a wall, three-foot high, whose coral stones are fitted together well enough so as not to leave any interstices. Its strength is such that it can resist the force of the sea that covers it at high tide. A single hole is pierced to let the water out until a certain level when the tide goes down. The fish that had come into this aquarium are trapped in, and the natives go there when the tide has left the reefs. They plug the hole of the tank and, as there is little water in it, they strike and spear the fish with their long javelins. They build temporary shelters in the neighborhood in case of bad weather. Such fisheries are not numerous nor are they well maintained. They still use some mother-of-pearl fish-hooks but very seldom. Many *uros* wore a few of them hanging from their necks; they praised them highly and refused to give them up for anything. They showed no interest in our metal fish-hooks; if they accepted them, it was to place them in their ears. They also use some badly made nets, laid around a flexible and supple branch, bent into an oval shape. The net forms a pocket; its threads are made of coconut coir. In order to catch fish with this tool, about a dozen islanders gather in a great circle; they close the circle chasing the fish before them, and they end up by touching one another and joining the nets that each one holds with the hand. The *sag* does not appear to be used for anything else besides knocking out the fish or spearing the big morays so common on the reefs.

These people use only coconut coir to make ropes for mooring their canoes with; the ropes are well twined and strong.

The Ualan islanders own few adornments but they do not make use of cosmetics. Only the chiefs use coconut oil to anoint their hair. Their ordinary ornaments are flowers, sometimes necklaces made with strung seeds which they call *hule*, or necklaces made of carved seeds strung with black and white ones alternately. Most of them have on the nape of the neck a piece of turtle shell hanging from a small cord. They must undoubtedly give a high value to this ornament because they did not wish to give them to us in exchange for objects that must have had a great value for them. Two or three gave them up for nothing; very probably they had no sentimental value for them; they were the only ones to have done so. A few natives wore a shell on the lower lip, as it is practiced by the natives of Ralik and Radak, and even those of the northwest coast at Nootka.

Tattooing in Ualan appears to designate the castes; this operation is called *sise* or *shishe*.² The men wear two long stripes inside and outside the lower limbs. These two stripes are eight lines in width; they are black and filled in solid in the upper classes, but only with diamond-shaped figures in the lower classes. The *Uros* and the *Pennem* have in addition some light lines on other parts of the body. The arms are covered with small

1 Ed. note: Now spelled "sahk."

2 Ed. note: Now written "srihsrihng."

designs but, what is characteristic of this people is a wide black chevron that covers the fold of the arm in both sexes. The men only have tattoos on their limbs but the women have tattoos over their backs which come down to the very edge of their loin-cloth.

The songs of the inhabitants have nothing pleasant. They are kinds of sentences without rhythm, pronounced with slowness and monotony, meant most often to accompany a dance and, one must admit it, their dancing is an overly serious and restrained affair. The Ualanese are indeed generally calm, not too gay; the *uros* are specially prone to a gravity from which they rarely deviate. A couple of natives were the only ones whose happy nature made them give free rein to their jovial mood.

Be that as it may, a young *pennem* consented many times to execute before us the traditional dance of the country, and many other islanders joined in. This dance consists entirely of slow and rhythmic movements of the limbs and body, and postures which sometimes recall those of a master swordsman. The voice or the tomtom is used as an accompaniment; the half turns and the postures of the dancer are scored with a stick held in the hands. In certain ceremonies, they form long lines of dancers and then the beauty of all the movements consists in the fact that they are made with such a precision that they appear to be moved by a machine. Most of the natives do not know how to perform this dance but all those who were aboard seemed enchanted with the performance of three to four young men and gave them lively applauses; our admiration did not go that far.

Undoubtedly, these islanders believe in the afterlife; the care they take of the graves proves that they have such a comforting thought. The *uros*, these demi-gods of Ualan, are buried in a sacred ground where it can be seen that the islanders have put all the power of their know-how by building the walls that encircle them.

The burial places of the common people have something very touching in their primitive simplicity. The asylum of the dead is usually found in the middle of sugarcane fields. Given that such plantations exist in the plains as well as on mountain slopes, the result is an impression that the natives believe in the moral influence of the presence of such graves. When we skirted the coasts of the island aboard the corvette, our eyes were often fixed upon the thatch roofs whose purpose we then knew nothing about, and that arose in the middle of fresh greenery, not far from the top of the mountains. Indeed, the grave of a poor savage in found sheltered by the breadfruit tree that provided him with food, amid sugarcane stalks, near a brook whose fleeting waters tumble from the mountain peak while crossing groves of orange trees, of ixoras, where the flexible bind-weed spreads its purple corollas!... Each grave is properly sheltered by a small hut whose sides are open. Very often, one meets with small ghost villages, because the natives of one locality like to gather their relatives in the same parcel of land. Some lattices cover the floor of the hut; a few mats have been thrown there, no doubt to enable the son to come there to consult the ashes of his forefathers. One can still find, under some of these simple roofs raised with care, the tools that the deceased probably used on the earth, an adze for the man, and the loom for the mother of the family. Among the brutest sav-

ages, for instance those of New Holland [Australia], I have seen the graves respected; only civilized man has violated them.

What remains to cover is the **language** of the Ualanese. It appears obvious to us that it consists of many dialects, each spoken by a different caste. It differs from all the languages we had encountered up to that time, not at all like the Polynesian spoken by the islanders of Tahiti, the Marquesas, Tonga, New Zealand and the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands... This language seemed to us very hard to grasp; it was very difficult to render, with our alphabet, the sounds that hit our ears. Another impediment to our work was the sort of care that the islanders took in never vexing us. If we inadvertently pronounced a word that we thought we heard, all the natives insisted upon repeating this word, although it may have had nothing to do with the real thing. This excessive complacency is more bothersome than useful. Besides, these islanders are so busy with what is happening around them that it is difficult to fix their attention on a single object for more than a few seconds.

The greatest difficulty in making a vocabulary is not in getting the names of material objects in sight. In collecting such words, one is almost sure of their accuracy, but nothing is as difficult as trying to make them understand some metaphysical concepts, or to get their names for such words as yesterday, tomorrow, father, brother, etc. and many other words to represent more complex ideas. The pronunciation of these islanders is often guttural, ending with nasal and palatal sounds that are hard to grasp in a rigorous manner, sounds that affect a lot the meaning of the words, because there are some that, by changing the sound only, are unattainable for us but they express many (different) things.

The only words that have analogous sounds in a few other South Sea languages are neither numerous nor important. One could possibly find more similarity with languages derived from Mongolian. Thus the word *ik* for fish, as used at Ualan, is close to *ikan* in Malay, *ika* in New Zealand, whereas *eia*, used in Tahiti, and *ie* in Rotuma, are corrupted. *Wak*, the Ualanese word for canoe is similar to *waka* in New Zealand, *waka* in Rotuma, *vaa* in Tahiti. *Nu* for coconut is called *Niu* at the Sandwich Islands and at Rotuma, and it could be derived from the Malay *nior*, not so common as *kala-pa*. An oar, called *oa* [or *wa*] at Ualan, is called *oe* in Tahiti. The word *un* for banana is exactly the same word as used by the negros inhabiting Port Praslin in New Zealand. Sugarcane is *ta* at Ualan, *to* in New Ireland, *toa* in Tahiti, *tou* in the Sandwich Islands and Rotuma. Finally, *mata* for eye is the same in Malay, etc.

The numbering system is based on regular principles and differs, by the nomenclature for numbers, from all those I have seen used in the Malay, Polynesian and South Sea islands. The numbers that follow have been given to me by a large number of intelligent natives, and I have taken the greatest care to ensure their exactitude.

Example

1. — Sha. 2. — Lo. 3. — Tol. 4. — Eaa. 5. — Lom. 6. — Hol. 7. — Hut. 8. — Wal. 9. — Heo. 10. — Singul. 11. — Singul sha. 12. — Singul lo, etc. 19. — Singul heo. 20. — Logul.	[Modern] [Sra] [Lo] [Tol] [Ahng] [Luhm] [On] [It] [Oal] [Yuh] [Singuhul] [Longoul]	21. — Logul sha. 22. — Logul lo. 30. — Tolgul. 90. — Heogul. 100. — Sihiogo. 200. — Sha sihiogo. 900. — Heo sihiogo. 1,000. — Sha sihia. 2,000. — Lo sihia. 9,000. — Heo sihia. 10,000. — Sihie. 11,000. — Sha sihie. 20,000. — Luho.	[Modern] [Siofok] [Tausin]
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Example of a number:

1,825 = *Sihia, wal sihiogo logul lom.*

According to Keate¹, who has given us a general description of the Pelew [Palau] Islands where Captain Wilson was shipwrecked and spent some time, we may judge that a great similarity exists between the islanders of the Palaos or Pelew and those of Ualan. The language and name differences appear noticeable indeed, but they are due to the alterations that occurred in languages not fully formed in different localities. There may even exist more similarities than I pretend to point out, because of the manner of rendering sounds that differ sometimes so widely between two writers of the same country, and therefore it is even more difficult to agree with a foreign writer. After I had written the chapter on Ualan, I was surprised afterward while reading Wilson's narrative about the similarity that exists between these islands separated by a space of nearly 600 leagues in longitude, but placed on the same latitude, one constituting the Carolines with a long band of islands, some mountainous, some hardly above the sea upon interrupted reefs and populated by the same race of men, and offering as far as we know about the same customs and way of life.

The Pelew Islands, first seen by the Spaniards who called them Palaos, consist of very wooded mountains, lined with flat lands and surrounded by coral reefs that project seaward. They are governed by a king or paramount chief, assisted by second-class chiefs called *Rupaks* who constitute the nobility and correspond to the *Uros*. Business is conducted in council, sitting down, as is practiced at Ualan, when the chiefs receive the public. The people approach the *Rupaks* only with the greatest of respect, placing their hand in front of their face when they speak to the king and kowtowing on the

¹ Ed. note: Author of the book on the shipwreck of the *Antelope*, Captain Wilson, 1783.

ground before him. The Rupaks are decorated with the order of the [dugong] bone, says Wilson; I have not seen anything like it among the *Uros*.

The greatest of similarity exists in the products of the Palaos and Ualan Islands. In both of them, the land is cultivated with care. The wild breadfruit, the taro (*arum esculentum*) and the coconut are the main vegetable products but one may add the banana, orange, lemon, bamboo, sugarcane and turmeric or *curcuma*. The common flora is without exception the same. The *siriboa* pepper plant is used at Ualan to make *shia-ka*, a sweet drink that intoxicates and which is loved by the natives. The inhabitants of the Palaos Islands use pepper as betel, a custom they would have received from the Malays often shipwrecked there.

The quadrupeds of both islands are the rat and the bat. The Pelew Islands had some cats, no doubt as a result of previous contacts, but there were no dogs nor pigs. Cocks and hens, according to Wilson, were not used as food, and I have made the same observations at Ualan. Pigeons are common on both islands. Among the fishes, the Englishmen mention the presence of the unicorn fish, the lobsters and the *kima* (*tridacna*), and such animals are very abundant at Ualan.

"The view of the Pelew Islands as seen from the sea," says the editor of [the narrative of] Wilson's shipwreck, *"presents a high and hilly land, very wooded. The interior was mountainous in many places, but the valleys, beautiful and extensive, were pleasant to behold. The soil was generally fertile, and grass grew abundantly."*

This description, except for variations in extent, would be applicable to Ualan but the latter is more favored with rivers and springs. The way of life among these two populations is the same: the making of various puddings with coconut meat, sugarcane sugar, bananas, etc., the eating of fish, cooked or raw, the ordinary drink being water or coconut milk, and the same meals, three times a day.

In Pelew as in Ualan, the houses have a bamboo floor with a rectangular space in the center for the hearth; low doors made of bamboo; very high roofs, covered with palm leaves [pandanus] in thick layers; and there are public houses reserved for feasts and meetings that are bigger than those used as ordinary lodgings.

The two peoples have the same procedures for preparing food, except for boiling which is unknown on Ualan. The inhabitants of the Palaos also have a larger number of weapons on account of the state of hostility in which they live and which has led to this situation. Their adzes are also made with *kima* (*tridacna*) shells, and their canoes, whose shape is sleek, are also painted a solid red color. The clothes differ little between the two countries. The same custom of wearing flowers in the ear lobes can be observed, also that of knotting the hair on top of the head and of tattooing themselves; however, the custom of blackening one's teeth, for instance, does not exist at Ualan.

The Pelew chiefs have many wives and I have the conviction that the *Uros* also have a few. The two peoples showed absolutely the same astonishment when they saw Wilson and his companions up close, and when they saw us at Ualan. However, in the king

and the *uros*, we did not find an Abba Thule or a Raa Kook. Those of Ualan seemed to us envious and jealous of their prerogatives, without the least nobility of character.

In reproducing the [French-] Ualanese Vocabulary that follows, it is to be noted that some letters of the [French] alphabet are obviously missing from the language of these islanders. On the other hand, they have many sounds that do not exist [in French] and that can only be rendered by sh, w, and ts. They cannot pronounce certain [French] words. Thus, they always say "Terance" for France, but they could pronounce "Paris", "lune" [i.e. moon], "soleil" [i.e. sun], "cacatois" [i.e. the Royal, a sail]. The [French] letters they cannot pronounce are: B, D, F, J, Q, V, X, Y. The B is rendered by a sound halfway between our B and P. The D is replaced by T. The P is pronounced "pei". The other letters are the same as in our [French] alphabet.

[English Meaning]	[Original French Rendering]	[Presumed Equivalent Sound]	[Modern Kosraean Dictionary]
Rainbow	Melakep	Mellakep	[Nelakwem]
<i>Amomum</i> [cardamum]	Ine-ka	In-ka	
Black <i>acanthurus</i> (fish)	Ali-ala	Ali-ala	
A tree with flat roots	Loume	Lum	
Astonishment, amazement	Bouai	Buai	
Atheroma (surgery)	Hire	Here	
Ixora tree with red flowers	Kalcé	Kalsay	
Coquille Bay or Harbor	Lailesse	Lailless	
Lele Bay	Pané	Panay	
To yawn	Meula	Meula	[Muh]
To beat	Mehouhoc	Mehuhok	[Suhsahk]
Basil (bot.)	Harène	Haren	[Arihng]
<i>Barringtonia speciosa</i> (bot.)	KaénaI	Kaenal	
Furuncle (med.)	Solot	Solot	
Mouth	Massoc or massosse	Massok or masos	[Ngoasro]
Good	Emé	Emay	
Jumping blenny (fish)	Mooa	Mowa	[Mwe osra]
To drink	Nemeneme	Nemnem	[Nihmnihm]
Bottle (their name for it)	Pelosouke	Pelosuk	
Beard	Haltèque or Alate	Haltek or Alat	[Altac, ahluht]
Banana	Oune	Un	[Usr]
Banana, yellow	Oune kalasse	Un kalas	[Usr kuhlahsr]
Canoe outrigger	Eme	Em	[Em]
Arm	Pohou	Pohu	[Pouk]
Wood (to work with or to burn)	Siake	Siak	[Insak]
Porridge of grated coconut	Kapiel	Kapiel	
Porridge of bread-fruit	Ouaoua	Wawa	
Wood for red dye	Mahori	Mahori	
Coconut husk or coir	Kaké	Kakay	[Kaki = copra]
White	Ouasse	Wass	[Fasrfasr]
Blue	Molute	Molut	[Muhlahlah]
Chief, king, nobility	Urosse	Uros	

Head of clan	Tône	Toan, Ton	[Ton = eel]
This, that	Eïa, Ini	Eya, Ini	[Uh, an]
Ankle	Atroniake	Atroniak	[Fukun niyac]
Sugarcane	Ta	Ta	[Tuh]
Road, route	Neka	Neka	[Innek]
Hair	Schiaffe	Shiaf	[Insifac]
Coconut meat	Guano	Gwano	
Eyelashes	Ouakoulop	Wakulop	
To sing	Hole	Hol	[On]
Grey sandpiper	Krulcé	Krulsay	
Necklace	Eha	Eha	
Canoe sides	Nounou	Noonoo, Nunu	
Copulation	Foëne	Fwen	
Ribs	Sihioque	Sihioq	
Neck	Tahoque...kahou	Tahok...kahu	
Thigh	Niake or Nias	Niak or Nias	
Box-fish	Hedouhotsé	Heduhotsay	
Coconut	Nou	Noo, Nu	[Nu]
Coconut husk	Foi	Fwa	[Fuh]
Wooden knife	Epopé	Epop	[Ep = wood]
Scars from a wound	Roukanka	Rukanka	
Sky	Kassa	Kassa	[Kuhstra]
Shell hat adorning chiefs' canoes	Palpa	Palpa	
Cord, rope	Foi	Fwa	[Fuh]
Women's necklace	Masse	Mass	
Necklace with one shell	Houlé	Hulay, Houley	
Shell placed on the lower lip as at Radak	Panac	Panak	
Coral	Eoka	Eoka	[Eka]
Type of crab	Tanôme	Tanome	
To run	Kassas	Kassass	[Kahsruhsr]
Sunset	Foune kofo	Fun kofo	
To dance	Salza	Salza	
Back (anatomy)	Ouène toukou	Wen tuku	[Fin tohkoh]
Defecation	Pac	Pak	
Last quarter of the moon	Meza-ouall	Meza wal	[Muhsael]
Teeth	Muessosse or Maussik	Mwessos or Maussik	[Wihse]
Fingers	Oune pohou	Un pohu	[Kufun paho]
Broken finger	Ponac	Ponak	
Bailer (to bail water)	Anome	Anom	[Ahnom]
Canoe ends	Matané	Matanay	
Shoulders	Ouepesike	Wepesik	[Fin pihsak]
To sneeze	Siné	Sinay	[Sinac]
Star	Ité	Itay	[Itih]
Fresh water	Ko	Ko	[Kof]
Child	Talé	Tally, talay	[Tuhlihk]
Starfish	Sinikiaou	Sinikiaw	
East, orient	Ouakata	Wakata	
Sponge	Sinekosso	Sinkosso	
Leaves (bot.)	Scha	Sha	[Sra]
Oval fishing net	Hèke	Heck	

Smoke	Kalasse	Kalas	[Kuhlahsr]
Buttock	Siakique	Siakik	[Kuhp]
Iron	Mossa	Mossa	
Breadfruit	Mosse	Moss	[Mos]
Breadfruit with seeds	Mosse soucossa	Moss sookossa	[Mos in kosra]
Woman	Mataen	Mataen	[Muhtwacn]
Thread to make <i>maros</i>	Koïs	Koiss	
Girl [See child]	Talé	Tally, talay	
Fire	Pala héhé	Pala hayhay	[E] ¹
Arum flowers	Oune ketaque	Un ketak	
Arum leaves	Skakala	Skakala	
Flowers in general	Meta	Mayta, Meta	
Banana leaves	Sahest	Sahest	
Tree-like fern	Po	Po	[Po]
<i>Fucus</i> [=algae]	Kape	Kap	[Kap = seaweed]
Gums [in mouth]	Nasosse	Nasoss	
Knee	Nenétike	Neneitik	
Gland (anat.)	Ine-kanac	In kanak	
<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>	Lo	Lo	[Lo]
Man	Mokoul	Mokul	[Mukul]
Stone adze	Tala	Tala	[Tuhla]
<i>Hétéroaire</i> (red <i>sui-manga</i> bird)	Cisse	Sis	[Sik]
Very small black swallow	Kalka	Kalka	[Kalkacf = bat?]
Heron (white & grey)	Longoulap	Longulap	[Noklahp]
(There is) no more	Paena	Paena	
Yellow	Kan	Kan	[Rangrang]
Leg	Pogoune-Niake	Pogun-Niak	[Kufun niyac]
Day	Lène, Lénélique	Len, Lenelik	[Lwen, Iwenelihk]
Leg calf	Oualalouk	Walaluk	
<i>Kava</i> (pepper drink)	Schiaka	Shiaka	[Suhka]
Leprosy	Ouaranite	Waranit	[Warniht]
Lizard	Keneux	Keneu	[Kihnuhul]
To fart	Siné	Sinay	[Sucng]
Lips	Ouassok	Wasok	[Ngoasro]
To stand	Toua	Twa	[Tu]
Moon	Alouaite	Alwait	[Alwat]
Fishing spear	Ouessa	Wessa	[Osra]
Tongue	La or Lalo	La or Lalo	[Loh, lohoh]
Coconut milk	Sano	Sano	
Sunrise	Houat-Atake	Wat atak	[... tak]
Seed of <i>inocarpus edulis</i>	Hi	Hee	
<i>Inocarpus</i> tree	Kraka	Kraka	[Kihrak?]
Breast, tit	Téhiti	Tayhiti, Teiti	[Titi]
Pestle for pounding breadfruit	To	To	[Tok]
Bad	Kousouke ²	Kusuk	[Kuluk]
Chin	Kaboulénèque	Kabulenek	[Kapihn oalihn]
Show (me)	Mea	Mea	

1 Ed. note: "Puhluh e e" means "to blow on the fire."

2 Ed. note: Transcription error for Koulouke, obviously.

Mountain	Holl	Hole	[Oh]
Mountain (on northern part) [i.e. Mt. Buache]	Aneléé	Anelaylay, Aneleilei	
Sea [ocean]	Molsoul	Molsul	
To eat	Mongno	Mongno	[Mongo]
To walk	Katso	Katso	
White putty for caulking	Pouasse	Pwasse	
Midday, noon	Koule inelène	Kul inlen	[Infulwen lwen]
House, ordinary	Lomme	Lom	[Lohm]
House, communal	Paé	Pae, pai	
Wall	Pot	Pot	[Pot = stone wall]
Mullet	Hais	Hais	
Hand	Kounepohou	Kunpohu	[(Pukun) paho]
<i>Maro</i> cloth	Toll	Tol	[Tol]
Blackbird	Ououaizai	Uwaizai	
Loom	Péousse	Peus	
Moray eel	Schemiss	Shaymiss, Shmiss	[Semih]
River eel ¹	Tône	Tone	[Ton]
To blow one's nose	Eonepu	Eonpu	
To bite	Lalisse	Lalis	[Ngalis]
Frame of the loom	Zake	Zak	
Midnight	Ine-coffe	In-kof	[Infulwen fong]
Clouds	Kassa	Kassa	
Sleeping mat	Saké	Sakay	[Sahpkuh]
To refuse	Ouna, Tak	Una, Tak	[Tuhna, tilac]
Nose	Kouahé, Foi, Poua	Kwahay, Fwa, Pua	[Fwac]
Nostrils	Inefoi, Igaï	Infwa, Iguy	[Infwac]
Navel	Poutek, Pouté	Putek, Pootay	[Fihtac, fihuhk]
Black clouds, showers	Imai	Immay	
New moon	Maspan	Maspan	
No	Ouene	Wen	
Nerite [river shell]	Kéimo	Keimo	
Bird's nest	Athero	Athero	
Noddy (ornith.)	Palé	Pale, palley	
Unicorn fish ²	Mossa	Mossa	
Nobility, chiefs	Urosse	Uros	
Black	Schalschal or Louho	Shalshal or Luho	[Sroalsroal]
Night	Fonga Onou	Fonga Onu	[Fong]
North	Matenté	Matentey ³	
Perfume, Pleasant smell	Kahen	Kahen	[Kweng]
Bird egg	Téramo	Teramo	[Ahtro]
Orange tree	Menzioko	Menzioko	
Orange	Meozasse	Meozas	
A type of sea urchin	Inescha	Insha	
Eh, man! (hailing term)	Esse	Ess	

1 Ed. note: See Head of clan.

2 Ed. note: See also Iron.

3 Ed. note: Misinterpretation, as Matente may be the name of a mountain they were pointing at.

To appear or rise	Atak	Atak	[Tak]
Full moon	Mezazone	Mezazon	[Mwesr]
Polyp, <i>opuntia</i>	Mouai-el	Mwai-el	
What is this? or What is this called?	Mea ingué?	Mea in-gay?	[Meac inge?]
<i>Taro</i> (arum) roots	Taka	Taka ¹	
Large <i>taro</i> root	Monaka	Monaka	
Rat	Kousique	Koosik, kusik	[Kihrsrihck]
Reefs	Kihiela	Kihiela, keyela	
Red	Lape	Lap ²	
To laugh	Hizé	Heezay	[Isracsr]
To snore	Malala	Malala	
To burp	Kra	Kra	[Kihrar]
Eyebrows	Miesse	Miess	[Inyac]
Sun	Houat	Wa(t)	[Faht]
To sigh	Ma	Ma	
To jump	So	So	[Sro]
To whistle	Hosse	Hoss	[Os]
To blow	Houke	Hook, huk	[Ukuk]
South, Noon	Leap	Leap	
To sit down	Mata	Mata	[Muhta]
To go to bed	Ouana	Wana	
To smell good	Kahène	Kahen	
To smell bad	Pousos	Pusos	
Blood	Schascha	Shasha	[Srah]
Tattoo	Schisché, sissé, cheché	Shishay, sheshay	[Srihsrihng]
Tree trunk	Ta	Ta	
To weave cloth	Tohéné	Toheni	[Otwot, tawi]
All, together	Toll	Tol	[Tol = 3]
To cough	Ko	Ko	[Kohf] ³
Outrigger boom	Kouillas	Kwiya(s)	[Kiyacs]
Trachyte (rock)	Eotsé	Eotsay	
Thunder	Palat	Pala(t)	[Puhlaht]
Testicle	Atéro	Atero	[Eto]
Ulcers	Rofou	Rofu	[Ruf]
Drinking vase	Fuoque	Fuok	
Vampire bat	Quoy	Kwa	
Village in Coquille Harbor	Tahignié	Tahinie, Tahiniay	
Belly	Sihioque	Sihioq, siyok	[Insiyac]
Wind	Shapat	Shapa(t)	
Vagina	Ouané or kéné	Wanay or kenny	[Konah?]
Vessel made with a leaf	Chaouena	Shawena	
Wooden trough-like vessel	Tapé	Tapay, tapei	

1 Ed. note: Someone was mistaken. *Tacca* is Oceanic for 'arrowroot'.

2 Ed. note: Misinterpretation: 'Lap' is a kind of clay, probably reddish in color. See Mahori earlier.

3 Ed. note: A coincidence with English, not of English origin.

CHAPTER XXVI

Crossing from Ualan Island to New Guinea (from 15 June to 25 July 1824).

Contact with the islanders of Penelop [Pingelap], Awerra [Mokil], Lugulus or Dublon [Chuuk], Tamatam, Fanadik, Pulap, Piguelao and Satawal (Caroline Archipelago).

On the 15th, we set sail in the morning to continue our voyage, and soon the coast of Ualan disappeared from our sight. On the 17th, we sighted Pelelap [Pingelap], Tugulu and Takai Islands that Captain MacAskill discovered in 1809. They are low islands sharing the same lagoon and situated at 6°36' lat. N. and 158°27' long. E. Many trees cover them and here and there in the clearings there were some huts whose form is similar to those of Ualan; however, their construction seemed more neglected. The natives hastened to launch their canoes and, as we hove to, they reached us in a jiffy. Most of the craft were manned by 7 or 8 natives. They came aboard without the least hesitation or fear and, in an exceptional and noteworthy manner, they offered to us with an unselfishness that pleased us all the food supplies they had brought along and that consisted of dry and germinated coconuts, wild breadfruits, and big pieces of taro (*arum macrorrhizon*). It was the first time that we received from South Sea islanders a highly important gift, for men whose islands produce little, without them showing the least sign of getting a reward for it. Their action was responded to. The coconuts, which they called *kagay*, are apparently eaten in a dry state, and when the nut has fully matured. On the low islands, this fruit is no doubt too precious for a large population to gather the nut when it is full of water and fit only to drink. Foresight has caused them to consider it a law not to waste food or, as we say, "to make hay with grass." The objects that pleased them the most were nails and axes. By the way, iron, which they call *lulu*, is sought after by them in whatever form. Among the fruits they gave us were a few bunches of a sort of sweet bananas that melted in the mouth, that we had not seen yet and whose flavor was delicious. We also noted some pandanus cones that the natives suck with pleasure, even though the seeds are fibrous and tough; however, a sweet substance is found in rather large quantity where these fruits are joined to the peduncle.

These islanders had much in common with the Ualanese in their physical traits and their industrial arts. It was in vain, however, that we tried to make ourselves understood by using some of the Ualanese words that we had collected, and that they appeared not to understand. After repeated trials we got from many of them the words they use for numbers. As it is possible to verify, these words have only slight differences with those used in Ualan:

1 = Sa;	2 = Lu;	3 = Tol;	4 = Hea;
5 = Lim;	6 = Won;	7 = Hut;	8 = Wal; 9 = Heo.

The size of the MacAskill islanders is average and well developed; most of them are fairly fat, whereas we noticed a few who were so fat that their movements were hampered by their state of obesity. Their skin complexion is olive in color but not too dark.

The whole of their face is pleasant and impregnated with much kindness. Their only piece of clothing is a small piece of *maro* cloth, folded many times. When they traded this piece of cloth for iron offered by insistant bidders, they showed signs of the greatest of sexual modesty so that we would not get a peek at what the informal *maro* did in any case hide rather badly. Their long black hair, a little frizzy, is tied by a knot on top of the head. They never shave their beard or moustaches; however, the beard does not reach its full growth except among a few old men, as most of the natives had but a rather thin goatee that ended in a point like that worn by Charles IX. Their teeth are sparkingly white. Their eyes, naturally slanted, and the narrowness of the forehead, in addition to the narrowness of the lower jaw, bring to mind the obvious resemblance with the Korean or Japanese type.

These islanders have an obvious liking for flowers. Some young men had adorned their head with a wreath of ixora, whose corollas are very bright flaming-red. A few of them place in the holes made in their ear lobes some leaves from a flower not known to me and that exhale a sweet smell similar to that of violet or the iris of Florence. Others still had white flowers intertwined in their hair and such adornments gave them a charming look that is easier to feel than to describe. These men were constantly in movement and abandoned themselves freely to the excesses of a foolish happiness; their character, as we saw it during our short contact with them, left only favorable impressions. They seemed less serious and less despondent than the Ualan islanders.

As we have mentioned earlier, in the easternmost (Caroline) islands, they gird up their loins with beads made with small black and white discs. Their *maros* are made with a cloth thicker than that used at Ualan; however, the technique used in weaving, the variety of the designs, the bright colors of the threads, are not of inferior quality. Their tattoos are more elegant and more perfect than for any other people. The designs that cover the body are laid out in large blobs that give them a bluish hue; however, inside these blobs are repeated in symmetrical fashion some stripes, circles, tastefully inlaid in the skin. Only the young men did not show this type of decoration. A few old men were completely bald.

The tools we saw in their hands consisted of adzes made, like those of Ualan, with pieces of coral or with shells such as the tridacna, the auger and the episcopal miter. They call them *tale*, a name which, of course, has a great similarity with the word *tala* used in Ualan for the same thing. Their cords made with coconut coir were strong and well braided. Their canoes are quite different from those of Ualan; their construction shows that the low islands naturally lack tall trees and wood whose fibers are dense and compact. However, the shape of the canoes reminds one of the elegant proas which we will soon have the opportunity to mention. None of those that came alongside had any masts nor sails; they were maneuvered simply with pointed oars.

On the 18th, we sighted three islands unknown to geographers and laid out in triangular fashion within the same reef. The natives who came on board called them Hugai, Werra, and Mongul [Mokil]. These islands, which the commander of the *Coquille* felt he had to name after himself [Duperrey], lie at 6°39' Lat. N. and 157°29' Long. E. The

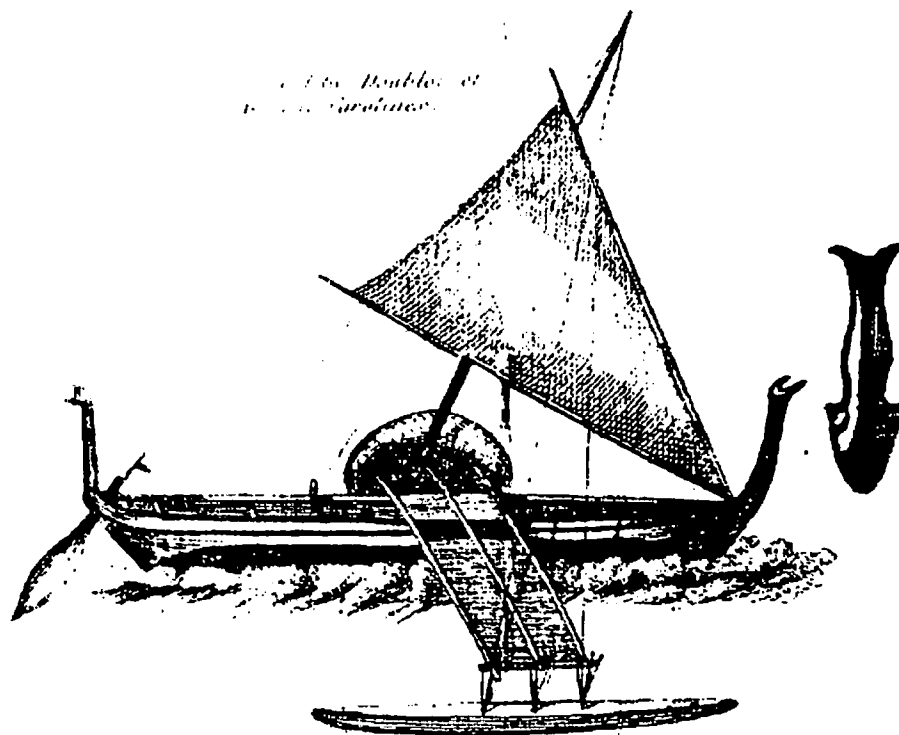
first proa that came alongside had ten men in it; one of them showed us a small axe made with iron, that is a piece of iron from a barrel hoop, which proves that they must either have had previous contact with Europeans or received this metal from some neighboring island, by way of trade. As all the Carolinians, they call iron *lulu*, their chiefs *tamols*, and they know the exact positions of the neighboring islands.

The islanders who came in contact with us are very handsome men; they not only have a fair size and well developed physique but strong limbs. Their skin, supple and smooth, is not dark in color. Their features, though wide and flat, reflect an open and kind disposition. Their black hair, a little frizzy, fall freely upon their shoulders and is not adorned with anything. The gaiety that moves them, and the smile that is forever on their lips reveal some teeth of the finest enamel. The beard goes around the upper lip, shaped like a thin fringe, whereas under the chin it forms a thin and pointed tuft. As for the other Carolinians, their only piece of clothing is a narrow *maro* whose cloth is bright orange-yellow in color. Very complicated tattoos cover the whole body; however, this adornment, among most of the natives who visited us, disappears under the numerous patches of Pacific Ocean leprosy¹ that ate them alive.

We noticed that these islanders are better sailors than those we had seen up to that time; nevertheless, they take a while to maneuver their canoes, specially when it is time to shift the sail from one end to the other. They are very awkward when alongside a vessel and the speed of their proas is not worthy of note. These craft, though built in the Carolinian style, are roughly made and without ornaments; however, the outrigger, the inclination of the mast, the shape of the matting that forms the sail, the two yards holding it, are as in the other proas.

On the morning of the 24th, we sighted lands, some high, some low. They were the Hogoleu or rather Hogolu (Chuuk) Islands, known to ancient Spanish navigators, and re-discovered by Captain Dublon in 1814. The group is 37 leagues in circumference and is an archipelago composed of many volcanic islands and a large number of green islets. All of them are surrounded by a huge reef barrier whereas the inside is taken up by deep lagoons. For four days, we went around this land system and were visited frequently by the inhabitants. Judging by pieces of wrought iron they had in their hands and that no doubt came from the Marianas, and by their confidence in climbing aboard they must have known Europeans. Their features were perfectly similar to that of the other Carolinians; however, we noticed that they had some customs that we had not yet observed: the first one was their use of a Chinese hat very well made with pandanus leaves, and the second their wearing of a true *poncho* made of black cloth that came down to the waist. Well, as we have already said, the *poncho* is a piece of cloth with a hole in the middle, the use of which is proper to the Araucanos of Chile and to Carolinians; indeed, although this type of clothing is used in the Society Islands, it differs by

1 Most of the South Sea islanders, whatever their race, are eaten up by this leprosy, no doubt due to their being fish-eaters.



Carolinian canoe seen by Lesson in 1824.

its large size and its uncommon use from the *poncho* of the inhabitants of the Hogolus.

We had no reason to congratulate ourselves over the good faith of these islanders; they unscrupulously grabbed everything they coveted. Few of them were tattooed; this operation which they call *mak* consists among them of only a few vertical lines placed on the chest and on the legs. Their ear lobes were split and stretched a great deal by the custom of placing there some cylinders of light hibiscus wood, great in diameter and painted orange red, like those seen by Captain Kotzebue at Radak. We could not grasp any word in the language of these men; a few of them, however, appeared to be of Malay origin. Fishing is one of their greatest resources, and they are very skilled at it. We observed that every day their canoes were filled with many species of fish, mollusks, large tridacna shells, and starfish which they seemed not to despise.

Their **canoes** are very noteworthy for their lightness as well as the care that was taken to decorate and paint them. Their speed, under a moderate breeze, is about six knots, a far cry from what Anson said about them. We noticed that in many of these fine and light craft, there were slings made with coconut coir and destined to shoot stones, and some long and sharp javelins.

The Hogolu Group is situated at 7°25'00" Lat. N., and 149°35'00" Long. E. It consists of high mountainous lands, surrounded by flat and low islands or interspersed with simple islets. An enormous build-up of reefs link these various islets one to another. Some passes through the coral reefs can give access to ships and enable them to find a safe anchorage in the bays inside. The islets, as well as the peaks, are very green and a large population has invaded them. The *hiros* or king seems to reside on the largest island in the northeast which, for this reason, has received the name of Hiros Island [Moen]. The closest island to it is called Hudot [Udot]; the third Paata [Pata]; the fourth which is the westernmost, Toll [Tol]; the big flat islet in the northernmost point, Pis; its neighbor to the east, Pis-ena; the small westernmost islet, Pis silin, etc.¹

Not having touched at the islands which would have been so interesting to explore, I limit myself to the expediency of my personal observations. However, I have since found in the **Westminster Review** the narrative of an expedition made in 1827² in the same Hogolu Group, which appears very interesting; I reproduce it in appendix, without, however, guaranteeing the truthfulness of the peculiar facts reported in it.³

On the 30th of June 1824, we sighted three small low islands named Tamatam, Falalik and Pollap [Pulap], discovered in 1801 by Don Juan Ibargoitia. About thirty canoes left immediately to come to us, but as the corvette was favored by a rather fresh breeze, all of these craft arrived together boisterously in such a way that many proas were damaged alongside and their wrecks in turn broke the outriggers of many others that also sank. Given that the natives were speaking and gesturing all at once, bumping into one another and jumping into the water, we had the spectacle of a miniature fleet being shipwrecked. The word "lulu" was in all the mouths, because iron is the most precious thing for these people. Axes, knives which they call *sar*, nails, big fish-hooks, are for them objects of great value. In exchange, they gave us coconuts which they call *nu*, some *mai* or wild breadfruit⁴ and some shells they collect on the shore, such as the helmets (*meale*) and the beautiful golden-yellow cowries. The Tamatam islanders do not differ from those of Hogolu. Their *maros* and their *ponchos* are made with the same cloth; their hats, Chinese in style, have the same shape, and their ears are transpierced by big plugs made of painted wood. However, the *maro* which some Carolinians do not give up without showing signs of modesty, does not have the sole purpose of hiding the sexual parts here but it is often placed on the belly like a belt. Besides the tattoos, the necklaces of black and white beads and their cloth reminded us of the same objects seen at the Hogolus.

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- 1 Many of the names given by the islanders agreed with those of Father Cantova. I read on my list those of Frogoleu, Fevelle, Tola, Aki, Holé, Itot, etc.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is possible that this account was written by one of the two Englishmen (Scotts and O'Brien) that the **Coquille** left behind on Pis Island and who remained in Truk until April 1825 when they moved to Guam (See d'Urville 1828).
 - 3 Ed. note: May be a summary of Mertens' Paper (Doc. 1827C).
 - 4 *Ri-amall* at the Pelew Islands, according to Wilson.

A few men were armed with white sticks, some five feet in length, very polished and wide at the ends; the natives use them to counter balance their movements as they dance. Although of good faith in their trading, they nevertheless try to grab as much as possible what pleases them, and often it was the most useless things that took their fancy.

The names of their numbers that I was able to get are as follows:

1. - Yot.	20. - Twe.
2. - Ruk.	30. - Hehelie.
3. - Heol.	40. - Fat.
4. - Fan.	50. - Lime.
5. - Lim.	60. - Wone.
6. - Won.	70. - Fike.
7. - Fus.	80. - Walike.
8. - Wal.	90. - Tikwe.
9. - Tik.	
10. - Sek.	
11. - Sek yot.	100. - Yot ea putuk.
12. - Sek ruk.	200. - Tukaputuk.
13. - Sek heol.	300. - Hehaputuk.
14. - Sek fan.	400. - Fataputuk.
15. - Sek lim.	500. - Limaputuk.
16. - Sek won.	600. - Wonaputuk.
17. - Sek fus.	700. - Fikaputuk.
18. - Sek wal.	800. - Walaputuk.
19. - Sek tik.	900. - Tikaputuk.
	1,000. - Sangaras.
	10,000. - Sekangaras.

On July 1st, we searched for Lannunck [sic] [i.e. Lamurrek] Island in the position given for it by Malaspina¹ but we did not sight any land.

On the 3rd, during violent rain showers and gusts that foretold the winter season in this part of the Pacific Ocean, we sighted in the evening a wide reef on the surface of the water and covered with a few shrubs. This is the Piguelao [Pikelot] of Don Luis de Torres, the Bigelle of Kadu the Carolinian, situated at 8°12'30" Lat. N. and 145°29'3" Long. E.

On July 5th, the corvette **Coquille** was in sight of Satawal that Captain Wilson named Tucker Island, after a Swedish sailor whom he left there [in 1797]. This island, the last of the Caroline Islands that we sighted, is located at 7°21' Lat. N. and 144°46' Long. E. Satawal, which the natives pronounce Satoen and sometimes Satawel, is not more than one mile in diameter. Its inhabitants are excellent sailors and they make frequent voyages to Guam in order to obtain iron tools. It was in vain that we talked to them about Tucker; they seemed not to have kept any remembrance of him. Besides, they showed the greatest eagerness to get some iron, which they call *lulu*. In exchange, they offered to us some dry coconuts, fish, cloth, shells, coconut-coir ropes, necklaces

¹ Ed. note: See under 1792.

made of hair, and a few javelins of very hard red wood. Most of these natives were completely naked; only three or four among them wore only a Chinese hat. They are not different from the other Carolinians, neither by their tattoos nor by their cloth, or their nets; the construction of their proas, and the art of maneuvering them are identical. A few young men had *ixora* flowers in their hair. The temples of a few others were covered by a headband made of a whitish bark. Finally, leprosy had wreaked havoc upon this population also.

As of July 6th, we experienced frequent showers, dark nights and a heavy sea but nothing noteworthy happened in our crossing outside of the Caroline Islands.

On the 17th, the sea was beautiful and smooth, and became covered by animals of various species, above all some sea serpents. I went on the pursuit of the latter and was able to catch many of them. Soon, some tree trunks, tufts of *fucus* [algae], fruits, fish and rock crustaceans indicated to us that we were in the neighborhood of a large river pushing out the products of its delta.

On the 22th, we no longer noticed any vegetable debris. The sun's heat became unbearable. Our nets, dragging behind, were filled to overflowing with phyllosomes, pyrosomes, and zoophytes.

On the 24th, the high mountains of New Guinea appeared in the distance. On the morning of the 26th, we were at anchor deep inside Dorey Harbor on the northern tip of Papualand.¹

...

1 Ed. note: The *Coquille* remained there until August 9, reached Surabaya on August 28, Mauritius Island on October 2, then to St. Helena where the Frenchmen were scandalized to find out that Napoleon's former residence had become a stable.

G2. Medical reports by R.P. Lesson

Source: R.P. Lesson. Voyage médical autour du monde... (Paris 1829). See also Bibliography, under 1824.

Notes: This book is too repetitive to be reproduced in full. Only some new information not appearing in his later travelogue (above) will be extracted.

Some information extracted from this book.

[In the "warning" or preface of this work, he says that the senior surgeon aboard the **Coquille** was Mr. Garnot, but this man left the ship at Port Jackson on account of sickness. It was left to him to write the medical report, in accordance with military regulations, which he sent to the Inspector-General in charge of health services in the French Navy, upon his arrival at Marseille on 25 March 1825. There were no serious medical problems among the crew during this long voyage, thanks to normal precautions on board.]

The corvette **Coquille** had been destined to make of three-year voyage. She was a 380-ton ship,¹ with an open gun deck (guns exposed), and only one crowded level below deck. The crew consisted of 70 men, including the officers. The ship was provided with food for 18 months at departure time, an 8-month supply of drinking water, kept in iron tanks, and provided with the spare masts and rigging, etc. to take into account the nature of the voyage. Some woolen clothing, flannel coats and thick overcoats were provided to the sailors on board, to protect them from the rigors of the antarctic climates in the rainy and cold seasons. Some medicines had been selected to fight the illnesses that could affect every one of us. An iron filter, and a still to distill seawater, were judged to be useful items. Some copper bathtubs, placed below the shrouds, completed the list of object that we hoped to take advantage of for the welfare of our companions. Finally, some precious health instructions from the Inspector-General in charge of health services were to serve us as a guide.

...

XXV.

Crossing from New Zealand to Ualan, or Strong, Island.

From 17 April 1824 to 5 June following.

...

We had contact with the happy and peaceful people of Rotuma. Some English sailors, deserters from a whaling ship, lived among these kind and benevolent people. One of them obtained permission to join our company, but two convicts whom we had shipped at Sydney solicited permission to stay here.

The rapid passage from the cold and rainy weather of New Zealand to the torrid zone had an effect on the health of the sailors among our crew. Those suffering from

1 It is the same vessel, whose name has been changed to **Astrolabe** that has just completed another voyage of discovery under the command of Mr. Dumont D'Urville. Ed. comment: See 1828 documents.

gonorrhoea did not mind the heat, but a few men had some gastritis, anginas and temporary inflammatory fevers, illnesses that were not serious and that yielded readily to lemonades. Most of them had furuncles in varying quantity, and they had a cleansing effect on them, as they re-established the equilibrium between the mucous and cellular systems. Many lost their appetite during a few days. We prescribed baths for those who were affected by gonorrhoea, and for the crewmen...

The Englishman who came on board as a passenger, assured us that syphilis was unknown in this lucky country [i.e. Rotuma].¹

...
On the evening of 1 May, we pursued our voyage. On the 7th, we had the bad luck of losing our leeches, after they had been with us for about 20 months.

Soon we were coasting the groups of low-lying islands known under the names of Gilbert, Marshall and Musgrave Archipelagos. We had frequent contacts with their inhabitants who live miserably on coral islands that hardly rise above sea level. Most of them are affected by leprosy.

On the 5th [June], we recognized Ualan Island, remarkable by its elevation and its mountains, in the middle of coral archipelagos, such as the Carolines, Radak and Mulgraves.

[Sick list:] 3 with inflammatory fevers; 1 with gastritis; 1 with an ear infection; 1 with lice; 2 with coryza; 2 with acute rheumatism; 1 with sciatic; 1 with edema in the legs; 1 with gonorrhoean pustules; 3 with gonorrhoea; 1 with burns; 12 furuncles.

XXVI.

Stay at Ualan, or Strong, Island.
From 5 June 1824 to 15th following.

...
A young sailor named Louis Huon de Kérillou, thin and a nervous type, born in New South Wales of French parents, spent many hours on the reefs, half naked, chasing moray eels. That night he suffered from an indigestion caused by this fish. Soon he began to be affected by epileptic seizures, that occurred so frequently, becoming stronger, that for three days this patient was in a very low state, until it became critical. Fever and delirium took hold of this man and continued for many days, until the accidents yielded to active medication, based on revulsives, bleedings and anti-spasmodics.

One can only attribute to the climate a sort of aphtic lesions that appeared on the mouths of most of the people on board, as soon as we arrived at Ualan, and lasted for eight days.

[Sick list:] 1 with epileptic seizures, with fever; 1 with a wound; 1 with furuncles; a large number of individuals suffered from sun-burns and aphtic lesions.

1 Ed. note: This Englishman was named John, and was a peaceful and honest man, says Lesson. He related some medical practices that he had seen at Rotuma.

XXVII.

Crossing from Ualan Island to Derery (New Guinea).

From 15 June 1824 to 26 July following.

...

[English beachcombers left at Chuuk]

We discovered a few of the islands mentioned by Father Cantova. Among them, we found the Quiros, or Hogoleu, or Lugulu Islands. Two English sailors, former convicts whom we had taken on board at Port Jackson, asked to remain here.¹ The large number of Carolinians whom we saw there is enough for us to make the following generalization: this race is small in size, as most of them are below average in height. A few men, who seem to belong to the privileged class, had regular features, well-shaped bodies, a smooth and healthy skin. The common people are generally ugly; they are covered with scars, wounds, and large burns. Leprosy is common among them, and many had elephantiasis in the legs.

...

The inhabitants of the small Island of Tamatam [in Pulap atoll] showed me many examples of elephantiasis, rachitis, atrophy, etc. Two had hernias, and many had hydro-sarcocelus. We had never met so many illnesses together, among all the natives who had come alongside up to that time.

The illnesses treated on board were limited to osteoscopic pains, followed by a lasting syphilis; venereal lesions, replaced by an hemorrhage; an induration of the testicles caused by many gonorrhoeas whose irritation had spread to the scrotum; one edema of the legs, etc.

...

[Lesson then presents chapters on anthropology, in which he baptized the region now called Micronesia as Pelagic Mongols, that is, Mongoloid people of the sea. His theories, based on Father Le Gobien and other discredited authors, are way off the mark. That is why they are not worth reproducing here; he favored an origin from Japan for the peoples of Oceania. The presence of Choco, the Chinaman who fought Father Sanvitores in Guam in 1668, can hardly be considered a proof. In short, for Lesson, the Indians of the Spanish, including those of the continent of America, are all Mongoloid. What he says in this book about native customs, such as tattooing, have already appeared in the preceding travelogue. One interesting comment is but a coincidence: he sees a connection between the *chicha* of the Peruvians and the *shiaka* [sakau] of the Kosrae people. He makes too much of the ponchos of the Chileans and those of the Carolinians. However, the similarities of styles among Micronesian houses, canoes, languages, etc. are more useful because they are based on his own observations.]

¹ Ed. note: They were left at the islet named Pis on the northern reef barrier.



Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville.

 Documents 1824H

The Duperrey Expedition—Narratives of Dumont D'Urville

Note: This French officer was on his first visit to Micronesia. He soon returned in charge of his own expedition, then a third time, also as commander.

H1. His manuscript journal

Sources: Ms. 1602, Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris; the copy in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, under #B1300, has a few small transcription errors in it.

Journal of a voyage around the world,
undertaken aboard His Majesty's Corvette Coquille,
under the command of Mr. Duperrey, Navy Lieutenant.
by J. Dumont D'Urville

...
[Mili]

At 2:40, we were but 2-4 miles from it and we coasted it from the west to the north sides. It is another low-lying island consisting of reefs, sand banks and tufts of trees. On the beach we saw a beached canoe and six men following the shore. At 5:45, we headed W, then SW. At 7:15, reduced sail, and at 8, tacked to port with only the top-sails. During the night, fresh breeze from the east, cloudy sky, a few squalls, and some rain. At 1 a.m., set the top-gallant sails,

At noon, latitude observed 5°30'55" N. Longitude observed 169°41'34" E. [of Paris].

27 May.

Good breeze from ENE during the night. At daybreak, nice weather, cloudy horizon. At 4:50, increased sails and headed WSW.

Seen many schools of dolphins. Current from E rather strong. Afternoon, pretty breeze from N and ENE, sky cloudy. At 00:50 p.m., headed WNW. At 2:15, reduced sails. The horizon to the NE became clouded; thunder and a little rain. Dark night, rainy weather. At 8:30, tacked to port.

At noon, latitude observed 6°39'41" N. Longitude observed 168°43'37" E.

[Jaluit]

28 May.

Fresh wind from ENE and gusting, cloudy and rainy weather. At daybreak, nice breeze from E and ESE. Squalls, rain showers and scattered clouds. Headed WNW. At 11, the man on the look-out for shoals saw land in the NW and we made for it. Soon we were at a distance of 3-4 miles from it and we followed the shore until 6 p.m. over a distance of about 30 miles. This island which corresponds to the position for Bonham Island is a series of low islands, narrow and covered with trees. At 7 p.m., we lost sight of it toward the south. At 9, tacked to starboard and set the top-gallant sails.

At noon, latitude observed 5°52'27" N. Longitude observed 167°48'50" E.

29 May.¹

Good breeze from E and ENE, nice weather, cloudy sky. Fom 3 to 4, some rain showeres and lightning. At daybreak, set sail and headed W1/2NW. At 8:12, WSW. During the afternoon, light breeze from the E, cloudy sky nice weather. At 1, headed SW. The sailmaker cut some new canvas for a spare mizzen sail. At 8, tacked to starboard, under topsails only. The night very nice.

At noon, latitude observed 6°44'52" N. Longitude observed 166°39'26" E.

30 May.

Nice breeze from ENE and NW. Nice weather, a few clouds. The sea nice. At 4, received a gust of wind and rain, rather strong, in which the small topsail tore from the bottom up. At daybreak, it was replaced with the new one, and we headed SW.

After noon, nice breeze from NE, good weather. At 3:30, the lookout indicated a sail to SW. We made for her. At 6:15, we passed behind her and, her Captain having come aboard, we learned that the three-masted ship **Boston** of Nantucket was the American whaler that had departed from the Bay of Islands, N.Z., the same day we came in. Her crew was busy trying out a whale they caught yesterday. At 9:15, this man returned to his vessel. We tacked to starboard and during the night we kept seeing the lights of the whaleboats at a short distance.

At noon, latitude observed 6°22'19" N. Longitude observed 165°44'29" E.

31 May.

Nice breeze from NE and ENE. Very nice weather, a few clouds. At 5, increased sail and headed SSW. At 1, headed S. At 11:15, again SW. Large number of bonito and tuna fish in sight; one of the latter was caught with a line. Afternoon, nice breeze from the NE, superb weather and cloudy sky. Shortened sail at dusk. At 10, lied to starboard facing the wind. Night very clear.

At noon latitude observed 5°38'54" N. Longitude observed 165°1'38" E.

¹ Ed. note: This entry is missing from the Mitchell Library copy.

1 June.

Light breeze from NE and ENE. Nice weather, few clouds. Remained standing until 5:30. At that time, set sail and headed WSW. AT noon, the sky changed. The sea nice. In the evening, light breeze from ENE and NE, sky cloudy. At 12:40, headed W. Some dolphins, tuna and noddies at night. At 10, lied to starboard to face the wind. The breeze has picked up a bit.

At noon, latitude observed 5°6'8" N. Longitude observed 164°12'20" E.

2 June.

Nice breeze from NE and ENE. Good weather. A few clouds and intermittent rain. At 5, headed W under full sail. Frigate birds, boobies, noddies, sea-swallows, bonitos and flying-fish. Afternoon, nice breeze from ENE, cloudy sky. At 12:15 p.m., headed WNW. At 2:06, W1/2[N]W. At 6, the northern horizon darkened. At 10, lied to, top-sail set. A booby let itself be caught on the top-gallant yard.

At noon, latitude observed 6°2'57" N. Longitude observed 162°57'12" E.

[Kosrae]

3 June.

Light breeze from NE and ENE, slowly increasing in strength. Rather strong rain squalls, full of lightning. At 8, hove to port facing the wind. At daybreak, cloudy sky and continuous rain. At 5:30 headed WSW. Some boobies and many bonitos in sight. At 11, the lookout indicated a high land that we saw from the deck at a great distance. We headed toward its northern point, and at 4, we were only about 6 miles from it. The island is covered with vegetation, and a sand beach lines the northern part. On the east coast, there appears to be a great inlet where many huts can be seen. We saw six natives walking on the beach. At 5:25, we rounded the northern part, and were only about 4 miles from the coast when we veered and tacked to starboard. We ran off shore until midnight, when we tacked back.

At noon, the S point of the south part of Strong Island bore W16°N, the N point bore NW11°30'W, the S point of the north part bore W16°N, the N point of same W17°N.

At noon, latitude observed 5°7'49" N. Longitude observed 161°23'3" E.

4 June.

Light breeze from NE. Rather good weather. It was only at 5:10 that we saw the island again in the SW distant 18 miles at least. At 6, we headed for it and at 8:30 we were once more at about 4-1/2 miles from the long northern beach. Four canoes with 6-8 men in each were following the shore. We went around a good part of the island, looking for a suitable anchorage and, upon arriving at the S point, Mr. de Blossville was sent in the whaleboat to survey the coast, while we maintained our position at a short distance. At 12:50, he came back without having found any suitable place to drop anchor. Then, we tacked to starboard in order to get back to the western coast where the

reef seems to form a small bay in front of a line of mangrove trees. At 8, as we were only about one mile from it, we thought we could see an anchorage ahead of us. So, Mr. Bérard was sent to survey it. At 6, he was back and he reported that there was one but very narrow and, in order to get into it, the wind was dead ahead. Consequently, we stood off and postponed the attempt until the next day. The night was superb and we tacked back and forth at ten miles from the coast.

At noon, latitude observed $5^{\circ}18'28''$ N. Longitude observed $160^{\circ}35'32''$ E.

At midnight, the N point of Strong Island bore $E27^{\circ}S$, the SW point bore $S20^{\circ}E$.

5 June.

Nice breeze from ENE and NE. Very good weather. The sea calm. At 6, set sail and headed for the lagoon which is off the west part of the island. At 8, Mr. Bérard was sent in the light boat to survey it again. At 10, he was back saying that there was a pass through the reef and that inside there was a good anchorage. The big boat was lowered and a kedge anchor was put into it, then we immediately headed for the pass. At 11:20, we were in the middle of the entrance and the wind being dead ahead, we dropped a kedge anchor in 52 fathoms, bottom of coarse sand and broken shells. We then worked at towing ourselves into the lagoon by means of chains and anchors.

Meanwhile, the islanders, gathered in large number upon the reef, watched us attentively. They are entirely naked except for the "maro" which, for both sexes, hides but the sexual parts. Even though they are inclined to steal, they are gay, kind and peaceful by nature. At nightfall, finding ourselves inside the harbor, we held on with 50 fathoms of line to the big kedge anchors in the south and in the north, the small cable with 75 fathoms of double chain on the end. The two kedge anchors did remain fixed to the bottom. During the night, almost calm, nice moonlight.

6 June.

Calm in the morning, light breeze from ENE and E during the day. Superb weather. At 5, réveillé and work to find a fixed anchorage. This work was not completed until 10:30 and we stayed thus lined up NNE-SSW with the cable entirely out on each side. The boat recovered the kedge anchors. All day long, the natives in their canoes surrounded the ship and traded fruits and "maros" for nails and iron objects. A few tried to steal some iron objects but the great majority behaved very well.

At noon, position of the anchorage, the W point of the island bore $S41^{\circ}W$, the S point of the pass through the reef $S61^{\circ}W$, the observatory $N69^{\circ}E$.

7 June.

Calm in the morning, fresh winds from ESE during the day, calm in the evening. Superb weather, some haze. The boat made two voyages to get water. Watering is rather easy but the water is a little salty as the sea goes in at high tide. The natives have continued to behave with much kindness. A tide-measuring device was installed upon the reef.

Water levels: high tide 12 ft. 6 in.; low tide 12 ft. 1 in. 6 lines. Difference: 2 ft. 4 in. 6 lines.

8 June.

Dead calm or very weak breezes during the day. Very good weather, high temperature. The boat went for water twice. The officers have begun mapping the bay. Various canoes came alongside and the natives have started to bring fish, coconuts and bananas.

9 June.

Calm in the morning, light breeze from NE and NNE. Superb weather and a few clouds. The boat made two trips for water. The officers continue surveying the harbor. The small topsail, the old one having been repaired, was put it back in place of the new one. A small number of natives continue to come aboard. Sky covered during the night, a few rain drops.

10 June.

Calm in the morning, light breeze from the S and SE, cloudy sky, intermittent rain showers. The boat went for water twice and all the empty casks in both holds have been filled, which amounts to 45 casks of water on board.¹ In the evening, at 5, we received a squall from the NE with wind and strong rain until 6. Then calm. Rain during the night. I am almost convinced now that [blank]² and Strong Island correspond to Ualan and this is the name I will use from now on.

Water levels: high 12 ft. 5 in. 6, low 10 ft. 6 in. 6. Difference 1 ft. 11 in. 10.

11 June.

Light breeze from NE variable from NE, variable from E. Good weather. Some clouds and rain showers. At 2:30, Mr. Bérard and Mr. Lottin left in the big boat to go around Ualan Island. An eight-man team worked all day to cut wood on Observatory Island,³ Almost calm in the evening. The boat went to get the wood that had been cut. The sky was covered and it rained during the night.

12 June.

Calm in the morning, variable winds from E and ESE; rather good weather, cloudy sky and heavy intermittent downpours. A seven-man team was employed cutting wood near the watering place. The showers increased at about noon, and became longer lasting. At 5:50, the boat arrived back on board loaded with wood. Sky overcast during the night.

1 Ed. note: This was in addition to their iron tanks and their desalination unit.

2 Ed. note: Hope ws probably the name left out.

3 Ed. note: Map n° 28 in the Atlas shows that the observatory was set up on the first islet lying NE of the anchorage. Its position was determined as 5°21' lat. N. and 160°41' long. E. of Paris.

13 June.

Irregular and variable winds from the NE, E and ESE, sky very overcast. Frequent showers. At 5:30, sent the boat to the watering place to refill the spare casks. At 9, the big boat returned on board, after having gone around the island. Afternoon, checked the guys for the top-mast. Put back the hybrid anchor at the cat-head. Took in the boat, and put the SW cable on the capstan. Sky overcast during the night, frequent showers. At midnight, some strong squalls passed through.

14 June.

Overcast sky and intermittent rain. Wind from E, showers and squalls. At daybreak, the sky became stormy. Veered upon the starboard anchor that we dragged and relieved; then upon the port one in order to get the end of the cable. The anchor chain was tightened and the starboard anchor weighed. We then veered on the port anchor until we had only the cable out and we held fast. During the night, rather good weather; the squalls returned.

15 June.

Nice breeze from NE and E with strong squalls and good weather during the night. At daybreak, very good weather and light breeze, very steady. After réveillé, we took in the starboard chain from behind in order to use it as a spring anchor, to get under way. We then veered on the big port anchor. At 7:25, it was up. We then veered on the chain. At 7:50, dragged the kedge anchor, set the top-gallant sail and the jib and got out of the bay, pushed by a nice light breeze from NE. At 8, we were outside and we increased our canvas. At 9:30, took the big boat on board. At 10, headed NNW.

At 10, the N point of Ualan Island bore E18°S, the great peak bore E41°30'S, the S point E77°S.

At noon, latitude observed 5°34'32" N. Longitude estimated 160°41'22" E.

16 June.

Good breeze from NE, ENE and E. Good weather with overcast sky. At daybreak, headed W and set sail. Continuous and heavy rain almost all day. We saw bonitos and caught one. At 4, the wind shifted to SSW and abated at the same time. At 9:30, it returned to ENE. The rain ceased and the sky cleared. Short tacks with reduced sail during the night.

At noon, latitude observed 6°12'20" N. Longitude estimated 159°50'16" E.

[Pingelap]

17 June.

Light breeze from NE and ENE, very nice weather, a few clouds. At daybreak, headed W. At 9:45, spotted a low-lying island to the SW1/4S. At 12:30, we saw that it consisted of two small islands and one islet in the same lagoon, surrounded by the same reef. At 1:15, we hove to and many canoes came alongside bringing only coconuts.

breadfruits and a few roots of the giant taro. At 2, we again headed W and at 3:45, we lost sight of the MacAskill Islands in the E1/4SE. Spent the night making short tacks.

At noon, latitude observed 6°16'59" N. Longitude observed 158°37' E.

[Mokil]

18 June.

Nice breeze from NE and ENE, gusting, good weather, overcast sky. At daybreak, headed NW1/4W. At 6:10, the lookout indicated low land to the WSW. We headed for it, and soon we found ourselves at 1-1/2 miles from the south point. We then distinguished three small, low-lying islands in the same lagoon and surrounded by a common reef without any pass. We hove to in the lee of the island and two canoes with 8-10 natives came alongside. They brought only a few coconuts and asked for iron ("lulu"). At 9:40, we got under way and headed W34°N. At 12:55 p.m., we lost sight of the land from the deck. Good breeze from NE during the afternoon. At 2:30, received a small gust of wind and rain. Saw some frigate birds. The night was very beautiful. The swell abated.

At noon, latitude observed 6°49'43" N. Longitude observed 157°24'7" E.¹

19 June.

Light breeze from the E and NNE, nice weather, overcast sky, swell from the E. At daybreak, headed NW1/4W. The old top-gallant sail was condemned and replaced by a new one. Afternoon, nice variable breeze from NE and E. At nightfall, reduced sail and ran short tacks.

At noon, latitude observed 7°53'28" N. Longitude observed 155,16745'22" E.

20 June.

Light breeze from ENE, NE and NNE, same weather, hazy sky. At daybreak, headed SW1/4W. While hauling up the Royal yard, it broke and the carpenter is employed making a new one. At 11, headed WSW. Afternoon, light breeze from ENE, superb weather. Saw many brown petrels and some boobies. Spent the night on short tacks.

At noon, latitude observed 8°39'49" N. Longitude observed 154°40'6" E.

21 June.

Nice breeze from ENE and E, nice weather, swell from the E. At daybreak, increased sail and headed WSW. During the evening, nice breeze from ENE, very nice weather, a few clouds. At nightfall, reduced sail and ran on short tacks. Many boobies in sight.

At noon, latitude observed 8°26'49" N. Longitude observed 155°21'1" E.

1 Ed. note Little did they know how close they were to Pohnpei.

22 June.

Nice breeze from ESE, variable to ENE. At 12:30 a.m., received a heavy downpour. At 5:15, headed WSW. The sea very good. Afternoon, light breeze from ENE and SE, sky overcast and rainy. Rain from 2:30 to 4. Saw some boobies and dolphins. On short tacks during the night.

At noon, latitude observed 8°15'53" N. Longitude observed 151°53'7" E.

[Nama]

23 June.

Nice breeze from the E and ENE, rather nice weather, intermittent rain. At 5:15, headed SW and at 8, SSW. Saw many boobies. Afternoon, rainy weather, continuous rain from 3 to 4. At 6:15, the lookout sighted low-lying land to SW.¹ At nightfall, reduced sail and tacked to starboard to get away from it.

At noon, latitude observed 7°38'29" N. Longitude observed 151°5'1" E.

[Chuuk]

24 June.

Light breeze from ENE, variable to ESE. Nice weather, a few squalls. At 5, headed S. At 6:55, the lookout sighted a high land toward the WSW and we headed for it. At 8, we began to see it from the deck. At 11, received a rain squall. At 1:40, we were only about 7 miles from the islands sighted, and they appeared in the shape of many high islands, dotted with many low islands and surrounded by reefs. We gradually moved northward in order to gain the lee side. At 5:40, tacked to starboard for the night that turned out to be very beautiful.

At noon, latitude observed 7°25'50" N. Longitude observed 150°9'30" E.

25 June.

Light breeze from the E during the night. Today, we saw land in the SSW at a great distance, and we headed WSW. The wind freshened and at 7, we found ourselves at 3-4 miles from the islands. We continued to follow the reef at a distance of 3-4 miles. A large number of Carolinian proas came alongside and traded some pieces of cloth for knives. The inhabitants gave us the names of their islands and we recognized many of those given by Cantova. The two Englishmen Scotts and O'Brien asked to remain in these islands and they were given permission to do so.² At 2, we headed for the westernmost points of the islands, but the sky, which had become increasingly threatening, gave us a thick squall. We tacked to N to get away from the land. Rather good weather during the night which we spent making short tacks.

At noon, latitude observed 7°41'4" N. Longitude observed 149°33'49" E.

1 Ed. note: D'Urville was to find out later that Captain Duperrey had named this island after him.

2 Ed. note: These Englishmen remained in Chuuk until April 1825, according to d'Urville himself (see under 1828), then they went to Guam.

26 June.

Light breeze from ESE and SE. Rather nice weather during the night. At 6, saw the islands once again in the SE distant 5-6 miles and tacked to get near them. At noon, we went by them at a distance of 3-4 miles, and at 5 the sky became threatening everywhere and gave us abundant rain showers. We continued to follow the reefs and the low-lying lands until 6:35 when we headed north to get away from the islands and spend the night under reduced sail.

At noon, latitude observed 7°41'10" N. Longitude observed 149°14'45" E.

27 June.

Light breezes from ENE and NE during the night. At daybreak, sighted land in the ESE. At 5:30, headed SE1/4S. As we were getting nearer, new low-lying lands were discovered in the distance and forced us to veer little by little. The weather is always rainy and the high lands are most often covered with clouds. The canoes at the poop traded with us. At 4:40, the whole survey of this group being almost complete, we turned around and headed NW. At 11, the sky threatened, the wind jumped to NE, and at 11:30, we got a heavy squall, loaded with rain and wind. Tacked to starboard.

At noon, latitude observed 7°13'10" N. Longitude observed 149°18' E.

28 June.

Light breeze from NNE, NE and E. At midnight, rain stopped and we steered W1/4NW. All night, rains and stormy weather. From 8 to noon, almost calm. In the evening, overcast and rainy weather with frequent and abundant rain. Saw some dolphins and bonitos. At 3, the land in the ENE could still be seen.

At noon, latitude observed 7°18'14" N. Longitude estimated 149°0'59" E.

29 June.

Light breeze from NE and ENE, nice weather. At 1, headed NW. At 5, headed W1/4NW. Slack winds but gusty, afternoon, light breeze from E, overcast and almost continuous rain. At 4:30, the rain stopped and the sky cleared. On short tacks during the night. At 11, sounded without finding bottom at 150 fathoms.

At noon, latitude observed 7°12'30" N. Longitude observed 148°7'42" E.

[Pulap]

30 June.

Light breeze from ESE and SE, good weather. At 5, under way toward the WNW. At 5:30, the lookout looking for shoals announced land to the W1/4NW. At 10, we were only 2-3 miles from the nearest; they were the low islands of Tamatam, Fanadik and Pulap. A large number of proas surrounded us and the natives traded peacefully with us. Afternoon, good breeze with gusts and rain squalls. At 2:30, we lost sight of the land and headed N and NNE. At nightfall, reduced sail and made short tacks.

At noon, latitude observed 7°39' N. Longitude by calculation 147°15' E.

1 July.

Variable winds from ENE and E with rain squalls and gusts. Choppy sea. At 5:30, under way again. At 8, headed WNW. During the evening, sky overcast, very variable. A small shark was caught and it was distributed among the crew. Slack winds throughout the night.

At noon, latitude observed 8°57'29" N. Longitude observed 146°48'22" E.

2 July.

Calm and light breezes from NNE and ENE, some showers and heavy seas. At 8, the end of the main topmast yard fell into the sea, and the small boat went to recover it. Afternoon, light breeze from SSE and S. Overcast, saw a large number of dolphins around the ship. During the night, the wind shifted to SSW and at midnight we tacked to starboard with only the topsails.

At noon, latitude observed 8°57'46" N. Longitude observed 145°59'52" E.

[Pikelot]

3 July.

Light wind from SSW varying to SW and W. Rather good weather, the sea high. Tacked to starboard. At daybreak, a few rain drops. The sailmakers are employed at making a new awning for the poop deck. At 3, after a shower, we suddenly sighted a small islet covered with trees, about 6 miles distant. At 6, the sky became overcast and we headed SSE to get near the land. At 6:30, it disappeared from view. Many squalls lines were seen and one small one hit us. Throughout the night, foggy weather, light rain.

At noon, latitude observed 8°21'18" N. Longitude observed 145°30'47" E.

4 July.

Good breeze from the W, varying to WSW and WNW. Sky threatening all around, frequent squalls and continuous rain. At 3, tacked to starboard. At 6 and 11, received two rather strong showers. Afternoon, nice breeze from the W. At 10, the sky became overcast, the rain showers started again and the rain was steady until midnight. During the day, we saw sea birds and at night we could hear their cries.

At noon, latitude observed 7°17'15" N. Longitude observed 145°16'6" E.

[Satawal]

5 July.

Good breeze from the W, cloudy, continuous rain. At 2, tacked to port. At 8:45, the lookout announced a low-lying land to NNW and at 10:30, we were only about 3 miles from its south point. Many canoes came alongside the ship and the natives clearly pronounced the name of Satawan for their island. By the way, the people are absolutely similar to those of the other Carolines. At 11:30, we headed NW1/4E. The sky was rainy

and often hid the view of the island. Afternoon, same weather. At 12:30 p.m., we tacked to starboard and at 2:50 we lost sight of the island. Swell from the west.

At noon, latitude estimated 7°30' N. Longitude estimated 146°50'6" E.

6 July.

Light breeze from the WNW varying to W. Overcast, intermittent rain. At 6, the lookout sighted the whole of Satawan Island once again in the NW. At 9:15, received a strong gust of wind with rain. At 11, during a second downpour, the island disappeared in the NW and we never saw it again. Afternoon, same frequent wind and rain. Kept on a long tack to starboard. At about 10 p.m., the wind seemed to stabilize from NE and we headed NW.

At noon, latitude observed 7°5'24" N. Longitude 145°2'13" E.

7 July.

Sky very overcast, good breeze from NE and E accompanied by gusts and abundant rain. Almost calm, from 4 to 6. or fresh puffs from W and S, continuous rain. At 4, let go 120 fathoms of line without finding bottom. Afternoon, nice westerly breeze. At 12:30 p.m., a heavy downpour with a little wind. We noticed that the extension to the small topgallant mast on the starboard side was broken and we strengthened it by means of lashings. The night very nice, the wind always westerly.

At noon, latitude observed 6°50'11" N. Longitude observed 144°27'31" E.

8 July.

Light breeze from the W, varying to WSW and SW. Sky overcast but nice weather. The sea very calm. Tacked to starboard. Saw some frigate birds, black petrels and sea swallows. Afternoon, nice breeze from SSW varying to NW. Rather good weather. At 2:45, showers in the west and the wind blew with gusts from WSW. All night, overcast, light rain, the wind abating slowly and at midnight almost calm. Rather strong swell from the west.

9 July.

Light breeze from NW, followed by calm all morning, sky overcast and heavy sea. At 10, the sky threatened in the west and there occurred abundant and continuous showers until 3 p.m. Afternoon, fresh breeze varying from NW and SW. Sky overcast. At 3:30, we saw a piece of wood standing straight up pass by at 3-4 cable lengths from us. Light breeze from WNW during the night.

At noon, latitude estimated 4°43'7" N. Longitude 144°4'31" E.

10 July.

...
At noon, latitude estimated 4°11'9" N. Longitude observed 143°39'15" E.

11 July.

...

Hardly moving, 2 knots under full sail...

12 July.

...

Pieces of wood passed alongside...

At noon, latitude estimated 2°51'21" N. Longitude observed 142°58'18" E.

...

H2. His published narrative

Source: Dumont D'Urville. Voyage pittoresque autour du monde (2 volumes, Paris, Tenré, 1834).

Notes: This book is but a collection of voyages, mostly by other authors, except for the following part about Kosrae, which is based mostly on his own experience; it appears in his Vol. 2, pp. 454-468. This French text has already been translated by Lynn Ritter.

Editor's summary.

Following the earlier visit to Lele Island made by Lesson and de Blosseville, d'Urville decided to follow the inland trail by himself on 7 June 1824.

He had a hard time to hire a guide at the village of Lual. Finally, enticed by an offer of a reward, a native accepted, but took a few minutes to "dress" himself suitably to appear before the high chiefs of the Island: he simply gathered his hair on top of his head, put on a new belt, and placed a shell on his lower lip.

They walked past many small garden plots, that were very well attended to, surrounded by enclosures, and called *loms*.¹ The trail that followed the mangrove shore was often very muddy. After about 45 minutes, they reached a village with 40 or so residents. Some of them dared to approach the Frenchmen and asked permission to touch, and smell, their white skin. They were given some glass beads, nails and knives.

Many of these people joined the travelling party. The trail then ascended for several leagues. They saw few insects, except butterflies. After they had passed the summit, the trail followed a creek most of the time. They soon came to a valley with several streams and sugarcane plantations. After a short rest at a roadside shelter, the trail improved, and soon they reached a large river where two canoes were waiting for them. They were then near the mouth of this river and Lele Harbor. It had taken the party 2-1/2 hours to go from Coquille Harbor to Lele Harbor.

The rest of his description has to do with Lele Island, and contains no new information, except for his humorous story about the old king who tried to force him to remove his clothes, in order "to find out if he was man or woman."

At 5:30 p.m., d'Urville and his companions were back on board ship.

1 Ed. note: He simply pointed at his own place, as *lohm sihk* means "my land or shelter."



Following the inland trail, Kosrae, 1824. (From Dumont D'Urville's *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 22, O. 462).

Document 1824I

The Duperrey Expedition—Narrative of Lieut. Jacquinot

Source: ANP 5JJ82 (MCF), Cahier n°3, Jacquinot.

Note: The officers' common navigation log, not reproduced here (because it would be too repetitive) is to be found in ANP Marine 5JJ80B.

Original text in French.

3 juin [1824, page 130]

*Le 3 au jour, le ciel était toujours couvert, mais les grains de pluie plus légères & moins fréquentes. Nous [avons] gouvernés à l'O 1/2 Sud pour prendre connaissance de l'île **Strong** qui à 11h fut signalé droit devant nous. à midi nous étions à l'ONO 1/2 N, gouvernat a mis au vent de l'île Strong qui s'étend du nord au Sud. elle est très élevée, formée en général par de grandes montagnes découpées par un grand nombre de pitons et couvertes d'une végétation abondante; elle parait bordée presque partout d'une li-sière basse et boisée sur la quelle nous remarquames des plages de sable fort étendues. étant à plusieurs milles dans l'est, la partie Nord est remarquable en ce qu'elle est formé par une montagne qui finit en plateau, et qui presqu'à pic du côté du Sud se termine dans le nord par une pointe très belle. L'intention du capitaine étant de reconnaître le lendemain la partie de l'ouest, nous nous tinmes sur les petits bords pendant la nuit.*

Le 4 au jour, l'île nous restait dans le SO à environ dix huit milles. Nous l'approchames gouvernant au peu au large de la pointe NO, d'ou par une Chaine de récifs qui s'étend à une assez grande distance dans l'ouest. assitôt après avoir dépassé cette bande, nous fimes route sur la pointe SO d'ou partent également des récifs qui forment avec la côte un lagon large, mais ne presentent aucune ouverture. à 2h1/2 du soir nous avions presqu'entièrement exploré le tour de l'île.

5. Le lendemain nous gouvernemes pour nous rapprocher des récifs qui se trouvent à la pointe NO, et à 8h monsieur Bérard fut envoyé dans le grand canot pour chercher un mouillage dans une coupure qui avait été remarquée la veille. à 10h il était de retour, ayant trouvé un lieu convenable pour mettre le navire à l'abri, en dedans des récifs. Nous portames aussitôt dessus, et à 11h20' nous mouillames une ancre à jet au milieu de l'entrée par 52 brasses fond de gros sable mêlé de coquilles brisées. L'on travailla immédiatement à haler le navire en dedans mais ce ne fut que le lendemain que nous pumes

l'amarrer à poste, affourché NNE et SSO avec un cable entier dans chacune de ces directions. obser.

Relèvement du mouillage. *la pointe Ouest de l'île au S. 41° O.*

la pointe Sud du récif (entrée) S. 61° O.

la pointe N. de id. O. 10° S.

la pointe NO de l'île N. 34° E.

l'observatoire N 65° E.

[page 131]

Séjour à l'île Hualan.

Dès le lendemain de notre arrivée, Messieurs Lesson et Blosserville pénétraient dans l'intérieur, et parvinrent sur la côte orientale de l'île, dans la baie où se trouve la petite île de Lélé, séjour du chef principal, et le hameau le plus considérable.

Sur leur rapport, nous formames le projet de nous y rendre, Messieurs D'Urville, Lottin, Bérard, Gabert & moi, avec l'intention de faire une visite au roi, et de lui porter quelques présents.

Nous quittames le bord, le 7 à 6h du matin, et nous nous rendimes premièrement dans une habitation au fond du havre, afin d'engager quelques naturels à nous servir de guides dans cette course que nous tentions pour la première fois. à notre première invitation, deux ou trois s'offrirent, et nous nous mimes aussitôt en route par un sentier étroit inégal et bourbeux, qui se dirige d'abord au Sud pendant l'espace de deux à trois milles. la vue bornée de chaque côté par une végétation épaisse et rigoureuse. L'attention continuelle qu'on est obligé de faire pour éviter les endroits trop glissants, les branches qui nuisent au passage, rendent le chemin monotone, fatigant et ennuyeux. de tems à autre, la vue est à la vérité récréée par quelques cases qui se présentent au milieu de plantations de cannes à sucre cultivées avec soin et limitées de chaque côté par de jolies haies vives; mais ces accidents sont rares, et ne compensent pas l'uniformité assommante de cette première partie du voyage. Le naturaliste seul, qui souvent se trouve récompensé de ses primes par un brin d'herbe au quel il attache de l'intérêt, et qui s'attend à en rencontrer à chaque pas, peut trouver du plaisir à se frayer un chemin au milieu de ces forêts; mais celui qui comme moi est étranger à la science, ne soupire qu'après l'instant où il en sortira, et où il pourra marcher librement.

Il y avait environ cinq quarts d'heure que nous étions en route, et nous avions plusieurs fois traversé des ruisseaux qui roulent avec onde limpide et excellente, lorsque nos conducteurs nous firent entrer dans une maison où nous trouvames une société d'hommes assez nombreuse: à notre approche plusieurs femmes en étaient sorties, et elles se tenrent dehors avec leurs enfants tout le tems que dura notre halte. nous éprouvames bientôt les effets d'une hospitalité franche et générale: du fruit à pain cuisait sur des pierres chaudes dans un four semblable à ceux de Tahiti et placé dans l'intérieur de la case; un de nos hôtes préparait de l'ava [sic]; nous fumes engagés à en prendre notre part d'une manière cordiale et désintéressée dont nous tinmes compte de bien bon coeur en laissant à cette famille quelques bagatelles européennes que nous savions devoir lui

faire plaisir. nous nous remimes bientôt en marche, et déclinant sensiblement vers l'est, nous arrivâmes au pied d'une colline assez rapide, mais peu élevée] dont nous atteignîmes le sommet en quelques minutes. de l'autre côté, la pente est douce, et l'on arrive au bas en marchant dans un torrent [p. 132] peu rapide dont le lit est raboteux et garni de grosses pierres.

Ce pay[s] une fois franchi, l'aspect devient plus riant, et l'oeil sort avec plaisir des entraves où il a été enchaîné jusqu'alors. Le sentier traverse une plaine assez étendue garnie d'arumes à grosses racines et de plantations de cannes à sucre. dans ces dernières où le terrain est déblayé avec soin, sont répandues de petites cases qui indiquent autant de tombeaux, et qui montrent le respect que ces insulaires ont pour les morts.

Le bruit des vagues brisant sur le récif, annonça bientôt que nous touchions au terme de notre course; mais les palétuviers qui commençaient à reparaitre nous cachaient encore la vue de la mer. comme nous avions annoncé sur notre route que nous allions rendre visite au chef de l'île, et que nous avions montré quelques uns des cadeaux qui lui étaient destinés, la nouvelle en avait été promptement portée; car deux pirogues parurent remontant une rivière qui se jette dans la rade à environ un deux milles de l'endroit où nous étions alors, et un chef qui montait l'une d'elle nous fit signe d'en entrer.

L'île de Lélé se présentent bientôt à nous, et les nombreux rassemblements que nous apercevions sur différentes pointes, annonçaient assez que des hommes de notre couleur étaient un objet de nouveauté et de curiosité pour cette peuplade. nous débarquâmes au milieu d'un grand concours, et quelques chefs nous conduisirent aussitôt dans une vaste maison où ils nous laissèrent, faisant signe qu'ils allaient prévenir le roi de notre arrivée. Le local où nous étions n'avait pas l'apparence d'être ordinairement habité, et nous présumâmes qu'il était destiné aux conférences des chefs. La foule se tenait à une vingtaine de pas, les femmes et les hommes formant deux groupes séparés, et se tenant accroupies.

Le roi ne tarda pas à paraître. Vieux, décrépi et malade, il avait peine à se soutenir sur ses frêles jambes; il était tout aussi simplement orné que le dernier des naturels. nous nous levâmes à son arrivée, et fumes au devant de lui. le silence que tout le monde observait alors, l'attitude dans la quelle tous se tenaient, nous donnèrent une idée de l'autorité dont il jouissait, et des égards dont il était l'objet. dès qu'il se fut assis, monsieur Gabert lui présenta une belle hache emmanchée, et chacun de nous ensuite offrit son présent consistant en cloux, mouchoirs, couteaux & colliers. Chaque article excitait l'étonnement de l'assemblée, et le cri d'admiration (bouéééé) propre à ces insulaires, était sans cesse répété la curiosité devint bientôt assez forte, pour que la foule s'oubliait un instant, et s'approchât peu à peu; mais un des chefs venant à s'apercevoir de ce mouvement, se leva en coléré, et renversant les premiers, les força à rentrer dans leurs limites primitives. sur ces entrefaites, la femme du roi arriva, et se mit à la porte en dehors, ayant auprès d'elle plusieurs de [p. 133] ses compagnes. nous lui fîmes quelques présents qui pouvaient lui rendre beaucoup de plaisir, et qui passant bientôt de main en main donnèrent lieu à des mouvements de surprise et à des exclamations d'étonnement.

Le vieux chef ne voulant pas sans doute rester en arriere, fit apporter quelques cocos et fruits à pain, et distribua à chacun de nous deux maros, neufs à la vérité, mais d'un travail lache, grossiers, sans ornements, et peu dignes de la munificence royale. nous fumes bientôt convaincus que nous avions été trop généreux dans le principe, et qu'il eu mieux valu lui faire nos cadeaux peu à peu, et à différentes intervalles; car tout ce qu'il apercevait dans nos mains lui faisait envie, et tel qu'un enfant il ne cessait de tourmenter pour l'obtenir. Monsieur Bérard ayant sorti une fiole dans la quelle était du rum, fut forcé de la lui abandonner pour se délivrer de ses importunités.

Durant cette visite, la personne de chacun de nous fut soumise à un examen et à des attouchements continuels. Le roi et les chefs ne cessaient de nous découvrir la poitrine,] les bras et les jambes, et paraissaient ne pouvoir comprendre la différence de couleur qui existait entre eux et nous; l'étonnement se peignait sur leurs visages, et ils se manifestaient par leur cri accoutumé le roi qui par sa vieillesse est retombé dans l'enfance, ne se contentait pas de toucher et de regarder; il frappait autant que pouvaient le permettre ses débiles forces. il engagea longtems un de nous à lui montrer ses parties naturelles, et parut fâché qu'on ne voulut pas lui donner ce spectacle.

Fatigués de rester avec ce vieillard dont l'ambition ne pouvait être satisfaite, tant qu'il nous supposait possesseurs encore de quelques objets; désireux d'ailleurs de parcourir l'île, et de pouvoir saisir quelques unes des coutumes de ce peuple qui suivant toutes les apparences était visité pour la première fois par des européens nous nous levames au grand déplaisir des assistants, et nous sortimes sans plus de cérémonie.

L'île de Lélé s'étend est et ouest, et a un peu moins d'un mille de longueur; sa plus grande largeur est d'un tiers de mille. l'extrémité orientale est couronnée par un piton assez élevé. la partie ouest où sont principalement les habitations est basse et entourée partout de murailles en pierres que les naturels ont construites afin d'arrêter l'eau qui dans les hautes marées irait inquiéter les cases bâties sur les bords. plusieurs rues également limitées par des murs la coupent et la traversent en divers sens. Couverte d'une riche végétation, garnie en quelques endroits de touffes de cocotiers, elle inspire l'idée d'un séjour agréable, chaque groupe de maisons occupe un site pittoresque, et présente dans son ensemble un charmant paysage. notre présence ayant attiré une grande partie [p. 134] de la population de Hualan, il nous fut guère possible ce jour là d'évaluer celle de la petite île de Lélé qui cependant doit bien aller à cinq cents individus. la quantité de chefs qui nous eumes occasion d'y voir n'est nullement en rapport avec le nombre des naturels; l'autorité dont ils paraissent jouir, le respect qu'on leur porte, le despotisme qu'ils semblent exercer, donnent une faible idée dont jouissent les dernières classes.

La demeure d'un chef, ou d'un huros (c'est le nom qu'il porte) est signalée par son élévation, l'élégance de la construction, la propreté de l'intérieur. quelques unes ont jusqu'à cinquante pieds de haut, et sont proportionnées dans les autres dimensions. Les toits inclinés descendent environ jusqu'à six pieds du sol, sont recouverts de feuilles de cannes à sucre placés sur des baguettes suivant la maniere que pratiquent les Tahitiens, et reposent sur une charpente légère. Larête supérieure arquée en forme de cintre, et

donne à chaque extrémité l'apparence d'une haute cheminée. Chaque côté de la maison dans le sens de la largeur, est formé à moitié par une muraille verticale en lattes peintes de diverses couleurs et affutant différents dessins; celle muraille rentre de plusieurs pieds en dedans du toit principal; et là ou elle finit prend naissance un autre toit, dont l'inclination est mesurée de manière à aller prendre le niveau du premier. deux ou trois poutres placées en dedans dans le sens de la largeur et reposant sur des pieus, servent de points d'appui à des époutilles qui partent du faite, et qui vont s'unir à elles au moyen d'amarrages en cordes artistement faits et très solides.

Le sol dans l'intérieur est divisé en plusieurs parties par de longues pièces de bois équarées, d'environ un pied de côté; chacun de ces compartiments est garni de treillages en cannes, à l'exception de celui du milieu qui ordinairement est occupé par les foyers. Celui d'une des extrémités est séparé par une palissade de quatre ou cinq pieds de haut, et forme l'endroit destiné au repos. dans chaque angle de la maison, à quelques pieds au dessus du parquet, est une claie pour recevoir divers objets; une autre suspendue au milieu du local par une corde fixée au toit, préservent les provisions de la visite des rats dont chaque case renferme de nombreuses phalanges. tout dans ces demeures respire l'ordre et la propreté, et dénote un peuple industriel. les pirogues que possède le propriétaire sont remisées dans l'intérieur, et se trouvent quelque fois au nombre de trois chez les principaux chefs. un métier à faire les maros, un vase en bois servant à contenir la provision d'eau, quelques haches de diverses grandeurs et places au ratelier, constituent le mobilier de la plus part des maisons que nous visitames. Celles qu'habitent les classes inférieures sont sur le même mode de construction que les premières, mais beaucoup plus petites & moins soignées. toutes sont fermées par des cloisons en lattes ou en cannes, et de distance en distance il y a des panneaux [p. 135] mobiles qui servent de portes, et facilitent la circulation de l'air. près de chaque habitation de chef et dans le même enclos, sont plusieurs petites cases destinées sans doute aux femmes & aux domestiques.

C'est avec étonnement que nous contemplames une enceinte fermée, qui se trouve au milieu de la petite île de Lélé, et qui vient encore consolider l'opinion que l'on doit se faire de l'autorité et du pouvoir dont sont revêtus les chefs. elle consiste en un rectangle long de 60 pieds et large d'environ trente pieds, formé par quatre murailles qui en certains endroits peuvent avoir vingt pieds de hauteur et 7 à 8 d'épaisseur. ces murailles se composent d'énormes massifs de pierre, et l'on a peine à concevoir de quels moyens on du se servir les insulaires pour élever ceux qui se trouvent aux parties supérieures. ce monument qui est sans doute très ancien, attirait notre attention, et nous faisons des conjectures pour découvrir dans quel but il avait été construit; notre curiosité était en outre stimulé par l'espèce d'inquiétude qui se peignait sur le visages des naturels, lorsque nous cherchions à grimper pour y découvrir l'intérieur, et par leurs efforts réitérés pour nous engager à porter nos pas d'un autre côté. quelques cocotiers, des cannes à sucre et des bananiers s'offraient seules à nos regards, et l'on ne pouvait supposer que l'on eut fait autant de frais pour clôre un simple jardin.

*Tout ce que nous pumes apprendre de nos guides, c'est que cet enclos était relatif aux **hueros**, et ce ne fut que dans une seconde visite que nous sumes positivement que ce lieu était consacré à recevoir les dépouilles mortelles des chefs. il eut été intéressant d'en visiter l'intérieur; mais nous n'insistames pas dans la crainte de fonder un préjugé peut-être sacré aux yeux de cette peuplade.*

Malgré tous nos soins à nous introduire dans plusieurs cases, pour saisir quelques unes des occupations aux quelles les naturels se livrent, nous ne pumes rien apprendre. notre arrivée avait distrait tout le monde, et chacun ne pensait qu'à nous contempler, et à suivre tous nos mouvements. j'eus un instant l'idée de rester parmi eux et d'y passer la nuit; mais j'en fus détourné en pensant que j'apprendrais peut-être pas d'avantage, que je serais constamment en butte à leur curiosité, et qu'il me serait difficile de contenter les chefs dont l'ambition ne faisait qu'accroître, à mesure que notre générosité pour eux se déployait.

*Il était deux heures de l'après midi lorsque nous quittames l'île de Lélé ne voulant pas reprendre la route du matin, nous priames un **huero** dans la maison du quel nous avions été bien accueillis, de nous faire conduire en pirogue jusqu'à la plage, décidés a regagner notre mouillage en suivant les bords de la mer par la partie nord de l'île. il y consentit de bon coeur, et nous accomopagna lui même.*

Jusque là, nous n'avions eu aucune occasion de juger s'il existait [p. 136] différents rangs parmi les chefs, et nous présumions qu'à l'exception du roi, chacun avait portion égale d'autorité; mais nous vimes bientôt qu'il n'en était pas ainsi.

*La pirogue nous ayant débarqué près d'une grande maison, notre chef conducteur regarda aussitôt avec attention s'il en appercevait le propriétaire. dès qu'il l'eut découvert, il fut en se courbant et d'une maniere respectueuse s'accroupir à quelques pas de lui, et il ne quitta cette posture que sur un signe d'amitié que lui fit ce personnage qui d'après sa gravité et ses manieres, nous parut occuper un des premiers rangs dans la nombreuse cohorte des **hueros**. après nous être assis plusieurs minutes, et lui avoir donné quelques bagatelles, nous primes congé et fimes route pour retourner au bâtiment, suivis de plusieurs naturels parmi les quels étaient ceux que nous avions pris le matin en partant, et qui depuis cette époque ne nous avaient quitté que dans les circonstances où nous avions eu des relations avec les chefs.*

Le chemin par la plage, quoique plus long de quelques milles que celui par l'intérieur, est beaucoup moins fatigant et plus agréable. de tems à autre l'on rencontre des sentiers pratiqués dans le bois, qui offrent un ombrage et une fraicheur délectables; de distance en distance sont des cases dans la plus part des quelles nous nous arrêrames, et où nous fumes constamment l'objet d'une hospitalité désintéressée, ce que nous n'avions pas toujours trouvé à Lélé. nous ne pouvions pas donner une opinion trop favorable du caractère de ces insulaires, et de leur conduite à notre égard. accoutumés à être traités avec dureté par les chefs qui ne pareissent faire aucun cas d'eux, et qui exigent continuellement les marques de respect; de plus portés à nous regarder au moins comme les égaux de ces petits tyrants, ils étaient étonnés de notre condescendance, de la familiarité avec la quelle nous les approchions, et surtout de la maniere générale dont

nous payions les fruits qu'ils nous apportaient. je n'oublierai pas de mentionner ici une observation digne de remarque, C'est qu'en passant devant quelques habitations où notre dessein n'était pas de faire halte, il arrivait toujours qu'un naturel en sortait, et venait nous présenter des fruits aux quels nous ne touchions as, mais dont nous récompensions 'intention. ce ne fut que par hasard que nous observames qu'ils ne remportaient jamais leur offrande, mais qu'ils la déposaient entre les mains de nos guides qui[,] la recevant sans difficulté, portaient fidèlement ce qu'ils regardaient comme notre propriété un insulaire à qui nous n'avions rien donner en récompense d'un régime de bananes, qu'il était venu offrir en usa malgré cela de la même maniere sans témoigner le moindre mécontentement.

A un mille et demi environ du mouillage, nous rencontrames les palétuviers [p. 137] à travers les quels il est impossible de se frayer un chemin, sans s'exposer à entrer dans la vase jusqu'aux genous. les naturels même n'y passent pas et font le trajet en dehors. comme nous avons ménagé notre vitesse de maniere a arriver en cet endroit lorsque la mer serait basse, et que dans cette circonstance l'eau n'est pas plus de six à huit pouces de hauteur sur un fonds uni de sable dur, nous achevames notre course sans fatigue, et nous arrivames à bord de la corvette sur les sept heures du soir, satisfaits de la maniere dont notre journée avait été employée.

Deux jours après, monsieur Blosseville étant allé seul à Lélé, n'eut nullement à se louer de la conduite des huros à son égard. tourmenté sans cesse, il se vit contraint de leur abandonner tout ce qu'il avait apporté avec lui et il fut même menacé par l'un deux qui ayant eu l'audace de lui tâter les poches, avait été vexé de ne plus rien y trouver. nous avions, messieurs d'Urville, Deblois, et moi formé le dessein d'y faire une seconde visite; sur ce rapport nous réglames notre maniere d'agir, résolus a les mener durement, et de n'avoir aucun rapport d'amitié avec le vieux roi. nous quittames le bord de très bonne heure, accompagné de monsieur de Blosseville qui se rangea encore de la partiel, et après nous être procuré deux guides, nous nous mimes a marcher par le chemin de l'intérieur que nous trouvames plus mauvais et plus fatigant que la premiere fois, à cause de la pluie qui était tombé avec abondance la nuit précédente. la bonté des naturels ne se démentit pas, et partout où nous voulions nous arrêter, nous éprouvames les effets d'une générosité amicale.

*Nous avions franchi la colline, et nous approchions de la riviere, espérant y rencontrer une pirogue qui nous transporterait à l'île, et ne pensant pas que nous ne nous étions nulle part annoncés comme porteurs de cadeaux pour le roi: aussi sumes nous désappointés en voyant qu'il n'y avait pas a réfléchir, et qu'il fallait nécessairement achever le trajet dans l'eau jusqu'à la ceinture. C'es de cette manière que nous arrivames dans la capitale de l'île **Hualan**, avec moins de pompe et un peu moins secs que la premiere fois. le nombre des curieux assemblés sur la plage était peu considérable, et nous en conclumes que la population presque entiere avait assisté à notre premiere visite. nous avions a peine fait quelques pas, que trois ou quatre chefs[,] parmi les quels se trouvait celui qui s'était si mal comporté la veille à l'égard de monsieur Blosseville, virent nous engager a aller chez le roi, ce que nous réfutames sèchement; ils veulent s'approcher, faire*

des signes d'amitié; nous les repousames, leur défendant de nous toucher, et démontrant par gestes combien nous étions outrés de leur conduite. étonnés de notre sévérité, ils se retirèrent et nous fimes le tour de l'île, suivis seulement de quelques naturels. [p. 138] de retour dans le voisinage de la maison du vieux chef, nous résistames à d'autres instances qui nous furent faites d'entrer chez lui, bien convaincus qu'elles n'étaient dictées que par l'intérêt, et l'espoir d'accaparer ce que nous pouvions avoir. quelques instants après, nous étions occupés à faire des échanges avec environ une quarantaine d'hommes et femmes; tout se passait tranquillement et avec satisfaction de part et d'autre, lorsqu'un des petits despotes, armé d'un long baton, jaloux sans doute de voir tomber nos objets dans d'autres mains que les siennes, vint d'un air furieux écarter la foule; et lui signifier de rentrer dans les cases. après ce beau coup d'autorité, il voulut s'approcher de nous, et porter la main sur une longue pioche dont monsieur d'Urville se servait pour herboriser; fort mal accueilli, il s'adressa à monsieur Deblois qui lui appliqua une assez forte claque sur les épaules en reconnaissance d'un attouchement un peu trop amical; indigné de me voir rire,] il me menaça de son baton, mais j'arrêtai sa fureur en serrant celui que je tenais; voyant enfin qu'il n'avait rien à gagner, il prit le meilleur parti, celui de se retirer et de continuer sa route: la manière dont il était armé nous fit présumer que ses fonctions étaient de maintenir la police.

Nous partimes de Lélé, aussi peu fournis que la première fois en renseignements sur les coutumes des insulaires, et nous regagnames le navire en suivant le bord de la mer, et ayant soin de visiter ceux qui nous avaient antérieurement si bien reçus, et qui nous firent encore le même accueil.

[The people of Kosrae at contact]

*Les naturels de l'île **Hualan** sont d'une taille moyenne; généralement gras et bien faits; la douceur et la bonté sont peintes sur leur visage; la vivacité de leurs mouvements dénote l'intelligence. quoique nous ayons trouvé entre leurs mains un morceau de fer, nous ne pumes jamais rien apprendre sur la manière dont ils en avait fait l'acquisition, et leur étonnement continuel sur tout ce qui nous concernait, doit faire penser que notre navire est le premier qui ait séjourné quelque tems chez eux.*

*L'on ne peut voir sans surprise une population si peu nombreuse être divisée en autant de classes, et l'on ne s'attend pas à trouver dans un coin de terre aussi isolé une semblable inégalité de conditions. Chacun en naissant sait ce qu'il doit être, et je ne pense pas que rien soit capable de faire intervertir cet ordre. les premiers sont de **tones** et des **huros**; (chacun de ces mots signifie un chef). les **metkoés**, et enfin les **meymatas**. ces derniers forment une classe dégradé et pour ainsi dire esclave; ce sont les domestiques chargés des plus pénibles fonctions. les **huros**,] au nombre d'environ quarante, sont autant de despotes qui appesantissent leur autorité sur les autres, et en exigent ce qu'ils veulent. [p. 139] j'ignore de quelles manières se choisit le chef principal; mais d'après l'âge et la nullité de celui qui règne actuellement, il est probable que la mort seule peut donner lieu à une nouvelle élection. accoutumés à une obéissance servile de la part des classes secondaires, possédant seul ce qui a quelque valeur, ils durent trouver étonnant*

que nous fussions quelque fois rebelles à leurs désirs, et je ne doute pas un seul instant qu'un capitaine qui irait mouiller dans la rade même de Lélé, ne fut forcé d'avoir recours à la force pour contenir leur insolence, a moins qu'il ne débutat par leur donner une forte idée de sa supériorité.

Tous les habitants, en général, portent les cheveux redressés, et noués en chignon derrière la tête, l'extrémité libre et flottante; ils ont des moustaches, un peu de barbe seulement au menton, les aisselles et les parties bien garnies. un chef se reconnaît facilement aux soins qu'il apporte dans sa toilette; toujours ses cheveux sont mieux arrangés, et sa barbe plus soignée.

*Leurs ornements consistent en une valve de coquille qu'ils tiennent entre leurs lèvres; en un collier qui souvent n'est qu'une corde fine, et qui rarement est garni de petites rondelles de coquillages; en fleurs qu'ils introduisent dans un large trou pratiqué au lobe de l'oreille droite. quelques uns aussi se percent le pavillon des deux oreilles et y mettent également des fleurs. le tatouage est commun aux deux sexes, et s'applique par bandes légères sur les cuisses, les bras et les jambes. les deux raies, larges d'environ un pouce, qui se trouvent l'une en dedans, l'autre en dehors de la cuisse, sont unies chez les **huos**, et dentelées chez les autres classes. nous remarquâmes quelques hommes dont les épaules étaient tatouées, et un petit nombre de femmes dont le dessus des mains était entièrement couvert de dessins.*

*Les femmes généralement petites, sont grasses, ont les traits de la figure délicats, les formes du corps grossières; elles sont remarquables par la beauté de leurs yeux et la blancheur de leurs dents; elles portent les cheveux comme les hommes, à l'exception cependant qu'elles en laissent flotter une plus grande partie, et elles mettent à leur cou un si grand nombre de tours de corde fine, serrés les uns contre les autres sans simétrie et sans goût, que ces colliers leur donnent un air lourd et gauche. d'énormes bouquets de fleurs décorent leur oreille droite. nulle part encore, nous n'avons vu de femmes aussi nues que celles ci, puisque le **maro** est leur seul habillement. j'aurais tort cependant de ne pas parler d'une petite natte pliée en deux, qu'elles portent ordinairement suspendue à leur derrière. Cette pièce n'est pas là comme ornements, mais bien comme objet de grande utilité; elle sert à deux fins, à préserver leurs fesses d'un frottement trop dur lorsqu'elles s'assoient, et dans d'autres circonstances à mettre leur tête à l'abri du soleil.*

[p. 140] *Le maro des hommes[,] entièrement semblables à celui des femmes, est replié aux deux extrémités, de manière à laisser au milieu une sorte de poche dont la largeur n'est pas toujours assez grande pour remplir entièrement le but qu'ils se proposent. ce sont les femmes qui sont spécialement chargées de faire les **maros**, et l'on ne saurait trop admirer le point de perfection où est arrivé ce travail, tant pour la vivacité des couleurs que pour la solidité du tissu et la variété des dessins. il eut été intéressant de pouvoir les suivre dans cette occupation; mais tous mes essais à cet égard furent infructueux, et je ne pus jamais satisfaire ma curiosité. les fils qu'elles emploient, sont fins et soyeux, et proviennent, suivant monsieur Hisson, d'une ortie qui est très commune sur les montagnes. Les couleurs sont au nombre de quatre, le bleu, le jaune, le rouge et le noir.*

[Endemic diseases]

Le nombre des naturels, hommes[,] femmes et enfants, attequés de la lèpres, est très considérable; et ici comme dans les autres îles où nous avons rencontré cette contagion, elle ne paraît nullement inquiéter. l'homme qui n'en a encore aucunes taches, ne fait aucune difficulté de toucher celui qui en est entièrement couvert. il est encore une autre maladie[,] peu commune à la vérité, mais dont les résultats sont plus facheux et dont les effets ne paraissent être prévenus par aucune précaution: elle consiste en ulcères dont le siège est principalement sur les jambes et les cuisses, et qui dégènèrent au point de laisser l'os entièrement à nu. j'eus occasion de voir un malheureux insulaire assez âgé, sur qui ils avaient fait tant de ravages, qu'il ne pouvait plus se remuer, et passait sa triste vie, étendu dans une cabane à côté d'un feu qu'on avait soin d'alimenter continuellement. un enfant de deux ans au plus, en avait les parties tellement infectées, qu'on lui eut dite sur le point de se détacher de son corps.

*La nature a prodigué ses faveurs d'une manière étonnante sur les habitants d'**Hualan**, pour ce qui concerne les substances alimentaires. l'arbre qui porte le fruit à pain est répandu abondamment sur tous les points de l'île; le bananier et le **taro** s'y rencontrent jusqu'à chaque pas. le cocotier seul y est rare, et paraît être spécialement la propriété des **huros**. trouvant aussi facilement une nourriture saine et abondante, les naturels ne s'occupent presque pas de la pêche et paraissent peu industriels dans cet exercice. il existe cependant dans le bois où nous étions mouillés, sur la partie que la mer laisse presque à sec en se retirant, des vestiges d'une pêcherie faite avec assez d'art pour prouver que dans un tems ils s'en occupaient sérieusement; mais aujourd'hui ce labyrinthe est abandonné, et des pierres qui manquent en plusieurs endroits, présentent une retraite aux captifs. pour prendre les petits poissons, ils se servent de filets courts et étroits fixés au bout d'un baton; ils saisissent les gros en leur envoyant des lances longues et effilées.*

[p. 141] *Pour transporter l'eau, de la riviere dans leur maison, ces insulaires se servent de paniers qu'ils font sur le champ avec des feuilles de **taro**; ils se procurent du feu comme les Tahitiens en frottant avec force un morceau de bois sur un autre; ils cuisent leur fruits à pain dans des fours et au moyen de pierres chaudes. lorsque le poisson est petit, ils le mangent généralement cru; mais quand il a une certaine grosseur ils le font griller sans se donner la peine de le vider.*

*La racine de l'**ava** leur fournit une liqueur qu'ils paraissent aimer, et qu'ils préparent beaucoup plus proprement que ne le font les Tahitiens. au lieu de la mâcher comme ces derniers, et de la cracher ensuite dans le vase qui doit passer à la ronde, ils l'écrasent avec un pilon sur une pierre destinée à cet effet et que l'on remarque à l'entrée de chaque case; de tems à autre ils l'humectent avec de l'eau, et en expriment ensuite le jus dans des tasses faites avec des moitiés de cocos. nous présentâmes du rum à plusieurs d'entre eux, qui d'abord surpris et étonnés de la chaleur qu'ils ressentaient, s'y accoutumaient pendant un peu d'instant et y prenaient goût. ils mangèrent sans difficulté du pain et du cochon salé.*

L'île de Hualan possède des poules, mais en si petite quantité et dans un état tellement sauvage, qu'il paraît que les naturels ne se sont jamais occupés d'en faire prospérer l'espèce. nous leur avons laissé deux truies pleines qu'ils nous ont promis de nourrir et de soigner; s'ils tiennent leur parole, cette relache pourra par la suite offrir des ressources aux navigateurs qui fréquentent ces parages. le rat est le seul quadrupède qui existe dans l'île; il y est tellement multiplié et si peu inquiété qu'on le rencontre sur tous les points par bandes nombreuses. il circule sans crainte dans toutes les maisons, et ne fuit même pas à l'approche de l'homme. l'espèce est grosse et de couleur gris foncé.

[Kosraean canoes]

Les naturels d'Hualan quoique nullement navigateurs, et ne s'écartant jamais de leur côtes, apportent cependant beaucoup de soins dans la construction de leurs pirogues. en voyant les instrumens dont ils se servent, on ne penserait pas qu'ils pussent donner à leur travail le fini qu'on y remarque. ces embarcations[,] longues de 18 à 20 pieds[,] sont généralement très étroites et assez profondes. le fonds se compose d'une seule pièce sur la quelle sont artistement cousues d'autres planches. les extrémités relevés en forme d'étraves se terminent par un croissant. deux pièces de bois arrondies et que l'on dirait travaillées au tour sont fixées par un des bouts en travers de la pirogue à une distance de quatre pieds l'un de l'autre; et se dirigeant horizontalement elles vont au moyen d'amarrages très bien faites servir de soutiens au balancier qui se compose d'un morceau de bois long, assez mince, peint ordinairement en rouge, et ayant icy deux extrémités relevées. ces deux mêmes pièce sont réunies par une [p. 142] plate-forme en treillage sur la quelle se placent les provisions. les pirogues des chefs sont faciles a reconnaître, en ce qu'elles portent sur cette plate-forme, comme signe distinctif, une pyramide quadrangulaire entierement composée de petites coquilles blanches.

Les pagaiſtremajes ont près de huit pieds de long, et sont ainsi construites en ce qu'elles servent à pousser sur le fond dans les endroits ou il y a trop peu d'eau pour ramer. les pirogues ne vont jamais à la voile.

A l'exception de la javeline qui même d'après les apparences n'est employée que contre les poissons, nous n'avons jamais vu d'armes entre leurs mains. aucun naturel ne nous a offert sur son corps des blessures qui puissent faire présumer qu'ils se servent quelque fois des combats; jamais devant nous, ils ne s'abandonnèrent à des mouvemens qui pussent indiquer une maniere de se battre. on pourrait peut-être avancer sans crainte que les habitants de Hualan n'ont jamais eu de relations quelconques avec les naturels d'autres îles.

Deux doutes eux nous donnèrent un jour le spectacle de leur danse et de leur chant; la première est monotone, lente et peu cadencée; l'autre se compose de sons entrecoupés, sours et désagréables. ils paraissent d'ailleurs se livrer rarement à ces sortes d'amusemens, et n'avoir même aucun instrument de musique.

Le lendemain de notre arrivée, la curiosité avait attiré un grand nombre de naturels parmi les quels se trouvaient plusieurs femmes: celles ci se tenrent constamment sur les récifs à une bonne distance du navire; et n'entrèrent jamais dans les pirogues qui vin-

rent nous visiter; dans les différentes courses que plusieurs personnes de l'état-major firent aux environs du mouillage, les cases ne leur offrirent que des hommes; les femmes avaient délogé et se tenaient probablement cachées dans les bois. il n'y eut qu'à Lélé[,] capitale de l'île[,] que nous pumes les voir de près sans cependant jamais dépasser les bornes de la décence dans les quelles elles se tinrent elles mêmes constamment renfermées, et sans jamais rien obtenir de positif de la part des hommes, a ceux que nous fimes des questions sur la facilité de leurs moeurs. peut-être qu'en flattant l'ambition de quelque chef par un présent considérable, on eut obtenu d'autres résultats; mais l'épreuve n'en ayant pas été faite, l'on peut conclure des diverses circonstances que je viens d'émettre, que les hommes paraissent extrêmement jaloux et nullement disposés a croiser leur race.

Quant au mode dont se font les mariages, et au nombre de femmes que chacun peut prendre, suivant la classe à la quelle il appartient, je n'ai rien recueilli qui puisse même m'engager a avancer des conjectures. il en est ainsi relativement à la religion de cette peuplade dont je ne connais que le respect pour les morts.

*La langue des naturels de **Hualan** est douce, mais d'une prononciation difficile a saisir. presque toujours nous fumes obligés de faire répéter le même mot [p. 143] à plusieurs d'entre eux, pour pouvoir l'écrire avec quelque confiance.*

Durant notre relache au havre de la Coquille (île Hualan) du 6 au 15 juin, les vents furent constants de la bande de l'est; les tems[,] superbe les quatre premiers jours, fut très variable jusqu'à la fin. le baromètre se maintint continuellement entre 27.11,9 et 28.0,7; le thermomètre monta à 30°, et ne descendit jamais au dessous de 28°.

***Observatoire.** dans la traversée que nous venions de faire, nous avons eu l'occasion de vérifier, soit par des distances, soit par la reconnaissance d'îles djà déterminées, que le N° 26 n'avait pas varié dans sa marche; les angles horaires pris pendant la relache confirmèrent ce fait. la longitude donnée par cette montre en faisant usage de la marche conclue à la bbaie des îles, étant 160°50'45"17; celle par la nouvelle marche déterminée au havre de la Coquille étant 160°45'59"75, nous pouvons considérer comme affectée de peu d'erreur la moyenne des deux 160°48'22"46 orientale qui est cele que nous avons adoptée. elle a dû être préférée à 160°59'19"6 longitude moyenne des quatre chronomètres, en ce que les numéros 3072, 1646, et 160 avaient éprouvé une variation sensible quelques jours avant le mouillage, et que leur marche différait trop de la première, pour pouvoir être combinée avec elle. dix huit sérties de hauteurs circumméridiennes du soleil et des étoiles donnèrent pour latitude boréale 5°21'33"; la variation boservée comme à d'ordinaire avec le théodolite et la boussole terrestre de Lenoir, fut trouvée de 9°20'33" NE.*

Départ de l'île Hualan.

*le 15 au matin[,] le tems étant beau, le vent à l'est petite brise, nous mimes sous voiles, et gouvernâmes pour sortir du havre dont nous étions dehors à 8h. la route fut alors donnée au NNO. nous nous éloignâmes rapidement de l'île **Hualan** que nous perdîmes de vue sur les quatre heures du soir.*

Le lendemain nous fîmes route à l'O 1/4 SO. le ciel se maintint entièrement couvert, avec pluie abondante et continuelle, et le vent très inégal de l'Est à l'ESE. à la nuit nous primes deux ris dans les huniers, et nous courumes des bords jusqu'au 17 matin que nous remimes en route, gouvernant successivement à l'Ouest, au SO 1/4 O et au SO. le ciel s'était sensiblement dégaagé, et il faisait beau temps.

Ile MacAskill.

*A 9h45' la vigie annonça la terre dans le SO 1/4 Sud. en approchant, nous reconnumes deux îles assises sur le même plateau de récifs. elles courent est et ouest environ quatre milles, et près de la plus ouest se trouve un îlot réuni à elle par une ligne de rochers rougeâtres. elles sont bordées d'une plage de sable, [p144] et couvertes d'arbres parmi les quels on distinguait une grande quantité de cocotiers. à 1h15' voyant les pirogues se diriger vers la corvette nous mimes en panne d'abord au vent, et elles furent bientôt le long du bord au nombre de dix, montées chacune par 3 naturels qui accostaient sans hésiter. entièrement nus à l'exception du **maro** ces insulaires sont de moyenne taille, bien faits, et généralement gras, leur couleur est brun-foncé; un léger tatouage orne toutes les parties de leur corps, surtout le dos; leurs cheveux réunis et noués sur le sommet de la tête sont décorés d'une touffe de fleurs rouges; ils en font aussi des couronnes qu'ils suspendent à leurs oreilles et à leur cou. ils s'empressaient de nous donner des noix de cocos germés, des bananes et des taros, sans paraître exiger aucune rétribution; ils envoyèrent également une hache en bénitier, des hameçons, des colliers en coquillages, des cordes en fibres de cocos (quelques unes très grosses et bien travaillées) et quelques maros. ces derniers artistement faits, sont larges d'un pied et longs de cin pieds; ils sont ornés de dessins dont les diverses couleurs sont peu vives.*

Le capitaine leur fit donner une hache, une herminette et des cloux; et à 2h nous les quittames, faisant route à l'ouest sous toutes voiles.

18 juin. [Mokil]

Le 18 au jour nous mimes le cap au NO 1/4 O, le tems très beau, la brise fraîche à l'ENE; quelque tems après la terre fut annoncée, et nous la distinguames bientôt de dessus le pont. elle se compose de trois îles basses réunies par des récifs et qui laissent entre elles un lagon où l'eau paraît être profonde, mais sans entrée.

*Les cocotiers sont en grand nombre, très élevés et paraissent tous inclinés vers l'ouest. après avoir prolongé la partie nord à la distance de deux milles, nous mimes en panne sous le vent de la côte ouest pour attendre un pros à la voile qui était sorti du lagon et qui se dirigeait vers la corvette. il amena sa voile à quelque distance. il était monté par dix hommes. l'un deux tenant à la main les deux moitiés d'un coco parla pendant quelque minutes, après quoi ils se déterminèrent à accoster. ces naturels sont grands, fort bien faits, et d'une couleur brun-foncé; le **maro** est l'unique pièce de leur habillement, et est remarquable par le brillant des divers dessins qui l'ornent; ils sont tatoués sur le dos, les cuisses et les jambes d'une manière agréable à la vue; ils portent les cheveux longs et tombant sur les épaules. une seconde pirogue vint ensuite, montée par huit*

hommes semblables aux premiers, dont un fit encore la cérémonie du coco avant d'acoster. nous nous procurames par échanges quelques cocos secs et des maros, et nous remimes en route au NO 1/4 O à 9h40'. à 10h55' nous perdimes la terre de vue. à midi nous étions par 6°49'43" nord et 157°24'07" longitude orientale. nous continuames a courir, pendant le jour seulement, au NO 1/4 O jusqu'au 20 à 11h du matin que la route fut donné à l'OSO. le tems se maintenait beau, et la brise variable du NNE au NE.

[p. 145] **22 juin.**

Le 22 à midi nous étions par 8°16' Nord et 151°53' Est; l'ordre fut donné de gouverner au SO 1/4 O. peu après les vents devinrent faibles et variables, le tems à grains avec une pluie abondante par intervalles. à 6h du soir la brise revint à l'ENE. depuis le 158e méridien, les courans nous portaient chaque jour dans l'ouest avec une vitesse de 15 à 18 milles; les différences en latitude étaient nulles.

Le lendemain au jour, nous fimes route au SO. à 6h du soir la vigie ayant signalé une ile basse dans le S1/2O, nous serrames aussitôt le vent pour l'approcher; mais la nuit qui survint ne permit même pas de la distinguer de dessus le pont. la bordée du nord que nous timmes toute la nuit, nous en éloigna trop, pour que nous pussions la revoir le lendemain.

[**Chuuk Islands**]

24. Le 14 au point du jour nous courumes au SSO; la brise était alors au SE, le ciel bien dégagé. à 7 h la vigie annonçant la terre dans l'OSO, nous mimes le cap à cet aire de vent et à 8h nous commencions a distinguer de dessus le pont quelques sommets de cette ile qui est sans doute celle découverte par le capitaine Doublon. à midi les observations nous plaçaient par 7°25'50" nord et 150°9'50" E; nous étions alors à peu de chose près Est et ouest avec la partie nord qui restait à environ 15 milles. à mesure que nous approchames, nous vimes que cette terre se composait de plusieurs iles d'inégales grandeurs. à 4h nous étions à 4 milles de celles le plus NE, et nous en avions alors en vue cinq, grandes et élevées, et vingt trois basses. elles paraissaient former un grand ovale dirigé nord et sud. nous manoeuvrames pendant la nuit sous petites voiles de maniere a nous maintenir en position de pouvoir continuer le lendemain la reconnaissance de ce groupe, dont nous n'eumes entierement fait le tour que le 27 à 5h du soir. la carte qui en a été dressée par monsieur Dublois en fera mieux connaitre les détails que toute description.

[**Chuukese canoes**]

Nous communiquames avec plusieurs pirogues montées les unes par 6 naturels, les autres par 10 et même 12. ces embarcations longues de 18 à 20 pieds naviguent supérieurement, et sont d'une construction très soignée. nous crumes remarquer que quelques unes étaient presque plates sur un des côtés; du reste, elles ressembaient en tout aux véritables pros et se manœuvraient absolument de même.

Les naturels sont généralement d'une taille moyenne, et bien proportionnés, vifs et alertes. leurs cheveux sont tantôt redressés et noués sur le sommet de la tête, tantôt attachés en chignons, et d'autres fois flottent librement sur les épaules. les moustaches et un peu de barbe à l'extrémité du menton ornent leur visage sur le quel sont empreintes la douceur et l'intelligence. la plus part n'ont aucuns signes de tatouage; quelques uns en portent de légères marques sur la poitrine et sur les bras. plusieurs avaient la tête couverte de grands chapeaux coniques semblables à des bonnets Chinois.

[p. 146] *Outre le maro qui est large et peint en rouge, ils se couvrent le corps avec une étoffe assez fine, faite avec les fibres de l'hibiscus. cette pièce,] longue de 8 pieds, et large de deux, est portée à son milieu, et ressemble au poncho chilien. leurs ornemens consistent en colliers à une ou plusieurs branches, fais les uns avec des rondelles de coquillage, les autres avec des moitiés d'un petit fruit ovale et dur; en morceaux de bois rouge qu'ils introduisent dans des trous pratiqués aux lobes de leurs oreilles. tous en général suspendent à leur cou un clou en bois dont ils se servent pour se gratter la tête.*

Ayant terminé la reconnaissance du groupe, nous fimes route à l'O 1/4 NO pendant la nuit du 27 avec petite brise de NE, tems à grains et pluie par intervalles.

28 juin.

Contrariés le lendemain par le calme et des fraicheurs très variables, nous fimes très peu de chemin, et nous eumes toute la journée en vue le piton le plus élevé des terres que nous venions d'explorer. à la nuit, le vent s'étant établi au NE, nous pumes nous en éloigner.

*Le 30 au lever du soleil, la terre fut annonçé dans l'O 1/4 NO; nous la vimes peu après sous la forme de trois îles séparées qui furent reconnues pour être **Oulape, Tamatamet Fanadike**. ces deux dernières courent SE et NO; **Fanadike** et **Oualape** courent SO et NE. Chacune des trois peut avoir un mille de longueur, et est entouré en particulier par les récifs qui semblent laisser entre elles un passage libre. en rangeant la partie sud de **Tamatam** à environ un mille, nous aperçumes une belle plage sur la quelle la mer brisait avec assez de force, et à peu de distance nous distinguames plusieurs cases de grandes dimensions. l'homme placé en vigie avait en même tems vue dans le SO deux îles nommées **Poulou haut**.*

...

Translation.

June.

On the 3rd, at daybreak, the sky was overcast, but the rain squalls were lighter and less frequent. We headed W1/2S in search of Strong Island which was sighted dead ahead at 11. At noon, we were WNW1/2N, at which time we steered to get in the lee of Strong Island, which extends from north to south. It is very high, formed generally by great mountains with a great number of peaks and covered with a luxuriant vegetation. It appears most everywhere covered by a low band of trees, fringed by extensive sandy beaches that we noticed when we were still many miles away to the east. The north part

is remarkable by a mountain that ends up in a plateau; its south side is abrupt but in the north it ends up at a very beautiful point. Since the captain intended to explore the western part the next day, we maintained ourselves with short tacks during the night.

On the 4th, at daybreak, the island bore SW distant about 18 miles. We got nearer to it, heading toward the NW point, from which a line of reefs extends a considerable distance westward. Soon after we passed this point, we headed for the SW point, from which there is also some reefs that form between them and the shore a vast lagoon, which however has no opening. At 2:30 p.m., we had almost completed a full exploration of the whole island.

5th. The next day we steered so as to get nearer the reefs that are close to the NW point. At 8, Mr. Bérard was sent with the big boat to look for an anchorage that had been noticed the day before. At 10, he was back, having found a convenient place to shelter the ship, inside the reefs. We immediately headed for it, and at 11:20 we dropped a kedge anchor in the middle of the entrance in 52 fathoms, bottom of coarse sand mixed with broken shells. The men immediately set to work warping the ship inside, but it was not until the next day that we were able to moor her in a fixed position, in NNE-SSW direction, with a full cable laid out in these two directions. Remarks:

Position of the anchorage:

The W point of the island bore	S41°W.
The S point of the reef (entrance) bore	S61°W.
The N point bore	W10°S.
The NW point bore	N34°E.
The observatory bore	N65°E.

Stay at Hualan Island.

The very next day following our arrival, Messieurs Lesson and de Blosseville went inland, and made it to the east coast, in the bay where the small Island of Lele is located, the residence of the paramount chief, and the village with the greatest population.

Upon hearing their report, we decided to go ourselves, Messieurs d'Urville, Lottin, Bérard, Gabert and myself, with the intention to pay a visit to the king, and to bring him some presents.

On the 7th, we left the ship at 6 in the morning, and we first visited a house at the bottom of the bay, in order to engage a few natives as guides for this excursion that we were making for the first time. At our first invitation, two or three offered themselves, and we immediately set out along a narrow trail, uneven and muddy, that at first goes south for 2-3 miles, on both sides of which the view is blocked by a thick and healthy vegetation. The continuous attention one had to pay, in order to avoid the slippery spots, the branches clocking the way, made the going monotonous, tiring and uninteresting. From time to time, the view is truly made pleasant by a few huts that occupy the middle of sugarcane plantations, cultivated carefully and limited on either side by pretty living hedges; however, such accidents are rare, and do not compensate for the

numbing uniformity of this first part of the trip. Only the naturalist, who often finds a reward at every step in a blade of grass to which he attaches some importance, and who expects to find more along the way, could find pleasure in making his way through these forests, but a man like myself, who is a stranger to science, cannot breathe properly only after he has come out of them, where he will be able to walk freely.

About five-quarters of an hour had passed since we had set out, and we had crossed a few streams with limpid and excellent water, when our guides made us go into a house where we met a rather large group of men. At our approach, many women exited the house but they remained outside of it with their children during the whole time that our pause lasted. We soon felt the effects of a frank and general hospitality: some bread-fruit was roasting on hot stones inside an oven similar to those of Tahiti and located inside the hut. One of our hosts was preparing *ava* [sic].¹ We were invited to take our share in a cordial and disinterested manner which we appreciated and willingly rewarded this family by giving them a few European trifles which we knew they would like. We then resumed our march, by definitely turning eastward, and soon came to the foot of a rather steep mountain, but not too high. We reached the summit in a few minutes. On the other side, the slope was gentle, and we arrived down below by walking down a mountain stream whose waters were not too fast but the bed was bumpy and strewn with big stones.

Once this part had been crossed, the scenery became more pleasant and the eye could happily see beyond the boundaries that had kept them prisoners until then. The trail crossed a rather large plain covered with citrus fruit trees with big roots and with sugarcane plantations. In the latter, at places where the ground had been carefully cleared, were spread some small huts that marked as many tombs, and which showed the respect that these islanders had for their dead.

The sound of the breakers soon announced that we were nearing the end of our journey, but the mangrove bushes that were beginning to reappear were blocking our view of the sea. As we had announced along the way that we were going to visit the chief of the island, and that we had shown a few of the presents that we had for him, the news had been promptly carried forward, because two canoes appeared coming up the river that flows into the harbor at about 1-2 miles from the place where we were then, and a chief aboard it motioned for us to board it.

Lele Island soon appeared and the numerous crowds gathered on different points told us sufficiently that men with our skin color were objects of novelty and curiosity for this population. We disembarked amid a large concourse, and a few chiefs led us immediately to a large house where they left us, telling us by sign language that they were going to advise the king about our arrival. The premises did not seem to be an ordinary place of residence and we presumed that it served as a meeting place for the chiefs. The crowd was staying at twenty paces back; the women and the men formed two separate groups, and all were squatting.

1 Ed. note: That is, kava, or sakau.

The king soon made his appearance. He was an old man, decrepit and sick; he could hardly stand on his frail legs. He was just as simply clothed as the least of his subjects. We arose when he came in and went to meet him. The silence that everybody kept at this time, the attitude that every one adopted, gave us an idea of the authority that he enjoyed, and of the respect that they had for him. As soon as he had sat down, Mr. Gabert gave him a beautiful axe, with its handle, and every one of us then offered his present, consisting of nails, kerchiefs, knives, necklaces, etc. Each article excited the astonishment of the assembly, and the exclamation of wonder (*buai-ai*), special to these islanders, was continuously being heard. Their curiosity became so strong that the people forgot themselves for a moment, and crept closer, but one of the chiefs, upon noticing this move, got up in anger, and pushing the first ones, forced them all to retreat to their former places. In the meantime, the king's wife arrived, and remained standing outside the doorway, with the other women in her company. We made her a few presents that might give her some pleasure; as they passed from hand to hand they gave rise to many gestures of surprise and cries of astonishment.

The old chief, no doubt because he did not wish to owe us anything, had his people bring us a few coconuts and breadfruits and distributed to every one of us two maros, new ones it is true, but badly made, rough, without ornamentations, and little deserving of a royal gift. We soon became convinced that we had been too generous at the beginning, and that it would have been better to offer our presents a few at a time, and at different intervals, because everything that he saw in our hands made him covet them, and, like a child, he did not cease from bothering us until he got them. Mr. Bérard, having taken out the flask in which he carried some rum, was forced to let him have it, so as to stop his bothersome requests.

During this visit, the body of everyone of us was subjected to an examination and to continuous touchings. The king and the chiefs did not cease from uncovering our chests, arms and legs, and they seemed not to understand the difference of skin color between us and them; astonishment was painted on their faces and showed itself by their usual exclamations. The king, who had reverted to childhood in his old age, was not satisfied with touching and looking; he hit as hard as his weakness allowed him. For a long time, he tried to have us reveal to him our natural parts, and seemed angry when we refused to give him such a spectacle.

Tired of being with this old man, whose ambition could not be satisfied, as long as he suspected that we still had something in our possession, and also wishing to tour the island and try and witness some of the customs of these people who gave all the appearances of being visited by Europeans for the first time, we finally, disregarding the displeasure of those in attendance, left without further ado.

Lele Island extends east-west and is a little less than one mile in length, its widest part being one-third of a mile. The eastern end is crowned by a rather high peak. The western part, where most of the dwellings are, is low-lying and enclosed everywhere by stone walls that the natives have built in order to stop the water from disturbing the houses built on the edges at high tides. There are many "streets" cut through it in all

directions, and they are also lined with walls. It is covered with a rich vegetation, with some coconut tree groves here and there. The overall effect is that of a pleasant place to live; each group of houses occupies a picturesque site and offers to the eye a pleasing landscape. Our presence having attracted a large part of the population of Hualan, it was impossible for us that day to estimate the population of the small island of Lele; nevertheless, it must be about 500 individuals. The quantity of chiefs whom we had the opportunity of seeing there is not at all related to the number of natives; the authority which they seem to enjoy, the respect that is given them, the despotism that they seem to exercise, give a vague idea of the condition of the lower classes.

The house of a chief, or of a *huos* (the name of his title) is shown by its height, the elegance of its construction, the neatness of its interior. Some of them are as much as 50 feet in height, and their other dimensions are in proportion. The sloping roofs came down to about 6 feet from the ground and are covered with sugarcane [sic] leaves tied to rods in the manner of the Tahitians, and supported by a light frame. The upper ridge is curved like an arch, and its upturned extremities give the appearance of a high chimney. The end sides of the house are made up by a vertical wall consisting of slats that are painted with various colors and forming different designs. This wall stands under the main roof. Where it ends is where another roof begins, whose slope is such that it comes down to the level of the other. Two or three horizontal beams, placed crosswise in the direction of the width and resting upon posts, serve as supports for the roof beams that come down to join them and are fastened to them with ropes that are artistically made and very strongly fastened.

The ground of the interior is divided into many parts by long pieces of wood about one foot wide; each of these compartments is covered with bamboo slats, except for the center compartment where the hearths are located. The end compartment is separated by a partition from 4 to 5 feet high, and is the place reserved for sleeping. At each corner of the house, a few feet above the floor, is a sort of cage to store various objects. Another one is suspended in the center of the room by a rope fixed to the roof; it is designed to keep food provisions out of the reach of the rats. Each house contains many groups of rats. Everything in these dwellings reflects order and cleanliness, and shows the industry of the people. The canoes that the owner of the house owns are stored inside; the main chiefs can have as many as three. A loom to make maros, a wooden vessel to hold the water supply, a few adzes of various sizes stored on a rack, constitute the furnishings of most of the houses that we visited. The houses of the lower classes are built according to the same principles but are much smaller and not so well finished. All are enclosed by lattice work of bamboo slats. However, at various places along these sides, there are moveable panels that serve as doors, and encourage ventilation. Situated near the house of a chief and inside the same enclosure, there are many small huts, no doubt meant for the women and the servants.

It is with astonishment that we contemplated an enclosure that is located in the center of the small island of Lele, one that was to reinforce our opinion of the authority and power that the chiefs enjoy. It consists of a long rectangular place, 60 feet long by

about 30 feet, limited by four walls that in certain places may reach 20 feet in height and are from 7 to 8 feet thick. These walls are made up of huge blocks of stone and it was difficult for us to figure out how the islanders were able to raise those that are placed in the upper parts. This monument, which is no doubt very ancient, was attracting our attention, and we were discussing among ourselves the likely purpose for what it had been built. Our curiosity was further excited by the sort of disquiet that was painted on the faces of the natives, when we looked for a way to climb up and see inside, and by their reiterated efforts to try and convince us to walk away from there. A few coconut trees, some sugarcane plants and some banana trees were the only things we could see, and we could not admit that such a secure enclosure was simply for a garden.

The only thing that we could learn from our guides was that this enclosure had something to do with the *huros*. It was only on a second visit that we learned that this place was destined to receive the mortal remains of the chiefs. It would have been interesting to visit inside, but we did not insist for fear that it was considered a sacred place in the eyes of the population.

In spite of our many efforts to visit the inside of many huts, in order to witness the occupations of the natives, we could learn nothing. Our arrival had distracted everybody, and everyone had only one thought: to observe us and watch our every move. At first, I had planned to stay among them and spend the night, but I soon gave up the idea that I might learn something new; indeed, I would have been constantly bothered by their curiosity and would have a hard time to satisfy the chiefs whose greediness kept on increasing, the more they saw how generous we were.

It was 2 o'clock in the afternoon when we left Lele Island. Not wishing to follow the same route as in the morning, we asked a *Huros*, in whose house we had been well received, to provide us with a canoe to get to the beach, as we were determined to get back to our anchorage by following the seashore of the northern part of the island. He willingly agreed and accompanied us in person.

Until then, we had had no opportunity to judge whether or not there existed different ranks among the chiefs, and we had thought that everyone apart from the king had an equal amount of authority, but we soon realized that it was not so.

After the canoe left us near a big house, the chief guiding us immediately looked around carefully to see if he could see the owner. As soon as he spotted him, he went forward, leaning forward as he walked and went to squat respectfully a few steps from him; he did not quit this posture until he received a sign of friendship from this person who, according to his seriousness and his manners, seemed to us to occupy one of the first ranks of the numerous cohort of the *huros*. After we had been sitting for many minutes, and given him a few trifles, we took our leave to go back to our vessel, followed by many natives among whom were those who had guided us that morning; in fact, they had remained with us since that time, except when we were having relations with the chiefs.

The beach route, though longer by a few miles than the inland route, is much less tiring and more pleasant. From time to time, one meets trails that have been opened

through the woods, that offer pleasant shade and coolness. At various intervals there are huts and we stopped at most of them and we were always hospitably received in a disinterested manner—something that we had not always found at Lele. We cannot give too favorable an opinion of the character of these islanders and of their conduct toward us. Accustomed as they are to be treated harshly by the chiefs who do not pay attention to them and insist on receiving marks of respect at all times, besides the fact that they considered us at least to be equal to these petty tyrants, they were surprised at our condescension, at the familiarity with which we approached them, and above all at the general manner used by us in compensating them for the fruits that they brought to us. I will not forget to mention here something worthy of notice. When we passed in front of a house where we did not intend to stop, it always happened that a native would come out and come to offer us some fruits, that we did not touch, but rewarded the good intention. It was only by accident that we noticed that they never took back their fruits, but entrusted them to the hands of our guides who, accepting them without a fuss, carried them faithfully, as they considered them to be our property. An islander to whom we had given nothing in exchange for a banana bunch that he had come to offer us, was just as generous and showed no resentment.

At about one and a half miles from the anchorage, we met with the mangrove trees through which it is impossible to make one's way without risking sinking up to one's knees. Even the natives do not go through them but go around them. As we had taken it easy in order to arrive at this place when the tide was low (at which time the water is only from 6 to 8 inches over a flat and hard sandy bottom, we finished our trip without fatigue and arrived on board the corvette at about 7 in the evening, satisfied with the way we had spent our day.

Two days later, Mr. de Blosseville, having gone alone to Lele, had nothing good to say about the conduct of the *hueros* toward him. Continuously bothered by them, he was forced to abandon to them everything he had brought with him and was even threatened by one of them who had had the audacity of feeling inside his pockets where he found nothing more. We had, Messieurs d'Urville, Deblois and I, planned to make a second visit there. Upon receiving the report of Mr. de Blosseville, we took the decision that we would behave harshly with them, and not to have any friendly relations with the old king. We left the ship very early, accompanied by Mr. de Blosseville who once again took part. After we found two guides, we walked along the inland trail which we found to be worse and more tiring than the last time, because of the rain that had fallen abundantly during the previous night. The kindness of the natives was the same, and everywhere we stopped they showed us the effects of a friendly generosity.

We had gotten over the pass and were getting near the river, hoping to find a canoe that would take us to the island, but we had not announced anywhere that we had gifts for the king; still, we were disappointed when we did not find any. We lost no time, however, in making the rest of our journey with water up to our waist; this is how we got to the capital of Hualan Island, with less formality and a little less dry than the first time. The number of curious people gathered on the beach was not too large, and we

concluded that probably the whole population had been present at our first visit. We had made only a few steps when three to four chiefs, among whom was the man who had so badly behaved on the previous day toward Mr. de Blossville, came to us and tried to convince us to visit the king, but we categorically refused. They then tried to get near us, and proffered signs of friendship; we refused them, and forbid them to touch us, using sign language to tell them how outraged we were about their conduct. Astonished at our severity, they withdrew and we went around the island, followed only by a few natives. Once we came near the house of the old chief, and had to resist other invitations to go to his house, well convinced that such invitations were dictated only by self interest, and the hope of monopolizing what we had. A few moments later, we were busy trading with about 40 men and women; everything was going on peacefully and with satisfaction on either side, when one of the little despots, armed with a long stick, no doubt envious at seeing those objects fall into hands that were not his, came and, looking furious, made the people disperse, ordering them to return to their huts. After this fine demonstration of authority, he tried to get near us, and grab a long spade from the hand of Mr. d'Urville who was using it to collect plants. He was very badly welcomed. Then he approached Mr. Deblois who gave him a rather strong slap on the shoulders to pay him back for a touching that he considered too friendly. Furious at seeing me laugh, he threatened me with his stick, but I put a stop to his threat by tightening my grip on the stick that I held. Finally, seeing that he could not gain anything, he withdrew and continued his walk. The manner in which he was armed made us believe that he filled some duty as a policeman.

We left Lele, with no more knowledge than the first time about the customs of the islanders, and we reached the ship by following the seashore. Along the way we revisited those who had so well received us the first time; they received us with the same hospitality.

[The people of Kosrae at contact]

The natives of Hualan Island are of average size, generally fat and well made. Sweetness and kindness are painted on their faces. Their lively movements are a mark of intelligence. Although we had found in their hands a piece of iron, we were never able to find out how they had made its acquisition, but their continuous astonishment at everything that concerned us made us believe that our ship was the first one that had stopped some time among them.¹

It is surprising to find such a small population divided into so many classes, and it was strange to find in such a faraway corner of the world such unequal conditions. Everyone is born with one status and I do not believe that anything can change this order of things. The first class consists of the *ton* and the *huros* (each of these two words means chief). Then come the *metkwa*, and finally the *meimatas*. The latter constitute

1 Ed. note: It was effectively the first foreign ship to make a stopover at this island. The iron object could have come from passing ships, since the initial discovery of the island by other Frenchmen 20 years earlier (see Doc. 1804D).

able to satisfy my curiosity. The threads that they use are fine and silky. According to Mr. Lesson, they come from a nettle that is very common on the mountains. The colors are four in number: blue, yellow, red, and black.

[Endemic diseases]

The number of natives, men, women and children, who are attacked by leprosy is very high. Here, as in the other islands where we have seen this contagion, the people seem not to be bothered by it. The man who has not yet any spots does not mind touching the man who is entirely covered by it. There is another disease, not so common it is true, but whose results are even worse; nevertheless, they take no precaution whatever against its effects. I refer to ulcers that appear mostly on the legs and the thighs, and that degenerate so much as to leave the bones exposed. I had the occasion to see an unlucky islander, rather old, upon whom this disease had made so much harm that he could no longer move; he was spending his sad life lying down inside a hut besides a fire that was kept burning continuously. A child of two years of age had his [sexual] parts so infected by it that they seemed on the verge of falling off from his body.

Nature has been astonishingly generous toward the inhabitants of Hualan, as far as food substances are concerned. The breadfruit tree is abundantly present all over the island. The banana tree and taro are met with at every step. Only the coconut tree is rare and seems to be specially reserved for the *hueros*. Thus easily provided with a healthy and abundant food supply, the natives almost disregard the fishery and seem little industrious in this exercise. However, in the woods near our anchorage, in the part that is almost dry at low tide, there exist some remains of crafty fish traps, which proves that in the past they were seriously busy at it, but today this labyrinth is abandoned; stones are missing at several places and let the fish escape. To catch small fishes they use short and narrow nets fixed to the ends of a stick. They catch the bigger fish by spearing them with long and pointed sticks.

To transport water, from the river to their house, these islanders make use of baskets that they make on the spot with taro leaves. They make fire like the Tahitians, by rubbing strongly a piece of wood against another. They cook their breadfruit in ovens and by means of hot stones. When the fish is small, they generally eat it raw, but when it is of a certain size they roast it without bothering to empty it.

The root of the *ava* plant gives them a liquor that they seem to love and that they prepare much more cleanly than the Tahitians do. Instead of chewing it as they do, then spitting it out into the vessel that it then passed around, they crush it with a pestle upon a stone reserved for this purpose, that can be seen at the entrance of every hut. From time to time they add water and then squeeze out the juice into cups that are made with half-coconut shells. We offered rum to many of them; they were surprised at first by the warmth they felt, but became accustomed to it within a few moments and liked it. They ate our bread and salted pork without any difficulty.

The island of Hualan has chickens but in such a small quantity and in such a wild state that it seems that the natives have never encouraged the breed. We have left them two pregnant sows which they promised to feed and take care of; if they keep their word, this visit might in turn benefit the mariners who frequently visit the neighborhood. The rats are the only quadrupeds on the island; they are so numerous and so little bothered that one meets them everywhere in large bands. The rats can be found in all the houses; they fear nothing and do not even flee at the approach of man. The species is large and of a dark gray color.

[Kosraean canoes]

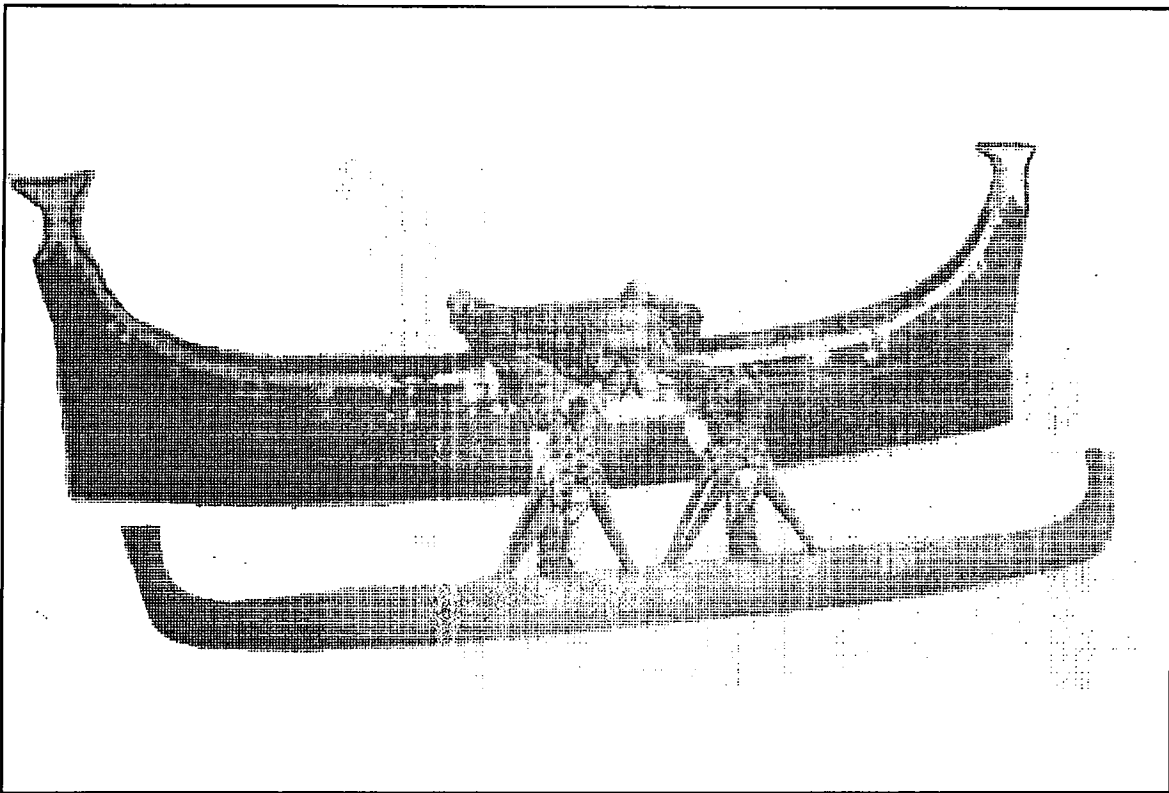
The natives of Hualan, although they are not at all navigators and seldom leave their coasts, do however take great care in the construction of their canoes. When one looks at the tools that they have, it seems unthinkable that they could be used to give the finish to their work that is in fact noticeable. These craft, from 18 to 20 feet in length, are generally very narrow and rather deep. The bottom consists of a unique piece of wood upon which they artistically sew other boards. The ends are upturned in the shape of a stem ending with a crescent. Two pieces of wood, rounded as if they had been worked with a lathe, have one of their ends laid across the canoe, about 4 feet apart, and extend horizontally and are used as support for the float, to which they are attached by means of ropes tightly wrapped. The float itself consists of a long piece of wood, rather slim, usually painted red, and having here its two ends upturned. The same two pieces are joined together by a platform in lattice work upon which are placed the food provisions. The canoes of the chiefs are easy to recognize, because they have upon this platform, as a distinctive mark, a pyramid with a square base that is entirely composed of small white shells.

The paddles are nearly 8 feet long and are so constructed that they serve to push on the bottom at places where there is too little water to use them for paddling. The canoes never use sails.

Except for the javelins that seem to be used only for spear fishing, we have never seen any weapons in their hands. Not a single native showed any scar upon his body that would have made us think that they might sometimes be at war. None of the movements that we could see could demonstrate to us some manner of fighting. One could even go so far as to say that the inhabitants of Hualan have never had any relations with the natives of other islands.

One day, two of them gave us a demonstration of their dances and songs. The former are monotonous, slow and with little rhythm; the latter consist of sounds that are interrupted, low and unpleasant notes. Moreover, they seem to practice these sorts of entertainment but rarely and they have no musical instruments.

On the day following our arrival, curiosity had brought a large number of natives to watch us, among whom there were many women, but they kept themselves separately on the reefs at a good distance from the ship and never boarded the canoes that came



Model of a Kosraean canoe. (*From James Hornell's Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji, and Micronesia, p. 422*).

to visit us. In the different excursions that many of the staff officers made in the neighborhood of the anchorage, the huts were only occupied by men; the women had vacated them and were probably hidden in the woods. It was only at Lele, the capital of the island, that we were able to see them up close, but we were never able to go beyond the bounds of decency, into which they had enclosed themselves permanently. In fact, we could not get any positive information from the men to whom we asked questions about the ease of their [sexual] customs. Perhaps, by offering a present of considerable value to a chief, one might have obtained other results, but the idea not having been put to the test, one may conclude from the various circumstances that I have just mentioned that the men seem extremely jealous and not at all ready for experiments in cross-breeding.

As far as their marriage customs are concerned, and the number of wives that a man can have, according to the class to which he belongs, I have not gathered any information that would allow me to formulate any theory on the subject. The same comment applies to their religion; I know nothing about it other than their respect for the dead.

The language of the natives of Hualan is soft, but its pronunciation is difficult to grasp. Almost always we were obliged to make them repeat the same word, by many of them, until we could write it down with some confidence.

During our stay at Coquille Harbor (Hualan Island) from 6 to 15 June, the winds were constantly blowing from the east quadrant, the weather was superb for the first four days, then very variable until the end. The barometer remained continuously between 27.11,9 and 28.0,7. The thermometer climbed to 30° but never went below 28°.

Observatory. During the crossing that we have just made, we had had the opportunity of checking, either by distances or by sighting islands with known positions, that Chronometer n° 26 had performed well; the measurement of hourly angles during our stay confirmed this fact. The longitude [of the observatory] given by this chronometer, by making use of the notes made at the Bay of Islands, was 160°50'45"17; that calculated at Coquille Harbor was 160°48'22"46 East. It had to be preferable to the average longitude given by the four chronometers, because n° 3072, 1646 and 160 had suffered a marked variation a few days before we anchored; in any case, their movements were too different from the first for their results to be combined with it. From 8 series of near-moon distances between the sun and the stars, we had a latitude of 5°21'33" N. The [magnetic] variation was observed as usual with the theodolite and the Lenoir terrestrial compass; we found it to be 9°20'33" NE.

Departure from Hualan.

In the morning of the 15th the weather was nice, the wind light from E. We set sail and headed out of the harbor. By 8 o'clock we were outside of it. We then steered NNW. Hualan Island was disappearing fast from sight but we lost sight of it only at 4 in the afternoon.

The next day, we headed W1/4W. The sky remained completely overcast, with an abundant and continuous rain, and the wind was very variable from E to ESE. At nightfall, we took in the topsails and ran some tacks until the 17th in the morning when we pursued our voyage, steering first W, then SW1/4W and later SW. The sky had somewhat cleared and the weather was beautiful.

McAskill Island. [Pingelap]

At 9:45 a.m. the lookout sighted land in the SW1/4S. As we were getting near it, we recognized two islands sharing a common reef. They are aligned east-west about 4 miles, and near the west island there is an islet joined to it by a line of reddish rocks. They are covered with trees among which can be seen a large quantity of coconut trees. At 1:15, seeing canoes heading for the corvette, we hove to, firstly into the wind, and they soon were alongside. There were 10 canoes, each manned by 3 natives, and they tied up without hesitation. These islanders are entirely naked, except for the maro, of average size, well made, and generally fat. Their skin is dark brown. Light tattoos cover all the parts of their bodies, specially their backs. Their hair is gathered and knotted on the tops of the heads and decorated with a bunch of red flowers. They use the same flowers to make

garlands which they hang in their ears or necks. They hastened to give us some germinated coconuts, bananas and taro, without seemingly asking for anything in return. They also sent up one adze with a tridacna shell, some fishhooks, shell necklaces, coconut fiber ropes (a few very thick and well made) and some maros. The latter were artistically made, 1-foot wide and 5-foot long; they are decorated with designs of various colors but the colors are not bright.

18 June. [Mokil]

At daybreak on the 18th we headed NW1/4W. The weather was very nice, the breeze fresh from ENE. Some time later land was announced and we soon could see it from the deck. It consists of three low-lying islands sharing a common reef, with a lagoon in-between. The water inside the lagoon seemed deep but there were no openings.

The coconut trees are in large numbers, very high and they all appear to be leaning towards the west. After we rounded the northern part at a distance of two miles, we hove to on the lee side, i.e. west side, of the islands to wait for a sailing canoe that had gone out of the lagoon and was heading towards the corvette. It lowered its sail at some distance. It carried 10 men. One of them held the two halves of a coconut in his hands and spoke during a few minutes. After this, they decided to come alongside. These natives are tall, strong and well made and their skin is dark brown. The maro is the only piece of clothing they wear and is remarkable by the brilliance of its various designs. They are tattooed on the back, the thighs and the legs, with designs that are pleasant to look at. They wear their hair long and falling on their shoulders. A second canoe came later, carrying 8 men similar to the first ones. They too performed the same ceremony with the coconut before coming alongside. In trade we got some dry coconuts and some maros. At 9:40, we pursued our voyage heading NW1/4W. At 10:55 we lost sight of the land. At noon, our position was 6°49'43" N and 147°24'7" E longitude. We kept on running NW1/4W, during the daytime only, until the 20th at 11 a.m. when we changed course to WSW. The weather was now beautiful and the breeze variable from NNE to NE.

22 June.

On the 22nd at noon we were in 8°16' N and 151°53' E. The order was given to steer to SW1/4W. A short time later the winds became weak and variable, the weather squally with abundant rain at times. At 6 p.m. the breeze came back to ENE. Since the 158th meridian, the currents had been pushing us westward with a speed of 15 to 18 miles per day; the differences in latitudes were nil.

The next day at daybreak, we headed SW. At 6 p.m., the lookout announced a low-lying island in the S1/2W. We immediately tacked close to the wind to get near it, but night fell before we could see it from the deck. The northward tack that we held all night took us too far away from it, to allow us to see it the next day.

[Chuuk Islands]

24th. At daybreak on the 24th we ran to SSW, the breeze was then from SE, the sky very clear. At 7, the lookout announced land in the WSW. We steered in that direction and at 8 a.m. we began to see from the deck a few peaks of this island that is no doubt that discovered by Captain Dublon. At noon, the observations gave as our position 7°25'50" N and 150°9'50" E. We were then almost abreast of the north part that was distant about 15 miles. As we were getting nearer, we saw that this land consists of many islands of various sizes. At 4, we were 4 miles from those that are in the NE corner and we could then see five big and high islands and 20 low islands that seem to describe a great oval trending north-south. We maneuvered during the night under short sails so as to maintain our position and be able the next day to resume our exploration of this group. By the 27th at night we had gone completely around it. The chart that was made of it by Mr. Deblois will make it known in detail better than any description.

We had contact with many canoes that carried from 6 to 10 natives, and even 12, each. These craft are from 18 to 20 feet in length and are very carefully made; they sail in a superior fashion. We thought we could see that a few of them had one side almost flat; moreover, they are similar in every detail to the true [Carolinian] proa and were maneuvered absolutely the same way.

The natives are generally of average size and well proportioned, lively and alert. Their hair is either gathered up and knotted on the top of the head or tied on the nape, or sometimes it floats freely on the shoulders. Some have moustaches and a sparse beard on the chin. Their faces show calm and intelligence. Most of them had no signs of any tattoos, but a few had light designs on the chest and on the arms. Many had their head covered with large conical hats similar to Chinese bonnets.

Besides the maro that is wide and dyed red, they cover their body with a rather fine cloak, made with the fibers of the hibiscus. This piece, 8-foot long and 2-foot wide, is pierced in the center, and resembles the Chilean poncho. Their ornaments consist of necklaces with one or many strands, some made with shell disks, others with half-shells of a small oval fruit, very hard. They place some pieces of red wood in the holes of their ear lobes. It is a general custom among them to carry a wooden nail hanging from their neck; they use it to scratch their head.

Having completed our exploration of the group, we headed W1/4NW during the night of the 27th with a light breeze from NE, the weather squally and rainy at times.

28 June.

The next day, we were frustrated by calm weather and some light, variable, winds. We made little headway and all day we could still see the highest peak of the island that we had just explored. At nightfall, the wind having settled to NE, we were able to get away from it.

[30 June.]

At daybreak on the 30th, land was announced in the W1/4NW. We saw it a short time later in the form of three separate islands that were recognized as **Ulap**, **Tamatam** and **Fanadik**. The latter two are aligned SE-NW. **Fanadik** and **Ulap** are aligned SW-NE. Each one of these can be one mile in length and is surrounded individually by reefs that seem to allow passage between them. While coasting along the south part of **Tamatam** at a distance of about one mile, we saw a beautiful beach upon which the sea broke rather strongly, and near it we saw many big huts. The man on the topmast had then spotted in the SW two islands named **Puluwat**....

Document 1824J

The logbook of the *Lady Blackwood*, Captain John Hall—Re-discovery of the Hall Islands

Source: Captain Saliz' article in the Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, May 1827 (see Doc. 1826D); cited by Sharp, under #99; cited by Duperrey, in his Mémoire (Paris, 1827), p. 65.

Notes: Duperrey passed by the same islands only one day after Hall, as it turned out. The logbook of the Lady Blackwood is no longer extant. What follows has been re-translated into English from the French. This ship had already crossed Micronesia westward in 1823, and in 1824, was on a crossing from Calcutta to Mexico, says Saliz, who saw the original logbook.

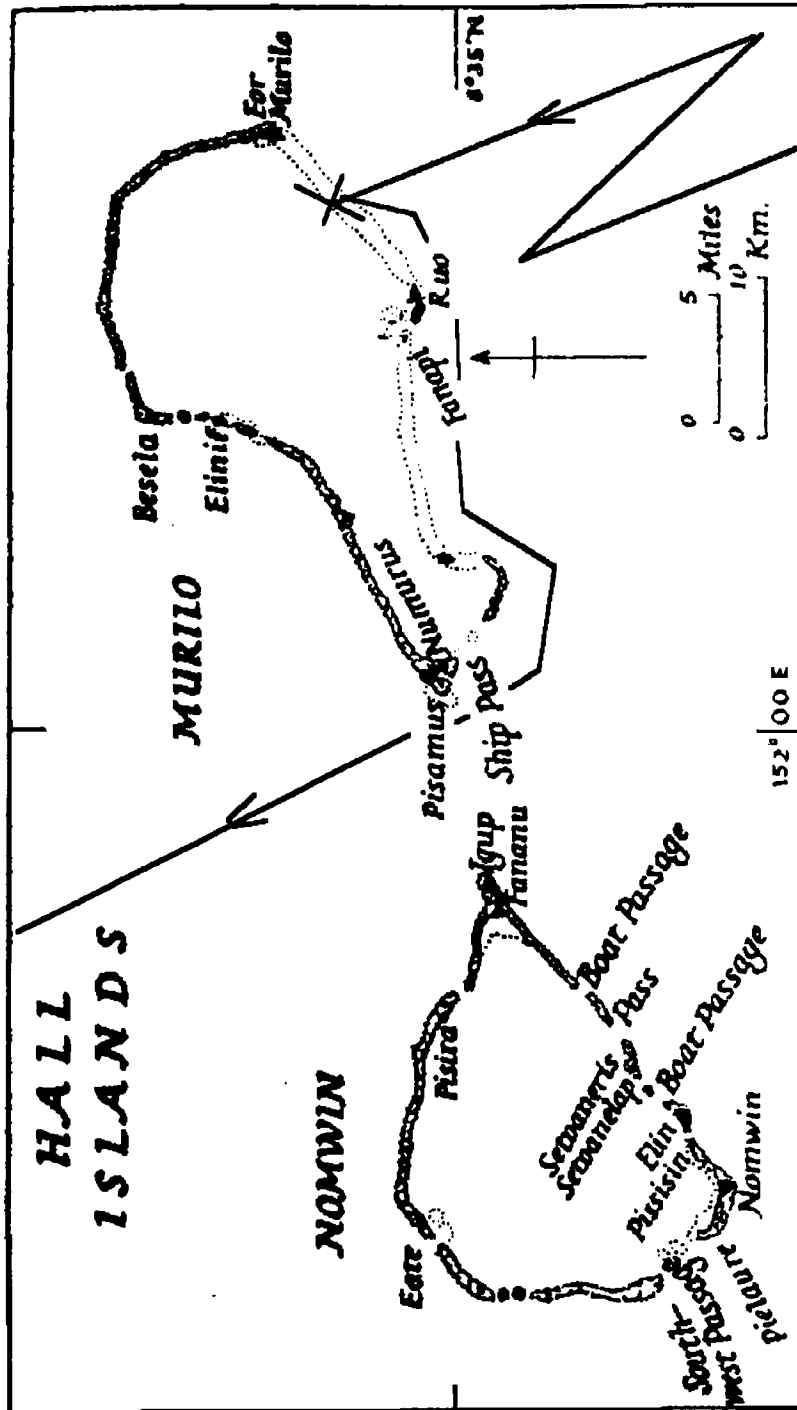
Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Hall

On 2 April 1824, while tacking to starboard as much as possible, with a good breeze from E., we sighted, at 2 a.m., a few small islands downwind and another higher, island beyond them.¹ At 3 a.m., we were near breakers extending very far. We tacked back, and returned at daybreak. While going northward, we kept on meeting with other small islands until noon, when, from the tops we could see the northernmost island bearing W1/4SW distant about 8 miles. At that time, we also took a bearing on the highest peak, that bore SW. Our observations place these islands in 6°58' N. and between 151°50' to 151°52' E. of Greenwich. The small islands seem to be on top of a coral plateau that lies east of the large island. The latter island has a remarkable peak that seems to be higher than the rest, and could be 800 feet high. From what we saw, these islands seem to be very populated, and some canoes tried to come alongside. It is possible that these islands are those called *Los Martires* that lie on the same latitude on the charts, but 2°30' farther west.²

Having made a daily run along a N1/4NW course, with a slight breeze from NE to ENE, making from 6 to 7 knots under full sail, we sighted, at 11 at night, a small island downwind, over the cat-head, bearing NW1/4N. Fearing that there might be some dangers around it, we immediately veered and headed SE. At 11:30, thinking that we had gained some sufficient easting to be able to pass to windward of this island, which we had sighted downwind, we veered to N and ran along this course until 4 a.m., when **the ship ran aground on top of a coral bank**. We judged our position to be downwind

1 Ed. note: The Chuuk Islands.

2 Ed. note: No. Los Martires correspond to Pulap atoll.



The Hall Islands. Re-discovered by Captain Hall in the *Lady Blackwood* in April 1824.

of the island, because we could see breakers everywhere to windward, and that the sea was smooth around the ship. This circumstance was a lucky one, indeed, and as we tried to back up one way or another, we managed to free the ship, without her having suffered more than in her copper that must have been damaged by the coral. Thus free, we tacked to S for 6 miles, then we faced the wind until daybreak, which soon appeared.

We then could see that the ship had touched on a bank that ran from a small, long and flat, island to windward, to the small island that we had first sighted during the night.¹

From the tops, many small islands could be seen to the east of the former. Consequently, we fell back in order to pass on the west side of the whole group. While we were running westward, we saw more small islands in that direction, all linked by a reef barrier and with those lying to the east. We headed SW and rounded the reef which was above water at many places on the south side, while at the same time from the yards we could see another line of breakers along the north side of the lagoon and the islands. Once we had the last two small islands north of us,² we tacked to NW, since the reef seems to end with those islands.

A short time later, we sighted two other small islands to the west.³ However, as we could not see any danger dead ahead of us, from the tops, we kept on going and the passage turned out to be clean. At 9 a.m., when we were abreast of the western set of islands, those to the east of us were distant about 15 miles. We took some elevations for the chronometers. At noon, we observed a latitude of 8°58' N., having travelled 19 miles to NNW1/4W, which placed this chain of islands in 8°45' lat. N., and a longitude between 151°40' and 152°14' E. and seemingly having a length of 35 to 40 miles, from W. to E.

At 2 p.m., many series of distances W. gave as a result 152°51' long. E., which agreed with our chronometers. We continued to ply to starboard, with a strong wind NE wind, and we saw nothing more.

...

Editor's notes.

Captain Saliz, who reported this discovery, thought that these two groups had never been seen by Europeans, because they were not laid down on the charts available to him. So, he named them the Hall Islands, in honor of Captain John Hall, and named the passage between between Nomwin and Murilo atolls the Lady Blackwood Passage.

The **Lady Blackwood** later became a whaler operating out of Sydney. Jones' Ships mention many voyages by her beginning in 1832 under a Captain Gibbs, and ending in 1846 under a Captain Cooper.

1 Ed. note: Ruo and Murilo Islands respectively, part of the Murilo atoll.

2 Ed. note: Namurus and Pissamwe (Car. 15A-11 and -12 in Bryan's Place Names).

3 Ed. note: Igup and Fananu Islands belonging to Nomwin Atoll (Car. 15B-3 and -4 in Bryan's Place Names).

Documents 1824L

The Globe mutiny—First reports from newspapers

Sources: Notices Mili 1-11 in Gerard Ward's American Activities in the Central Pacific.

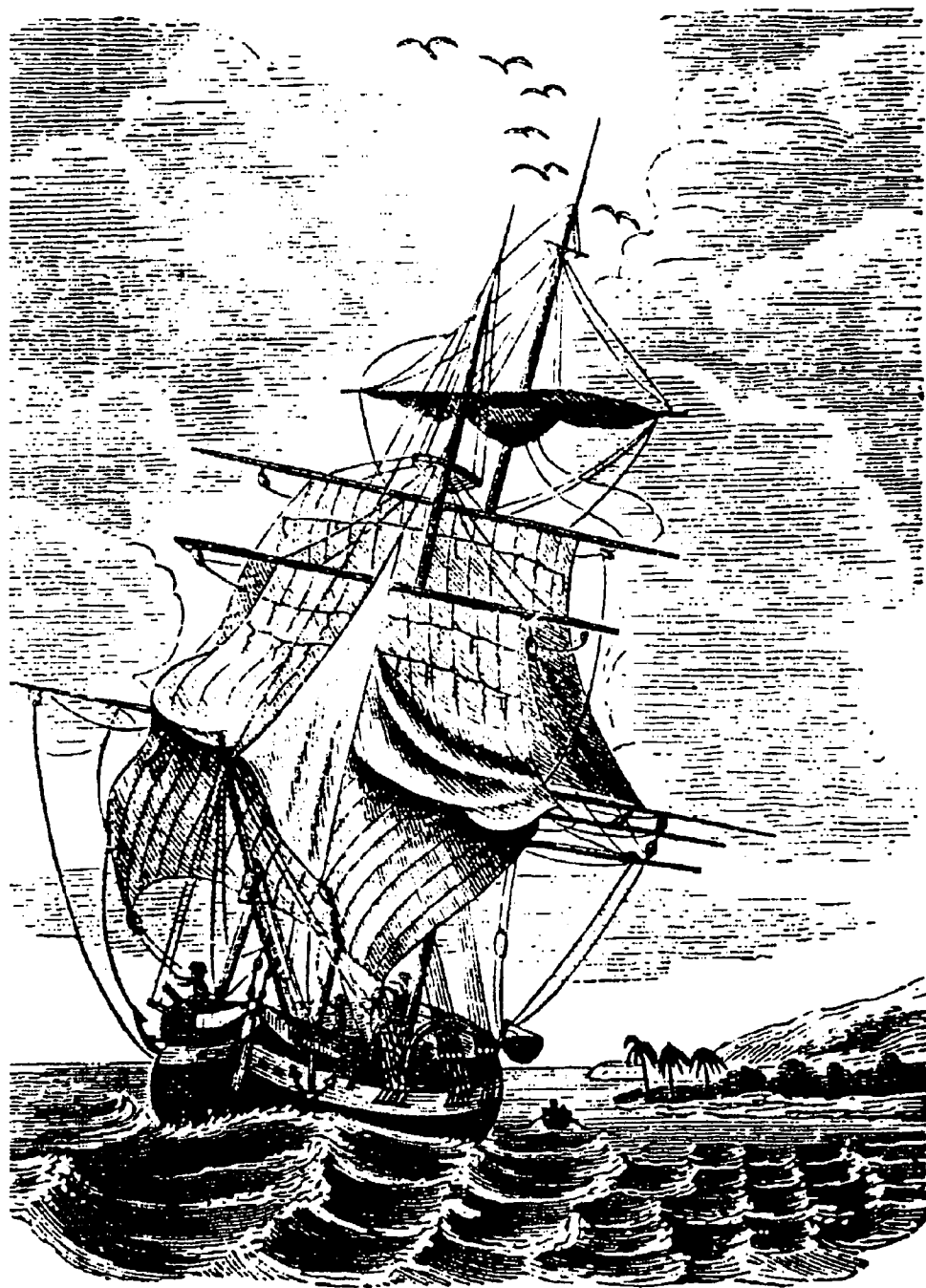
Note: The Globe had left Nantucket on 20 December 1822 and returned home on 14 November 1824, according to Starbuck who says (p. 243): "On this voyage and on this ship occurred the most horrible mutiny that is recounted in the annals of the whale-fishery from any port or nation."

First article in the New Bedford Mercury, Oct. 22, 1824

Marine Journal—Boston, Oct. 18.

Ship **Globe**, of Nantucket, arrived at Valparaiso about the middle of June, under command of Smith, one of the boat steerers, the crew having mutinied and murdered the captain and both mates, viz, Thomas Worth, captain, Wm. Beetle, 1st mate, and John Lombard, 2nd mate. The particulars relative to this horrid affair, as far as could be ascertained, were obtained from Capt. Eddiston of the **Belle**. It appears that the mutineers took the ship to the Murgrave Islands, with the intention of remaining, after taking ashore every thing useful, they quarrelled among themselves as to the right of command, and shot the head mutineer, named Comstock, (one of the boat steerers, of New York) and afterwards hung the steward suspecting him not to be favorably disposed towards them; that while most of the mutineers were ashore, Smith and a few men and boys left on board, who had apparently joined in the mutiny, but only so through fear, seized the opportunity to save the property and themselves, by cutting the cables and making sail from the Island. On the Coast of Peru, she fell in with a vessel, the mate of which went on board and took her safe into Valparaiso, where she was taken possession of by the American Consul, and would sail soon for Nantucket, under command of Thomas Raymond. The mutineers of the **Globe** intended to have burnt the ship; that only 6 persons arrived in the G. at Valparaiso, and they were confined on board an English and French vessel of war, there being no American armed vessel in port; and that 11 of the crew were left at the Mulgrave Islands, situated in lat. 7, S. [rather N.] long. 173 E.

[Editor's Note: For Doc. 1824K, see HM18]



THE WHALE SHIP GLOBE, OF NANTUCKET.

As she appeared off the Mulgrave Islands.

February, 11th., 1824.

Second article in the New Bedford Mercury, Nov. 26, 1824

Marine Journal Edgartown Nov. 18, 1824.

Arrived at this port 14th inst. ship **Globe**, King, (late Worth) 90 days from Valparaiso. Four only of her original crew have returned in her, viz. Gilbert Smith, Peter C. Kidder, and Stephen Kidder, of this town; and George Comstock of New York. Joseph Thomas of Norwich, (Conn.) and Anthony Hanson, a black, (the two last-named were shipped at the Sandwich Islands). Thomas has been imprisoned since his arrival, suspected of being an accessory before the fact. The mutiny took place about the 25th of January last. Six were suspected of being concerned, only four however, were actually engaged in it, viz. Samuel B. Comstock, Silas Paine, John Oliver, Thomas Lilliston, Joseph Thomas, before mentioned, and the steward, a negro, Thomas Worth, the Captain, was killed with an axe, instantly. Wm. Beetle, 1st mate, was killed with a hatchet and boarding knife; the 2nd mate, John Lumbert, was literally cut to pieces, and while alive was thrown overboard. He swam about 2 rods and then sunk. The 3rd mate and boatsteerer Nathaniel Fisher, was shot. After the officers were killed, Comstock, the ringleader of the mutiny ordered the negro steward above mentioned to be hung, for some breach of his commands, which was accordingly done. The **Globe** arrived at the Mulgrave Islands on the 15th of February. Two or three days previous to this, a boat from the **Globe** attempted to land at one of the Islands; but the inhabitants appearing savage and unfriendly, the undertaking was abandoned. One of the natives was killed by Comstock the mutineer. The murder of the officers of the **Globe** took place about 12 o'clock at night. The **Globe** was at that time in company with the ship **Lyra** of New Bedford.¹ The **Lyra** was not supposed to be more than half a mile distant when the horrible work commenced.

The names of those that were left at Mulgrave Islands are as follows: Columbus Worth and Rowland Jones, of this town; Cyrus M. Hussey and Rowland Coffin, of Nantucket; William Lay, John Brown, Samuel B. Comstock, Thomas Lilliston, Silas Paine, John Oliver, and William Humphries.

There was a quarrel between Comstock the mutineer and Paine and Oliver, the mutineers, respecting the disposal of the officers clothes and slop clothes, which terminated in the death of Comstock, who was shot by the other two.

Article in the Gazette and Patriot, Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 4, 1824.

Mutiny—From the Nantucket Inquirer.

The ship **Globe** sailed from Nantucket for the Pacific Ocean, on the 20th Dec. 1822. Thomas Worth, master, Wm. Beetle, mate, John Lumbard, 2nd do., Nathaniel Fisher, 3rd do. Crew were perfectly peaceable during the voyage as far as the Sandwich Islands. At the Islands 6 men deserted, and others were shipped in their stead. On the morning of the 26th of Jan. 1824, considerable disturbance occurred in consequence of one of the hands having insulted Capt. Worth, for which he was punished with a rope's end.

¹ Ed. note: Captain Joy, left N.B. at an unknown date in 1822 (Starbuck, p. 248).

The **Lyra** of New Bedford was in company all day. Captain and two mates kept no watch. At half past eight the Captain went on deck to give orders to the watch officer for the night, and went below about 9. Ordered the ship to be kept close by the wind until 2 a.m. and not to tack until the watch came up; on tacking a light to be set for the **Lyra**, in company, who was to answer it. At 10 o'clock Comstock took the watch on deck, and to him were passed the Captain's orders. About 1 a.m. the attack was made. The Captain and mate were killed and thrown out of the cabin window; the 3rd mate was killed in the State Room. The 2nd mate asked for his life at the hands of the murderers, and remained below. After sail had been made on the ship, the second and third mates were dragged on deck, by ropes fastened to them and thrown overboard. The 2nd mate being alive, caught hold and hung by the Plank Sheer for some time; Comstock however succeeded in disengaging his hold, when he caught by the sheathing and then reminded Comstock of a promise he had made to spare his life; the mutineer persevered, and the 2nd mate fell overboard and was seen swimming at the stern of the ship.

About 2 o'clock, calm, the **Lyra** made the signal light; which was answered without tacking. At daylight, next day, the **Lyra** was not in sight. They steered for King's Mill Group of Islands. A tyrannical code of murderous laws was then produced by the mutineers, which every one was required to sign. On the same day the former steward, a black, acting as 2nd mate, was discovered loading a pistol in the cabin; on being asked what he was going to do, he replied: "not much of anything." He was tried by a Court, appointed purposely to find him guilty, and sentenced to be hung—after being allowed 14 seconds time by the hour glass to make his peace with God, he was hung to the steering sail boom. The ship was then kept on her course and the crew began to waste and destroy her stores, heaving the oil overboard and burning the casks.

About the 7th of Feb. made King's Mill Group, bent a cable, threw some rigging and hawsers overboard. Laid some days off these Islands; the natives being so savage it was dangerous to land. Shot one of the natives—went to the Mulgrave range of Islands and anchored on the 13th of Feb. Not finding a suitable place to run the ship on shore, they determined on landing where the ship lay—accordingly they took on shore provisions, sails, spars, rigging, chests, etc. On the 17th partly dismantled the ship, taking the rigging on shore. On the morning of this day Comstock was shot by his associates, for giving clothes and other articles to the natives, before the articles had been divided. On this day part of the crew, 6 persons, having previously agreed on the plan, cut the cables and left the islands while the mutineers were on shore. Having no quadrant, they steered an Easterly course with a view to get into any port in South America. Made the land about 30 miles south of Valparaiso, spoke a Chilian ship and obtained assistance to get into port.

At Valparaiso, Capt. King, of Mass. was employed by the U.S. Consul to navigate the ship to Nantucket. One of the crew, by the name of Thomas, was brought home in the ship, and is now under arrest on suspicion of being privy to the designs of the mutineers, previous to the attack.

Article in the Boston Courier, Feb. 11, 1825.

The Secretary of the Navy has instructed Commodore Hull, to send one of his vessels to the Mulgrave Islands, to endeavor to find those persons who were concerned in the mutiny on board the ship **Globe**.

Third article in the New Bedford Mercury, Dec. 30, 1825.

Mutineers of ship *Globe* of Nantucket.

The Hon. John Reed, M.C. has communicated to the editor of the Nantucket Inquirer, a note received by him from the Secretary of the Navy, dated the 14th inst. which states that in pursuance of instructions from the Navy Department, Commodore Hull, commander of the U.S. naval force in the Pacific, has despatched the U.S. schooner **Dolphin** to the Mulgrave Islands in search of the mutineers of the ship **Globe**. The **Dolphin** sailed from Chorillos, near Lima, 17th of August last.

Fourth article in the New Bedford Mercury, Sept. 1, 1826.

A report from the Sandwich Islands via Canton, states, that the 2 or 3 persons, (one quite a lad) belonging to the **Globe**, found at the Mulgrave Islands, by the **Dolphin**, were considered, by her commander as innocent of any participation in the mutiny—and that the ringleaders were among those killed by the natives.

Fifth article in the New Bedford Mercury, Nov. 3, 1826.

From the Nantucket Inquirer—Ship *Globe*.

At length we are enabled to particularize, with some degree of accuracy, the names and the fate of those persons who composed the crew of ship **Globe** of this port: the tragical consequences of whose last voyage are still fresh in the memories of our readers. The following details are taken from manuscript memoranda at the Union [Maritime] Insurance [Company] Office.

Murdered by the mutineers on Sunday night, Jan. 25, 1824, in lat. about 5 N. long. 159 W. Thomas Worth, master; William Beetle, 1st mate; John Lumbert, 2nd do.; Nathaniel Fisher, 3rd do.; Gilbert Smith, Boat Steerer—all of Martha's Vineyard. Samuel B. Comstock of New York, chief mutineer, was afterwards shot by his own party, at the Mulgrave Islands. William Humphrey, of Philadelphia, Steward (black) one of the mutineers, was hung at the yard arm by his comrades, two days after the mutiny.

Left on the Mulgrave Islands, and afterwards killed by the natives: Columbus Worth and Rowland Jones of Martha's Vineyard; Rowland Coffin of Nantucket; Silas Payne of Long Island; Thomas Lilliston of Virginia; John Oliver, and Englishman; and a Sandwich Islander.

Returned in the **Globe**, under command of Capt. King, shipped by the American Consul at Valparaiso: Stephen Kidder, and Peter C. Kidder, of Martha's Vineyard; George Comstock of New York; Anthony Hanson (black) of Barnstable; and Joseph Thomas, of Saybrook. The latter, under suspicion of being one of the mutineers, was examined and committed for trial, but was finally acquitted.

Thus, of the ship's company which consisted of 21 persons, one third were massacred by the mutineers, one third were destroyed by savages, and of the residue, five have lived to return in the **Globe**; the other two, Cyrus M. Hussey of this town, and William Lay of Connecticut, are accounted for in the subjoined letter from Mr. Hogan, American Consul of Valparaiso.

Valparaiso, July 30, 1826.

*Sir: It affords me great satisfaction to inform you that the U.S. schooner **Dolphin** anchored here on the 23rd inst. having on board two of the youths belonging to the **Globe**, left on Mulgrave Island, Wm. Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey, both grown up fine young men, very much liked by their officers. All the rest were killed by the natives, of which no doubt Lt. Commandant Percival has advised; but as this vessel goes direct to Stonington, I conceive it my duty to trouble you with this communication for the information of all concerned. Yours, &c.*

Michael Hogan.

[To] *William Coffin, Esq. President of the U.M. Ins. Co., Nantucket.*

First article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, Aug. 22, 1827.

Ship Globe.

William Lay, of Connecticut, and Cyrus Hussey, of Nantucket, survivors of the memorable mutiny on board ship **Globe**, propose to publish by subscription a Narrative of the principle [sic] incidents attending that transaction, of which they were eye-witnesses, together with a relation of subsequent events, during a long and perilous residence among the savages of Mulgrave Islands. The story of the mutiny has hitherto been bandied about in the newspapers until almost every reader has become familiar with its leading facts; but the circumstances which have since transpired, in relation to those who did not become immediate victims of the affray, are not so commonly known. The proposed publication will embrace many valuable details touching the habits, language, etc. of the natives among whom the authors were cast; and, as it will be revised by a gentleman of acknowledged literary taste and ability, the public may be warranted in the expectation of an authentic and interesting work, in every sense worthy of the most generous patronage.¹

Second article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, June 21, 1831.

Paulding's Journal.

A Journal of a Cruise of the U.S. schooner **Dolphin** among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, and a visit to the Mulgrave Islands in pursuit of the mutineers of the whale ship **Globe**, by Lieut. H. Paulding of the U.S. Navy, has just been published by Messrs. Carvill. It is introduced by a modest preface, in which the author expresses his hope that a "plain narrative of a cruise through an unfrequented part of the ocean, compris-

¹ Ed. note: Reproduced in Doc. 1824M1.

ing a particular description of a group of Islands never before explored, and forming perhaps the latest inhabited portion of the globe, may not be without interest." These are the Mulgrave Islands, the people of which he supposes to approach more nearly to a state of nature, than those of any other known region. The cruise, an account of which is now published, led to a more full examination of these islands than had hitherto been made, or is likely to be made again. The book fulfils the promise held by the preface. It is written in an unpretending style, and describes this race of people and the singular circle of islands on which they reside, in an agreeable manner and in a way that shows the author to have been an attentive observer. The book contains also intelligent and interesting notices of several of the principal islands in the South Sea, and their inhabitants.¹

1 Ed. note: For this account, see Doc. 1825C.

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NARRATIVE
OF THE
MUTINY,
ON BOARD THE
SHIP GLOBE,
OF NANTUCKET,
IN THE
PACIFIC OCEAN, JAN. 1824.
AND THE
JOURNAL
OF A
RESIDENCE OF TWO YEARS
ON THE
MULGRAVE ISLANDS;
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANNERS AND
CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.

BY WILLIAM LAY, OF SAYBROOK, CONN. AND
CYRUS M. HUSSEY, OF NANTUCKET:
The only Survivors from the Massacre of the Ship's Com-
pany by the Natives.

NEW-LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY WM. LAY, AND C. M. HUSSEY.

1828:

Documents 1824M

**The Globe mutiny and the pirate captain
Samuel Comstock****M1. The narrative of William Lay and Gyrus M. Hussey**

Source: William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey. A Narrative of the Mutiny on Board the Ship Globe of Nantucket (New London, priv. printed, 1828).

**TO JOHN PERCIVAL, Esq.
OF THE U.S. NAVY,**

Who, under the auspices of Government, visited the Mulgrave Islands, to release the survivors of the Ship *Globe's* crew, and extended to them every attention their unhappy situation required—the following Narrative is most respectfully dedicated, by

William Lay, &
Cyrus M. Hussey,
The Authors.

CHAPTER I

The ship **Globe**, on board of which vessel occurred the horrid transaction we are about to relate, belonged to the Island of Nantucket; she was owned by Messrs. C. Mitchell & Co. and other merchants of that place; and commanded on this voyage by Thomas Worth, of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, William Beetle, mate, John Lumbert, 2nd mate, Nathaniel Fisher, 3rd mate, Gilbert Smith, boat-steerer, Samuel B. Comstock, do., Stephen Kidder, seaman, Peter C. Kidder, do., Columbus Worth, do., Rowland Jones, do., John Cleveland, do., Constant Lewis, do., Holden Heernam, do., Jeremiah Ingham, do., Joseph Ignatius Prass, do., Cyrus M. Hussey, cooper, Rowland Coffin, do., George Comstock, seaman, and William Lay, do.

On the 15th day of December [1822], we sailed from Edgartown, on a whaling voyage, to the Pacific Ocean, but in working out, having carried away the cross-jack-yard, we returned to port, and after having refitted and sent aloft another, we sailed again on the 19th and on the same day anchored in Holmes Hole. On the following day a favourable opportunity offering to proceed to sea, we got under way, and after hav-

ing cleared the land, discharged the pilot, made sail, and performed the necessary duties of stowing the anchors, unbending and coiling away the cables, etc.

On the 1st of January 1823, we experienced a heavy gale from N.W. which was but the first in the catalogue of difficulties we were fated to encounter. As this was our first trial of a seaman's life, the scene presented to our view, "mid the howling storm," was one of terrific grandeur, as well as of real danger. But as the ship scudded well, and the wind was fair, she was kept before it, under a close-reefed main-topsail and foresail, although during the gale, which lasted 48 hours, the sea frequently threatened to board us, which was prevented by the skilful management of the helm.

On the 9th of January we made the Cape Verde Islands, bearing S.W. 25 miles distant, and on the 17th, crossed the Equator.

On the 29th of the same month we saw sperm whales, lowered our boats, and succeeded in taking one; the blubber of which, when boiled out, yielded us 75 barrels of oil. Pursuing our voyage, on the 23rd of February we passed the Falkland Islands, and about the 5th of March, doubled the great promontory of South America, Cape Horn, and stood to the northward.

We saw whales once only before we reached the Sandwich Islands, which we made on the 1st of May early in the morning. When drawing in with the Island of Hawaii about 4 in the afternoon, the man at the mast-head gave notice that he saw a shoal of black fish on the lee bow; which we soon found to be canoes on their way to meet us. It falling calm at this time prevented their getting alongside until nightfall, which they did, at a distance of more than 3 leagues from the land. We received from them a very welcome supply of potatoes, sugarcane, yams, coconuts, bananas, fish, etc., for which we gave them in return pieces of iron hoop, nails, and similar articles. We stood off and on during the next day, and after obtaining a sufficient supply of vegetables and fruit, we shaped our course for Oahu, at which place we arrived on the following day, and, after lying there 24 hours, sailed for the coast of Japan, in company with the whaling ship **Palladium** of Boston, and **Pocahontas** of Falmouth; from which ships we parted company when two days out. After cruising in the Japan seas several months, and obtaining 550 barrels of oil, we again shaped our course for the Sandwich Islands, to obtain a supply of vegetables, etc.

While lying at Oahu, six of the men deserted in the night; two of them having been re-taken were put in irons, but one of them having found means to divest himself of his irons set the other at liberty, and both escaped.

To supply their places, we shipped the following persons, viz: Silas Payne, John Oliver, Anthony Hanson, a native of Oahu, Wm. Humphries, a black man, and steward, and Thomas Lilliston. Having accomodated ourselves with as many vegetables and much fruit as could be preserved, we again put to sea, fondly anticipating a successful cruise, and a speedy and happy meeting with our friends. After leaving Oahu we ran to the south of the equator, and after cruising a short time for whales without much success, we steered for Fanning Island, which lies in lat. 3°40' N. and long. 158°20' W. While cruising off this Island an event occurred which, whether we consider the

want of motives, or the cold-blooded and obstinate cruelty which it was perpetrated, has not often been equalled. We speak of the want of motives because, although some occurrences which we shall mention had given the crew some ground for dissatisfaction, there had been no abuse or severity which could in the least degree excuse or palliate so barbarous a mode of redress and revenge. During our cruise to Japan the season before, many complaints were uttered by the crew among themselves with respect to the manner and quantity in which they received their meat, the quantity sometimes being more than sufficient for the number of men, and at others not enough to supply the ship's company; and it is fair to presume that the most dissatisfied deserted the ship at Oahu.

But the reader will no doubt consider it superfluous for us to attempt an unrequired vindication of the conduct of the officers of the **Globe** whose aim was to maintain a correct discipline, which should result in the furtherance of the voyage and be a benefit to all concerned, more especially when he is informed that part of the men shipped at Oahu, in the room of the deserters, were abandoned wretches, who frequently were the cause of severe reprimands from the officers, and in one instance one of them received a severe flogging. The reader will also please to bear in mind that Samuel B. Comstock, the ring-leader of the mutiny, was an officer (being a boat-steerer) and as is customary, ate in the cabin. The conduct and deportment of the Captain towards this individual was always decorous and gentlemanly, a proof of intentions long premeditated to destroy the ship. Some of the crew were determined to leave the ship provided she touched at Fanning Island, and we believe had concerted a plan of escape, but of which the perpetration of a deed chilling to humanity precluded the necessity. We were at this time in company with the ship **Lyra** of New Bedford, the Captain of which had been on board the **Globe** during the most of the day, but had returned in the evening to his own ship. An agreement had been made by him with the Captain of the **Globe** to set a light at midnight as a signal for tacking. It may not be amiss to acquaint the reader of the manner in which whalers keep watch during the night. They generally carry three boats, though some carry four, five, and sometimes six; the **Globe**, however, being of the class carrying three. The Captain, mate, and second mate stand no watch except [when] there is blubber to be boiled; the boat-steerers taking charge of the watch and managing the ship with their respective boat's crews, and in this instance dividing the night into three parts, each taking a third. It so happened that Smith, after keeping the first watch, was relieved by Comstock (whom we shall call by his surname in contradistinction to his brother George) and the waist boat's crew, and the former watch retired below to their berths and hammocks. George Comstock took the helm, during his "trick," received orders from his brother to "keep the ship a good full," swearing that the ship was too nigh the wind. When his time at the helm had expired he took the rattle (an instrument used by whalers to announce the expiration of the hour, the watch, etc.) and began to shake it, when Comstock came to him, and, in the most peremptory manner, ordered him to desist, saying "If you make the least damn bit of noise, I'll send you to hell!" He then lighted a lamp and went into the steerage. George, becoming

alarmed at this conduct of his unnatural brother, again took the rattle for the purpose of alarming some one; Comstock arrived in time to prevent him, and, with threatenings dark and diabolical, so congealed the blood of the trembling brother, that even had he possessed the power of alarming the unconscious and fated victims below, his life would have been the forfeit of his temerity!

Comstock now laid something heavy upon a small work bench near the cabin gangway, which was afterwards found to be a boarding knife. It is an instrument used by whalers to cut the blubber when hoisting it in, is about four feet in length, two or three inches wide, and necessarily kept very sharp, and, for greater convenience when in use, is two edged.

In giving a detail of this chilling transaction, we shall be guided by the description given of it by the younger Comstock, who, as has been observed, was upon deck at the time, and afterwards learned several particulars from his brother, to whom alone they could have been known. Comstock went down into the cabin, accompanied by Silas Payne or Paine, of Sag Harbour, John Oliver, of Shields, Eng., William Humphries, the steward of Philadelphia, and Thomas Lilliston; the latter, however, went no farther than the cabin gangway, and then ran forward and turned in. According to his own story he did not think they would attempt to put their designs in execution, until he saw them actually descending into the cabin, having gone so far, to use his own expression, to show himself as brave as any of them. But we believe he had not the smallest idea of assisting the villains. Comstock entered the cabin so silently as not to be perceived by the man at the helm, who was first apprised of his having begun the work of death by the sound of a heavy blow with an axe, which he distinctly heard.

The Captain was asleep in a hammock, suspended in the cabin, his state room being unfomfortably warm; Comstock approaching him with the axe, struck him a blow upon the head, which was nearly severed in two by the first stroke! After repeating the blow, he ran to Payne, who it seems was stationed with the before-mentioned boarding knife, to attack the mate, as soon as the Captain was killed. At this instant, Payne making a thrust at the mate, he awoke, and terrified, exclaimed: "What! what! what!" "Is this — Oh! Payne! Oh! Comstock!" "Don't kill me, don't." "Have I not always —" Here Comstock interrupted him saying: "Yes! you have always been a d—d rascal; you tell lies of me out of the ship, will you? It's a d—d good time to beg now, but you're too late." Here the mate sprang, and grasped him by the throat. In the scuffle, the light which Comstock held in his hand was knocked out and the axe fell from his hand; but the grasp of Mr. Beetle upon his throat did not prevent him from making Payne understand that his weapon was lost, who felt about until he found it, and, having given it to Comstock, he managed to strike him a blow upon the head, which fractured his skull, when he fell into the pantry where he lay groaning until dispatched by Comstock! The steward held a light at this time, while Oliver put in a blow as often as possible!

The second and third mates, fastened in their state rooms, lay in their berths listening, fearing to speak, and being ignorant of the numerical strength of the mutineers,

and unarmed, thought it best to wait the dreadful issue, hoping that their lives might yet be spared.

Comstock, leaving a watch at the second mate's door, went upon deck to light another lamp at the binnacle, it having been again accidentally extinguished. He was there asked by his terrified brother, whose agony of mind we will not attempt to portray, if he intended to hurt Smith, the other boat-steerer. He replied that he did; and inquired where he was. George, fearing that Smith would be immediately pursued, said he had not seen him. Comstock then perceiving his brother to be shedding tears asked sternly: "What are you crying about?" "I am afraid," replied George, "that they will hurt me!" "I will hurt you" said he, "if you talk in that manner!"

But the work of death was not yet finished. Comstock took his light into the cabin, and made preparations for attacking the second and third mates, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Lumbert. After loading two muskets, he fired one through the door, in the direction as near as he could judge of the officers, and then inquired if either was shot! Fisher replied, "Yes, I am shot in the mouth!" Previous to his shooting Fisher, Lumbert, asked if he was going to kill him?" To which he answered with apparent unconcern: "Oh no, I guess not."

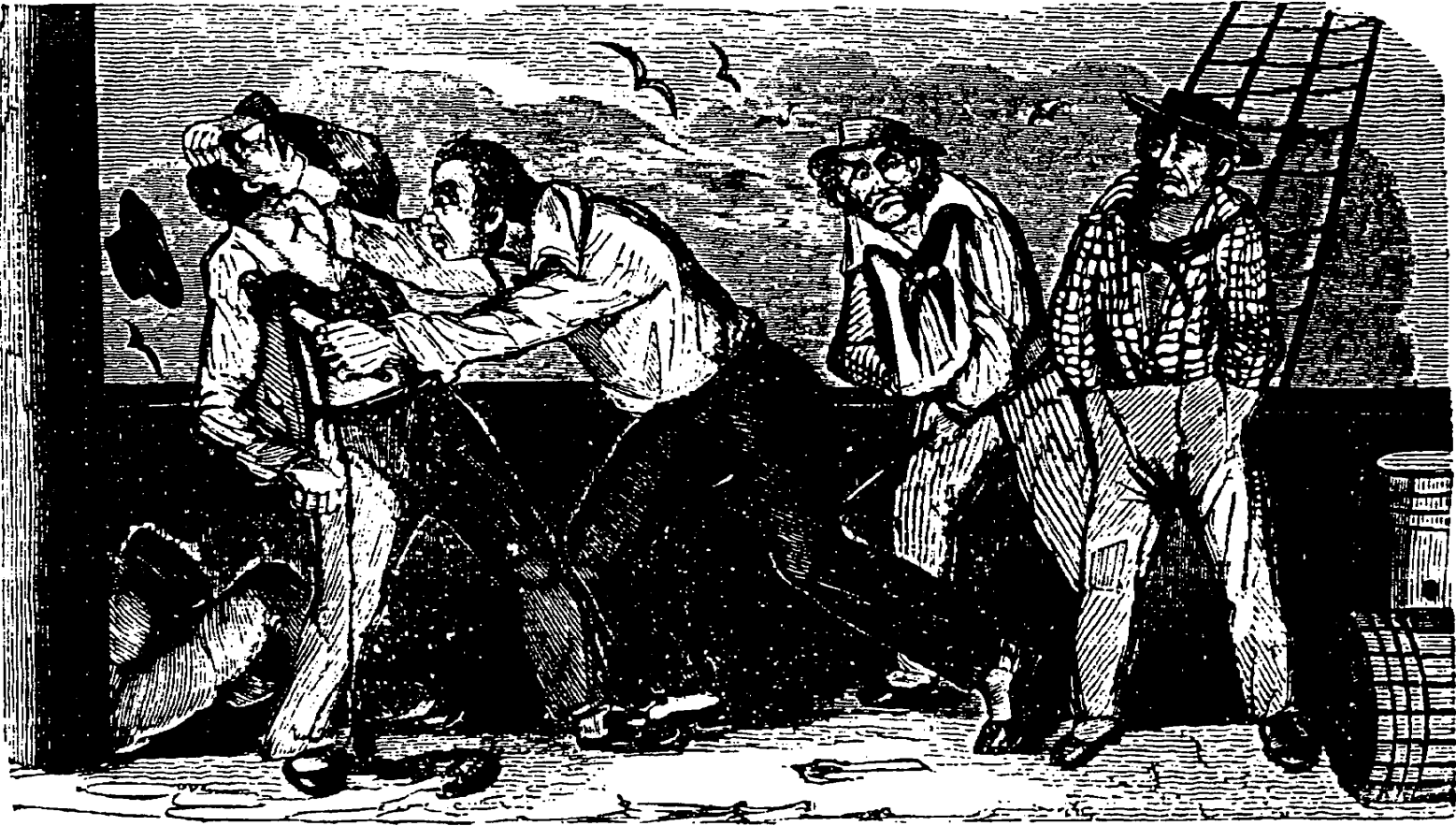
They now opened the door, and Comstock, making a pass at Mr. Lumbert, missed him, and fell into the state room. Mr. Lumbert collared him, but he escaped from his hands. Mr. Fisher had got the gun, and actually presented the bayonet to the monster's heart! But Comstock assuring him that his life should be spared if he gave it up, he did so; when Comstock immediately ran Mr. Lumbert through the body several times! !

He then turned to Mr. Fisher, and told him there was no hope for **him!** "You have got to die," said he, "remember the scrape you got me into, when in company with the **Enterprise** of Nantucket?" The "scrape" alluded to was as follows. Comstock came up to Mr. Fisher to wrestle with him. Fisher being the most athletic of the two, handled him with so much ease, that Comstock in a fit of passion struck him. At this Fisher seized him, and laid him upon deck several times in a pretty rough manner.

Comstock then made some violent threats, which Fisher paid no attention to, but which now fell upon his soul with all the horrors of reality. Finding his cruel enemy deaf to his remonstrances, and entreaties, he said: "If there is no hope, I will at least die like a man!" and having, by order of Comstock, turned back too, said in a firm voice: "I am ready!"

Comstock then put the muzzle of the gun to his head, and fired, which instantly put an end to his existence! Mr. Lumbert, during this time, was begging for life, although no doubt mortally wounded. Comstock, turned to him and said: "I am a bloody man! I have a bloody hand and will be avenged!" and again run him through the body with a bayonet! He then begged for a little water: "I'll give you water," said he, and once more plunging the weapon in his body, left him for dead!

Thus it appears that this more than demon, murdered with his own hand, the whole! Gladly would we wash from "memory's waste" all remembrance of that bloody night. The compassionate reader, however, whose heart sickens within him at the perusal, as



does ours at the recital, of this tale of woe, will not, we hope, disprove our publishing these melancholy facts to the world. As, through the boundless mercy of Providence we have been restored to the bosom of our families and homes, we deemed it a duty we owe to the world to record our "unvarnished tale."

CHAPTER II.

Smith, the other boat-steerer, who had been marked as one of the victims, on hearing the noise in the cabin, went aft, apprehending an altercation between the Captain and some of the other officers, little dreaming that innocent blood was flowing in torrents. But what was his astonishment when he beheld Comstock brandishing the boarding knife, and heard him exclaim: "I am the bloody man, and will have revenge!" Horror struck, he hurried forward, and asked the crew in the fore-castle what he should do. Some urged him to secrete himself in the hold, others to go aloft until Comstock's rage should be abated, but alas! the reflection that the ship afforded no secure hiding place determined him to confront the ring-leader, and if he could not save his life by fair means, to sell it dearly! He was soon called for by Comstock, who upon meeting him threw his bloody arms around his neck, and embracing him, said: "You are going to be with us, are you not?" The reader will discover the good policy of Smith when he unhesitatingly answered: "Oh yes, I will do anything you require."

All hands were now called to make sail, and a light at the same time was set as a signal for the **Lyra** to tack;—while the **Globe** was kept upon the same tack, which very soon caused a separation of the two ships. All the reefs were turned out, top-gallant sails set, and all sail made on the ship, the wind being quite light.

The mutineers then threw the body of the Captain overboard, after wantonly piercing his bowels with a boarding knife, which was driven with an axe, until the point protruded from his throat! In Mr. Beetle, the mate, the lamp of life had not entirely gone out, but he was committed to the deep.

Orders were next given to have the bodies of Mr. Fisher and Mr. Lumbert brought up. A rope was fastened to Fisher's neck, by which he was hauled up on deck. A rope was made fast to Mr. Lumbert's feet, and in this way was he got upon deck, but when in the act of being thrown from the ship, he caught the plank-shear; and appealed to Comstock, reminding him of his promise to save him, but in vain; for the monster forced him from his hold, and he fell into the sea! As he appeared to be yet capable of swimming, a boat was ordered to be lowered, to pursue and finish him, fearing he might be picked up by the **Lyra**, which order was as soon countermanded as given, fearing, no doubt, desertion of his murderous companions.

We will now present the reader, with a journal of our passage to the Mulgrave Islands, for which group we shaped our course.

1824. Jan. 26th.

At 2 a.m. from being nearly calm a light breeze sprung up, which increased to a fresh breeze by 4 a.m. This day cleaned out the cabin, which was a scene of blood and de-

struction of which the recollection at this day chills the blood in our veins. Every thing bearing marks of the murder was brought on deck and washed.

Lat. 5°50' N., long. 159°13' W.

Jan. 27th.

These 24 hours commenced with moderate breezes from the eastward. Middle and latter part calm. Employed in cleaning the small arms which were fifteen in number, and making cartridge boxes.

Lat. 3°45' N., long. 160°45' W.

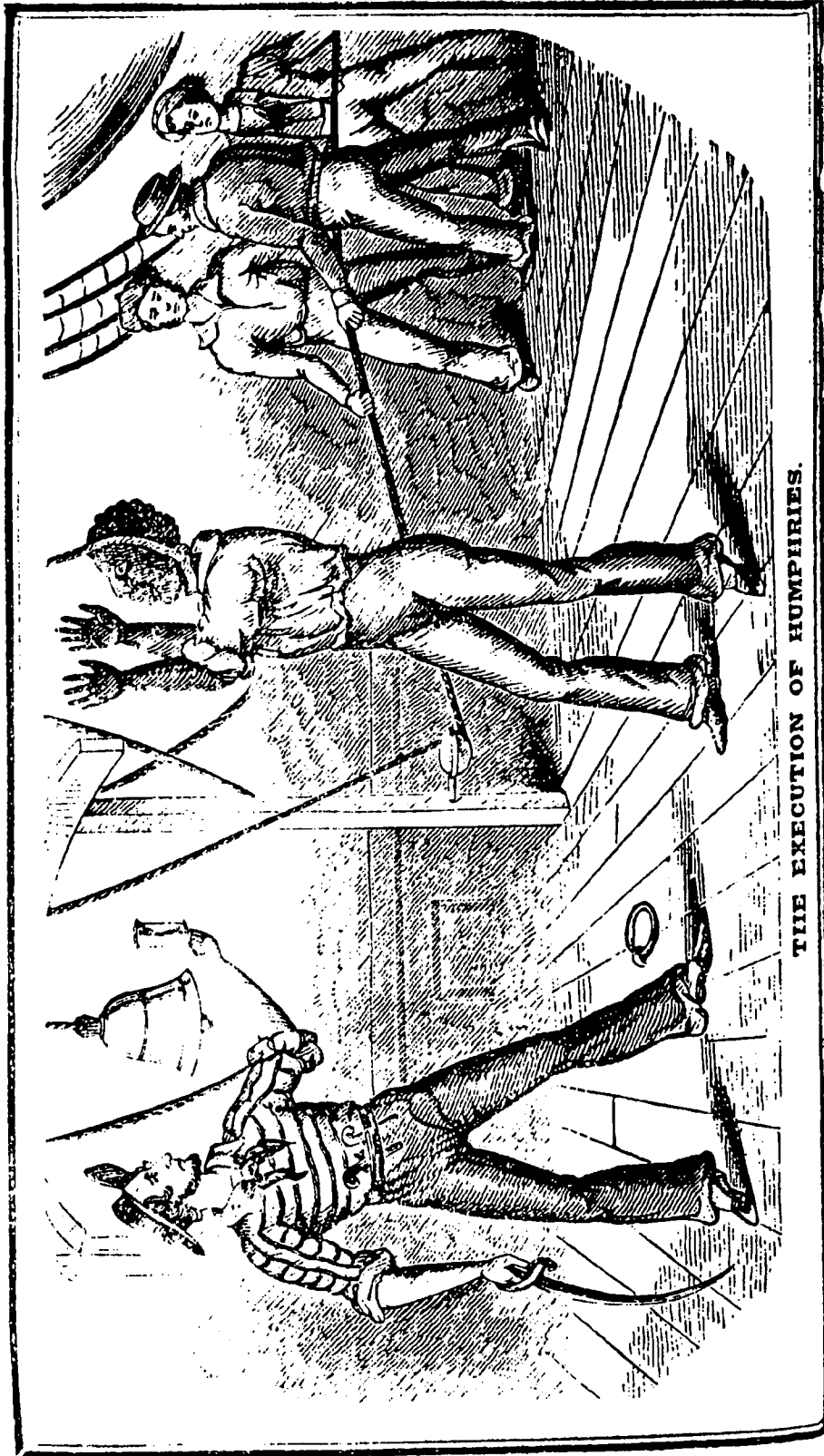
Jan. 28th.

This day experienced fine weather, and light breezes from N. by W. The black steward was hung for the following crime.

George Comstock who was appointed steward after the mutiny, and business calling him into the cabin, he saw the former steward, now called the purser, engaged in loading a pistol. He asked him what he was doing that for. His reply was: "I have heard something very strange, and I'm going to be ready for it." This information was immediately carried to Comstock, who called to Payne, now mate, and bid him follow him.

On entering the cabin they saw Humphreys, still standing with the pistol in his hand. On being demanded what he was going to do with it, he said he had heard something which made him afraid of his life!

Comstock told him if he had heard any thing, that he ought to have come to him, and let him know, before he began loading pistols. He then demanded to know what he had heard. Humphreys answered at first in a very suspicious and ambiguous manner, but at length said that Gilbert Smith, the boat-steerer who was saved, and Peter Kidder were going to retake the ship. This appeared highly improbable, but they were summoned to attend a council at which Comstock presided, and asked if they had entertained any such intentions. They positively denied ever having had conversation upon the subject. All this took place in the evening. The next morning the parties were summoned, and a jury of two men called. Humphreys under a guard of six men, armed with muskets, was arraigned, and Smith and Kidder seated upon a chest near him. The prisoner was asked a few questions touching his intentions, which he answered but low and indistinctly. The trial, if it may be so called, had progressed thus far, when Comstock made a speech in the following words: "It appears that William Humphreys has been accused guilty, of a treacherous and base act, in loading a pistol for the purpose of shooting Mr. Payne and myself. Having been tried the jury will now give in their verdict, whether Guilty or not Guilty. If guilty, he shall be hanged to a studding-sail boom, rigged out eight feet upon the fore-yard, but if found not guilty, Smith and Kidder, shall be hung upon the afore-mentioned gallows!" But the doom of Humphreys had been sealed the night before, and kept secret except from the jury, who returned a verdict of Guilty. Preparations were immediately made for his execution! His watch was taken



THE EXECUTION OF HUMPHRIES.

from him, and he was then taken forward and seated upon the rail, with a cap drawn over his face, and then the rope placed round his neck.

Every man was ordered to take hold of the execution rope, to be ready to run him up when Comstock should give the signal, by ringing the ship's bell!

He was now asked if he had anything to say, as he had but fourteen seconds to live! He began by saying: "Little did I think I was born to come to this ——," the bell struck! and he was immediately swung to the yard-arm! He died without a struggle; and after he had hung a few minutes, the rope was cut, to let him fall overboard, but getting entangled aloft, the body was towed some distance alongside, when a *runner hook*¹ was attached to it, to sink it, when the rope was again cut and the body disappeared. His chest was now overhauled, and sixteen dollars in specie found, which he had taken from the Captain's trunk. Thus ended the life of one of the mutineers, while the blood of innocent victims was scarcely washed from his hands, much less the guilty stain from his soul.

[Gilbert Islands]

Feb. 7th.

These 24 hours commenced with thick squally weather. Middle part clear and fine weather. Hove to at 2 a.m., and at 6 made sail, and steered W. by S. At 1/2 past 8 made an island ahead, one of the Kingsmill group. Stood in with the land and received a number of canoes alongside, the natives in them however having nothing to sell us but a few beads of their own manufacture. We saw some coconut, and other trees upon the shore, and discovered many of the natives upon the beach, and some dogs. The principal food of these islanders is a kind of breadfruit, which they pound very fine and mix with fish.

Feb. 8th.

Commences squally with fresh breezes from the northward. Took a departure from Kingsmill Island, one of the group of that name, in lat. 1°27' N. and long. 175°14' E.² In the morning passed through the channel between Marshall and Gilbert; luffed to and despatched a boat to Marshall Island,³ but did not land, as the natives appeared hostile, and those who swam off to the boat endeavoured to steal from her. When about to leave, a volley of musketry was discharged at them, which probably killed or wounded some of them. The boat then gave chase to a canoe, paddled by two of the natives, which were fired upon when within gunshot, when they immediately ceased paddling; and on the boat approaching them, discovered that one of the natives was wounded. In the most supplicating manner they held up a jacket, manufactured from a kind of flag, and some beads, being all they possessed, giving their inhuman pursuers to understand that all should be theirs if they would spare their lives! The wounded na-

1 A large hook used when hoisting in the blubber.

2 Ed. note: Probably Tarawa.

3 Ed. note: Probably Apaiang and Marakei.

tive laid down in the bottom of the boat, and from his convulsed frame and trembling lip, no doubt remained but that the wound was mortal. The boat then returned on board and we made sail for the Mulgrave Islands. Here was another sacrifice; an innocent child of nature shot down, merely to gratify the most wanton and unprovoked cruelty, which could possibly possess the heart of man. The unpolished savage, a stranger to the more tender sympathies of the human heart, which are cultivated and enjoyed by civilized nations, nurtures in his bosom a flame of revenge, which only the blood of those who have injured him can damp; and when years have rolled away, this act of cruelty will be remembered by these islanders, and made the pretext to slaughter every white man who may fall into their hands.

[Mili atoll]

Feb. 11th.

Commenced with strong breezes from the Northward. At 1/2 past meridian made the land bering E.N.E. 4 leagues distant. Stood in and received a number of canoes alongside. Sent a boat on shore, and brought off a number of women, a large quantity of coconuts, and some fish. Stood off shore most of the night, and

Feb. 12th.

In the morning stood in shore again and landed the women. We then stood along shore looking out for an anchorage, and reconnoitering the country, in the hope of finding some spot suitable for cultivation; but in this we were disappointed, or more properly speaking, they, the mutineers; for we had no will of our own, while our bosoms were torn with the most conflicting passions, in which Hope and Despair alternately gained the ascendancy.

Feb. 13th.

After having stood off all night, we in the morning stood in, and after coasting the shores of several small islands, we came to one, low and narrow, where it was determined the ship should be anchored. When nearly ready to let go, a man was sent into the chains to sound, who pronounced 12 fathoms; but at the next cast, could not get bottom. We continued to stand in, until we got regular sounding, and anchored within five rods of the shore, on a coral rock bottom, in 7 fathoms water. The ship was then moored with a kedge astern, sails furled, and all hands retired to rest, except an anchor watch.

Feb. 14th.

This day was spent in looking for a landing place. In the morning a boat was sent to the Eastward, but returned with the information that no good landing place could be found, the shore being very rocky. At 2 p.m. she was sent in an opposite direction, but returned at night without having met with better success; when it was determined to

land at the place where we lay; notwithstanding it was very rocky. Nothing of consequence was done, until

Sunday, 15th Feb. 1824.

When all hands were set to work to construct a raft out of the spars, upon which to convey the provisions, etc., on shore.

The laws by which we were now governed had been made by Comstock, soon after the mutiny, and read as follows:

“That if any one saw a sail and did not report it immediately, he should be put to death! If any one refused to fight a ship he should be put to death; and the manner of their death, this —They shall be bound hand and foot and boiled in the try pots, of boiling oil!” Every man was made to seal and sign this instrument, the seals of the mutineers being black, and the remainder, blue and white. The raft or stage being completed, it was anchored, so that one end rested upon the rocks, the other being kept seaward by the anchor. During the first day many articles were brought from the ship in boats, to the raft, and from thence conveyed on shore. Another raft, however, was made, by laying spars upon two boats, and boards again upon them, which at high water would float well up on the shore. The following, as near as can be recollected, were the articles landed from the ship: (and the intention was when all should have been got on shore, to haul the ship on shore, or as near it as possible and burn her). One mainsail, one foresail, one mizzen topsail, one spanker, one driver, one main top-gallant sail, two lower studding-sails, two top-gallant studding-sails, one mizzen stay-sail, two mizzen top-gallant sails, one fly-jib (thrown overboard, being a little torn), three boat’s sails (new), three or four casks of bread, eight or ten barrels of flour, forty barrels of beef and pork, three or more 60 gallon casks of molasses, one and half barrels of sugar, one barrel dried apple, one cask vinegar, two casks of rum, one or two barrels domestic coffee, one keg West Indian coffee, one and a half chests of tea, one barrel of pickles, one barrel cranberries, one box chocolate, one cask of towlines, three or more coils of cordage, one coil rattling, one coil lance warp, ten or fifteen balls spun yarn, one ball worming, one stream cable, one larboard bower anchor, all the spare spars, every chest of clothing, most of the ship’s tools, etc. The ship by this time was considerably unrigged.

On the following day, Monday 16th February, Payne, the second in the mutiny, who was on board the ship attending to the discharge of articles from her, sent word to Comstock, who with Gilbert Smith and a number of the crew were on shore attending to the landing of the raft: “That if he did not act differently with regard to the plunder, such as making presents to the natives of the officers’ fine clothing, etc., he would do no more, but quit the ship and come on shore.” Comstock had been very liberal to the natives in this way, and his object was, no doubt, to attach them as much as possible to his person, as it must have been suggested to his guilty mind that however he himself might have become misanthrope, yet there were those around him whose souls shud-

dered at the idea of being forever exiled from their country and friends, whose hands were yet unstained by blood, but who might yet imbrue them for the purpose of escape from lonely exile, and cruel tyranny.

When the foregoing message was received from Payne, Comstock commanded his presence immediately on shore, and interrogated him, as to what he meant by sending such a message. After considerable altercation, which took place in the tent, Comstock was heard to say: "I helped to take the ship, and have navigated her to this place. I have also done all I could to get the sails and rigging on shore, and now you may do what you please with her; but if any man wants any thing of me, I'll take a musket with him!"

"That is what I want," replied Payne, "and am ready!" This was a check upon the murderer, who had now the offer of becoming a duellist; and he only answered by saying: "I will go on board once more, and then you may do as you please."

He then went on board, and after destroying the paper upon which were recorded the "Laws," returned, went into the tent with Payne, and putting a sword into a scabbard, exclaimed: "This shall stand by me as long as I live."

We might not to omit to mention that during the time he was on board the ship, he challenged the persons there to fight him, and as he was leaving, exclaimed: "I am going to leave you; look out for yourselves!"

After obtaining from Payne permission to carry with him a cutlass, a knife, and some hooks and lines, he took his departure, and as was afterwards ascertained, immediately joined a gang of natives, and endeavoured to excite them to slay Payne and his companions! At dusk of this day he passed the tent, accompanied by about 50 of the natives, in a direction of their village, upwards of a league distant.¹ Payne came on board, and after expressing apprehensions that Comstock would persuade the natives to kill us all, picked out a number of the crew to go on shore for the night, and stationed sentinels around the tent, with orders to shoot any one, who should attempt to approach without giving the countersign. The night, however, passed without any one's appearing; but early on the morning of the

17th Feb.

Comstock was discovered at some distance coming towards the tent. It had been before proposed to Smith by Payne, to shoot him; but poor Smith, like ourselves, dare do no other than remain upon the side of neutrality.

Oliver, whom the reader will recollect as one of the wretches concerned in the mutiny, hurried on shore, and with Payne and others, made preparations to put him to death. After loading a number of muskets they stationed themselves in front of the tent, and waited his approach — a bushy spot of ground intervening, he did not make his appearance until a short distance of the tent, which as soon as he saw, drew his sword and walked quick towards it, in a menacing manner; but as soon as he saw a number of the muskets levelled at him, he waved his hands and cried out: "Don't shoot me!"

1 Ed. note: From the following story (below) that village was located on Mili Island proper.



"I will not hurt you!" At this moment they fired, and he fell! Payne fearing he might pretend to be shot, run to him with an axe, and nearly severed his head from his body! There were four muskets fired at him, but only two balls took effect, one entered his right breast, and passed out near the backbone, the other through his head.

Thus ended the life of perhaps as cruel, blood-thirsty, and vindictive a being as ever bore the form of humanity.

All hands were now called to attend his burial, which was conducted in the same inconsistent manner which had marked the proceedings of the actors in this tragedy. While some were engaged in sewing the body in a piece of canvas, others were employed in digging a grave in the sand, adjacent to the place of his decease, which, by order of Payne, was made five feet deep. Every article attached to him, including his cutlass, was buried with him, except his watch; and the ceremonies consisted in reading a chapter from the Bible over him, and firing a musket!

Only 22 days had elapsed after the perpetration of the massacre on board the ship, when, with all his sins upon his head, he was hurried into eternity.

No duty was done during the remainder of the day, except the selection by Payne of six men to go on board the ship and take charge of her, under the command of Smith; who had communicated his intentions to a number of running away with the ship. We think we cannot do better than to give an account of their escape in the words of Smith himself. It may be well to remark that Payne had ordered the two binnacle compasses to be brought on shore, they being the only ones remaining on board, except a hanging compass suspended in the cabin. Secreting one of the binnacle compasses, he took the hanging compass on shore and the exchange was not discovered.

[Report of 20-year-old Captain Smith, ex-boatsteerer]

"At 7 p.m., we began to make preparations for our escape with the ship. I went below to prepare some weapons for our defense should we be attacked by Payne, while the others, as silently as possible, were employed in clearing the running rigging, for everything was in the utmost confusion. Having found one musket, three bayonets, and some whale lances, they were laid handy, to prevent the ship from being boarded. A hand-saw well greased was laid upon the windlass to saw off the cable, and the only remaining hatchet on board was placed by the mizzen mast, to cut the stern moorings when the ship should have sufficiently swung off. Taking one man with me, we went upon the fore-topsail-yard, loosed the sail and turned out the reefs, while two others were loosing the main topsail and main sail. I will not insult the reader's good sense, by assuring him, that this was a duty, upon the success of which seemed to hang our very existence. By this time the moon was rising, which rendered it dangerous to delay for those who had formed a resolution to swim on board and accompany us. The bunts of the sails being yet confined aloft, by their respective gaskets, I sent a man on the fore-yard and another upon the fore-topsail-yard, with orders to let fall, when I should give the word; one man being at the helm, and two others at the fore tack.

"It was now half past nine o'clock, when I took the handsaw, and in less than two minutes the cable was off! The ship payed off very quick, and when her head was off the land, there being a breeze from that quarter, the hawser was cut and all the sail we could make upon the ship immediately set, a fine fair wind blowing. A raft of iron hoops, which was towing alongside, was cut adrift, and we congratulated each other upon our fortunate escape; for even with a vast extent of ocean to traverse, hope excited in our bosoms a belief that we should again embrace our friends, and our joy was heightened by the reflection that we might be the means of rescuing the innocents left behind, and having the guilty punished."

After a long and boisterous passage the ship arrived at Valparaiso, when she was taken possession of by the American Consul, Michael Hogan, Esq., and the persons on board were put in irons on board a French frigate, there being no American man-of-war in port. Their names were: Gilbert Smith, George Comstock, Stephen Kidder, Joseph Thomas, Peter C. Kidder, and Anthony Hanson.

...

CHAPTER III.

...

The ship was then furnished with necessary sails and rigging, and placed in charge of a Captain King, who brought her to the Island of Nantucket, arriving on Sunday, 21st November, 1824...

We will return to the Mulgrave Islands, the scene of no inconsiderable portion of our distresses and adventures.

On the 17th Feb. when night came, the watch was set consisting of two men, whose duty it was to guard against the thefts of the natives. At about 10 p.m., all hands were awakened by the cry: "The ship has gone, the ship has gone!" Every one hastened to the beach and verified the truth of the report for themselves. Some who were ignorant of the intention of Smith and others to take the ship, were of opinion that the strong breeze then blowing had caused her to drag her anchor, and that she would return in the morning.

The morning came, but nothing was to be seen upon the broad expanse of ocean save here and there a solitary seagull, perched upon the crested billows. Payne, in a paroxysm of rage, vented the most dreadful imprecations, swearing that could he get them once more in his power, he would put them to instant death. Not so with us; a ray of hope shot through our minds, that this circumstance might be the means of rescuing us from our lonely situation. The writers of this narrative were upon the most intimate terms, and frequently, though carefully, sympathized with each other upon their forlorn situation. We dare not communicate our disaffection to the Government of the two surviving mutineers (Payne and Oliver) to the others, fearing they might not agree with us in opinion, and we had too good reason to believe, that there was one, who although unstained by blood, yet from his conduct, seemed to sanction the proceedings of the mutineers.

The natives assembled in great numbers around the tent, expressing great surprise at the ship's having left. Payne gave them to understand that the wind had forced her to sea, and that from her want of sails, rigging, etc., she must be lost, and would never return. The natives received the assurance with satisfaction, but it was evident Payne apprehended her safe arrival at some port, and his own punishment; for we were immediately set to work to tear one boat to pieces, for the purpose of raising upon another which was to have a deck; Payne alleging as a reason for this, that the natives might compel us to leave the island. We leave the reader to judge, however, of his motives, while we proceed to give an account of what actually did transpire.

The natives in considerable numbers continued to attend us, and while the work was progressing, exhibited a great deal of curiosity. Their deportment towards us continued to be of the most friendly nature, continuing to barter with us, giving us breadfruit, coconuts, etc., for which they received in return pieces of iron hoop, nails, and such articles as we could conveniently spare.

The small islands of this group are frequently only separated by what are sometimes denominated causeways, or in other words, connected by reefs of coral, extending from the extreme point of one island and connecting it with another. These reefs are nearly dry at low water, and the communication is easily kept up between them by the natives on foot.

On the 19th, in the morning, having obtained permission, several of us left the tent travelling to the eastward.¹ After crossing upon the causeways to several adjacent islands, we discovered numerous tracks of the natives in the sand, and having followed them about seven miles, came to a village consisting of about twenty or thirty families; and were received by them with great hospitality. They presented us with breadfruit and the milk of coconuts, while the wonder and astonishment of those who had not as yet seen us, particularly the women and children, were expressed by the most uncouth grimaces, attended with boisterous laughter, and capering around us. What more particularly excited their astonishment was the whiteness of our skins, and their mirth knew no bounds when they heard us converse.

Early on the morning of the 20th, we were ordered to get to work upon the boat; but at the request of a number, this duty was dispensed with, and we were permitted to stroll about the island. A number went to the village, carrying with them muskets, at the report of which and the effect produced by the balls, the natives were struck with wonder and astonishment. The reader will no doubt agree with us when we pronounce this to have been a bad policy, for they certainly disliked to have visitors possessed of such formidable and destructive weapons. They however continued to visit the tent without discovering any hostile intentions, and we continued to put the utmost confidence in them, or more properly speaking to live without any fear of them.

I (William Lay) left the tent on a visit to the village, where I was received with the same kindness as before. An old man between 50 and 60 years of age pressed me to go

1 Ed. note: Rather southward, from Ngar to Mili (see below).

to his house and tarry during the night, which I did. The natives continued in and around the tent until a late hour, gratifying their curiosity by a sight of me. I was provided with some mats to sleep upon, but the rats, with which the island abounds, prevented my enjoying much sleep.

At 10 o'clock I took my leave of them, with the exception of a number who accompanied me to the tent.

Silas Payne and John Oliver, together with two or three others, set out in one of the boats, for the purpose of exploring the island, and making new discoveries, leaving the rest of us to guard the tent. They were absent but one night when they returned, bringing with them two young women, whom Payne and Oliver took as their wives. The women apparently showing no dissatisfaction, but on the contrary appeared much diverted. Payne now put such confidence in the natives, that he dispensed with having a watch kept during the night, and slept as secure as though he had been in his native country.

Payne, on awaking next morning, found the woman that he had brought to live with him was missing. After searching the tent, and finding nothing of her, concluded she had fled. He accordingly armed himself, together with John Oliver and Thomas Lilliston (with muskets) and set out for the nearest village, for the purpose of searching her out. They arrived at the village before it was light, and secreted themselves near an Indian hut, where they awaited the approach of day, in hopes of seeing her. Accordingly at the approach of daylight, they discovered the hut literally thronged with natives, and among the number they discovered the woman they were in search of. At this moment one of them fired a blank cartridge over their heads, and then presented themselves to their view, which frightened the natives in such a manner that they left the hut and fled. Payne then pursued after, firing over their heads till he caught the one he wanted, and then left the village for his own tent. On arriving at the tent, he took her, gave her a severe flogging and then put her in irons, and carried on in this kind of style until he was by them killed, and called to render up his accounts to his offended Judge.

This severity on the part of Payne irritated the natives, and was undoubtedly the cause of their committing depredations and theft, and finally murdering all our remaining crew excepting myself and Hussey.

Early on the succeeding morning, it was discovered that the tool chest had been broken open, and a hatchet, chisel, and some other articles, purloined by the natives. Payne worked himself into a passion, and said he would be revenged. During the day he informed a number of the natives of what had been done (who signified much regret at the circumstance) and vowing vengeance if the articles were not returned. During this day the natives frequented the tent more than they had ever done before; and as night one of them came running with one half of the chisel which had been stolen, it having been broken in two.

Payne told them it was but half of what he required, and put the Indian in irons, signifying to him that in the morning he must go with him to the village, and produce the rest of the articles, and also point out the persons engaged in breaking open the chest.

The poor native seemed much chagrined at his confinement; yet his companions who remained near the tent during the night manifested no dissatisfaction which we could observe.

In the morning, Payne selected four men, viz: Rowland Coffin, Rowland Jones, Cyrus M. Hussey, and Thomas Lilliston, giving them each a musket, some powder and fine shot; declining to give them balls, saying the report of the muskets would be sufficient to intimidate them. The prisoner was placed in charge of these men, who had ordered to go to the village, and recover the hatchet and bring back the person whom the prisoner might point out as the thief.

They succeeded in getting the hatchet but, when about to return, the natives in a great body attacked them with stones. Finding that they retreated, the natives pursued them, and having overtaken Rowland Jones, killed him upon the spot. The remainder, although bruised with the stones which these islanders had thrown with great precision, arrived at the tent with the alarming intelligence of a difficulty; while they followed in the rear armed for war!

No time was lost in arming ourselves, while the natives collected from all quarters, and, at a short distance from the tent, seemed to hold a kind of council. After deliberating some time, they began to tear to pieces one of the boats.

These were of vital importance to our guilty commander, and he ventured to go to them for the purpose of pacifying them. One of the Chiefs sat down upon the ground with him, and after they had sat a few moments, Payne accompanied the Chief into the midst of the natives. After a conference with them which lasted nearly an hour, he returned to the tent, saying that he had pacified the natives upon the following conditions. They were to have every article belonging to us, even to the tent; and Payne had assured them of this willingness, and that of the others to live with, and be governed by them, and to adopt their mode of living! We have reason to doubt the sincerity of Payne in this respect, for what was to us a hope which we cherished with peculiar pleasure must have been to him a source of fearful anticipation—we mean the probable safe arrival of the ship in the U.S., which should result in our deliverance. Our situation at this time was truly alarming; and may we not with propriety say, distressing? Surrounded by a horde of savages, brandishing their war clubs and javelins, our more than savage commanders (Payne and Oliver) in anxious suspense as to the result of their negotiations with them; no refuge from either foe, and what contributed not a little to our unhappiness was a consciousness of being innocent of having in the least manner wilfully aided the destroyers of the lives of our officers, and the authors of our now truly unhappy situation.

The natives now began to help themselves to whatever articles suited them, and, when some of them began to pull the tent down, an old man and his wife took hold of me, and after conducting me a few rods from the tent sat down, keeping fast hold of my hands. Under the most fearful apprehensions I endeavoured to get from them, but they insisted upon detaining me. I endeavoured to console myself with the idea that gratitude had prompted them to take care of me, as I had frequently taken the part of

this old woman when she had been teased by others; but alas! the reflection followed that if this was the case, there was a probability that not only my bosom friend was about to be sacrificed, but I should be left alone to drag out a weary existence, with beings, strangers to the endearing ties which bind the hearts of civilized man.

Whether Payne and his associates offered any resistance to the course now pursued by the natives or not, I do not know. Suffice it to say that all at once my ears were assounded with the most terrifying whoops and yells; when a massacre commenced but little exceeded by the one perpetrated on board the **Globe**. Our men fled in all directions, but met a foe at every turn. Lilliston and Joe Brown (the Sandwich Islander) fell within six feet of me, and, as soon as down, the natives macerated their heads with large stones. The first whom I saw killed was Columbus Worth. An old woman, apparently sixty years of age, ran him through with a spear, and finished him with stones!

My protectors, for now they were truly so, shut out the scene by laying down upon the top of me, to hide me from the view of the merciless foe! I was however discovered, and one of the natives attempted to get a blow at me with a handspike, which was prevented by them; when, after a few words, he hurried away.

As soon as the work of death had been completed, the old man took me by the hand and hurried me along towards the village. My feet were very much lacerated in passing over the causeways of sharp coral rock, but my conductor, fearing we might be pursued, hurried me onward to the village, where we arrived about noon. In a few minutes the wigwam or hut of the old man was surrounded, and all seeming to talk at once, and with great excitement, I anticipated death every moment. Believing myself the sole survivor, the reader must pardon any attempt to describe my feelings when I saw a number of the natives approachig the hut, and, in the midst, Cyrus M. Hussey conducted with great apparent kindness.

Notwithstanding we had both been preserved much after the same manner, we could not divest ourselves of the apprehension that we perhaps had been preserved, for a short time, to suffer some lingering death.

Our interview was only long enough to satisfy each other that we alone survived the massacre, when we were separated. Hussey being taken away, and it seemed quite uncertain, even if our lives were spared, whether we ever would see each other again.

CHAPTER IV.

On the following day, however, accompanied by natives, we met at the scene of destruction, and truly it was an appalling one to us. The mangled corpses of our companions, rendered more ghastly from the numerous wounds they had received, the provisions, clothing, etc. scattered about the ground, the hideous yells of exultation uttered by the natives, all conspired to render our situation superlatively miserable.

We asked and obtained leave from our masters to bury the bodies which lay scattered about. We dug some graves in the sand, and, after finishing this melancholy duty, were directed to launch the canoes, preparatory to our departure (for we had come in

canoes) when we begged permission, which was readily granted, to take some flour, bread and pork, and our respective masters assisted us in getting a small quantity of these articles into the largest canoe. We also took a blanket each, some shoes, a number of books, including a bible, and soon arrived at the landing place near the village. As the natives seemed desirous of keeping us apart, we dare not make any inquiries for each other, but at my request, having boiled some pork in a large shell, Hussey was sent for, and we had a meal together; during which time, the natives assembled in great numbers, all anxious to get a sight, not only of our novel mode of cutting the meat and eating it, but of the manners in which we prepared it. One of them brought us some water in a tin cup, as they had seen us drink frequently when eating.

The natives now began to arrive from distant parts of the islands, many of whom had not yet heard of us, and we were continually subjected to the examination of men, women and children. The singular color of our skin was the greatest source of their admiration, and we were frequently importuned to adopt their dress.

On the 28th Feb. early in the morning the whole village appeared to be in motion. All the adult commenced ornamenting themselves, which to me appeared to render them hideous. After greasing themselves with coconut oil, and hanging about them numerous strings of beads, they set off, taking us with them, to a flat piece of ground, about half a mile distant, where we found collected a great number, and all ornamented in the same fantastic manner. Knowing that many in the natives inhabiting islands in the Pacific Ocean are cannibals, we were not without our fears that we had been preserved to grace a feast! Our apprehensions, however, were dissipated when we saw them commence a dance, of which we will endeavour to give the reader some idea. The only musical instrument we saw was a rude kind of drum; and the choristers were all females, say twenty or thirty, each having one of these drums. The music commenced with the women, who began upon a very low key, gradually raising the notes, while the natives accompanied them with the most uncouth gesticulations and grimaces. The precision with which about three hundred of these people, all dancing at a time, regulated their movements was truly astonishing; while the yelling of the whole body, each trying to exceed the other, rendered the scene to us not only novel but terrific.

The dance ended near night, and those natives who lived in a distant part of the island, after gratifying their curiosity by gazing upon us and even feeling of our skins, took their departure.

After our return to the village, we cooked some meat upon the coals, and with some bread, made a hearty meal. One source of regret to us was that the natives began to like our bread, which heretofore they had scarcely dared to taste; and particularly the woman whom I called mistress, ate, to use a sea phrase, her full allowance.

The natives expressed great dislike at our conversing together, and prohibited our reading as much as possible. We never could make them comprehend that the book conveyed ideas to us, expressed in our own language.

Whether from a fear that we might concert some plan of escape, or that we might be the means of doing them some injury while together, we know not; but about the first

of April, we discovered that we were about to be separated! The reader may form some idea of our feelings when we were informed that Hussey was to be taken by his master and family to a distant part of the island! Not having as yet become sufficiently acquainted with their language, we were unable to comprehend the distance from our present location.

It now becomes expedient to present the reader with separate accounts, in which we hope to be able to convey an idea of the manners and customs of these people. We had experienced in a very short time so many vicissitudes and passed through so many scenes of distress, that no opportunity was afforded to keep a journal, and notwithstanding we had even lost the day of the week and month, yet with such force were the principal incidents which occurred during our exile impressed upon our minds, that we can with confidence proceed with our narrative, and will commence the next chapter with an account of the adventures of William Lay.

CHAPTER V.

Early in the morning of the day on which Hussey left me, preparations were made for his embarkation with his new master and family. We were allowed a short interview, and after taking an affectionate leave of each other, we parted with heavy hearts. The tender ties which bound me to my companion in misfortune seemed now about to be forever broken asunder. No features to gaze upon but those of my savage masters, and no-one with whom I could hold converse, my heart seemed bursting with grief at my lonely situation. On the departure of my companion, the "star of hope" which had often gleamed brightly mid the night of our miseries seemed now about to set forever! After watching the canoe which bore him from me, until she was hid from my view in the distance, I returned to the hut with my master, and as I had eaten but little during the day, the calls of nature induced me to broil my last morsel of meat, with which, and some bread, I made a tolerable supper. The natives began to be very fond of the bread, and eat of it as long as it lasted, which unfortunately for me was but a short time.

I informed my master that I should like to have some more of the meat from the place where the ship had lain. On the following morning, my master, mistress, and four or five others embarked in a canoe to assist me in procuring some provisions. Observing that they carried with them a number of clubs, and each a spear, I was apprehensive of some design upon my own person; but happily was soon relieved by seeing them wade round a shoal of fish, and after having frightened them into shoal water, kill a number with their spears. We then proceeded on, and when we arrived at the tent, they cooked them after the following manner. A large fire was kindled, and after the wood was burned to coals, the fish were thrown on and snatched and eaten as fast as cooked; although they were kind enough to preserve a share for me, yet the scene around me prevented my enjoying with them their meal. The tent which had been torn down had contained about forty barrels of beef and pork, two hogsheads of molasses, barrels of

pickles, all the clothing and stores belonging to the ship, in short, everything valuable, such as charts, nautical instruments, etc. The latter had been broken and destroyed, to make ornaments, while the beef, pork, molasses and small stores lay scattered promiscuously around. They appeared to set no value upon the clothing, except to tear and destroy it. The pieces of beef and pork, from the barrels (which had been all stove) were scattered in every direction and putrifying in the sun. After putting into the canoe some pork and a few articles of clothing, we commenced our return; but a strong head wind blowing, we had considerable difficulty in getting back.

For some considerable time, nothing material occurred, and I led as monotonous and lonely a life as could well be imagined. It is true I was surrounded by fellow beings; and had all hope of ever seeing my country and friends again been blasted, it is probable I might have become more reconciled to my condition, but I very much doubt if ever perfectly so, as long as reason and reflection held their empire over my mind. My books having been destroyed from a superstitious notion of their possessing some supernatural power, I was left to brood over my situation unpitied and alone.

Sometime in July, as I judged, **Luckiair**, son-in-law to my master, **Ludjuan**, came from a distant part of the group, on a visit, and during the week he remained with us we became much attached to each other. When he told me that on his return he should pass near the place where Hussey lived, my anxiety to accompany him thus far was so great, that after much persuasion **Ludjuan** gave his consent for me to go. On our way we stopped at the tent, and I procured for the last time a small quantity of the ship's provisions, although the meat was some of it in a very decayed state.

In consequence of head winds, we were compelled to stop for the night upon a small island, where we found an uninhabited hut; and after cooking some meat and baking some wet flour (for it was no other) in the ashes, we took our mats into the hut, and remained until the next day. The wind continuing to blow fresh ahead, we gathered some green breadfruit, and cooked some meat, in the same manner as they cook the largest of their fish, which is this — A hole is dug in the ground, and after it has been filled with wood, it is set on fire, and then covered with stones. As the wood burns away, the heated stones fall to the bottom, which, when the fire is out, are covered with a thick layer of green leaves, and then the meat or fish is placed upon these leaves, and covered again in a careful and ingenious manner, and the whole covered with earth. This preserves the juices of the fish, and in this way do they cook most of their fish, with hot stones.

In the afternoon the weather proving more favorable, we left our encampment, and at sundown arrived at a place called **Tuckawoa**;¹ at which place we were treated with the greatest hospitality. When we were about to leave, we were presented with breadfruit and coconuts in great abundance. As we approached the place of Hussey's

1 Ed. note: Recognizable as Takowa, an islet near the NW corner of Mili Atoll, N° Mar. 15-82 in Bryan's Place Names.

residence, I discovered him standing on the beach. Our joy at meeting, I will not attempt to describe. We had a short time, however, allowed us, in which to relate our adventures, and condole with each other; for in an hour we were once more separated, and we pursued our course for the residence of Luck-i-air.¹ After encamping another night upon the beach, we at length arrived at the house of my conductor, which was at a place called **Dilibun**.² His family consisted of his wife and one child, whom we found busily engaged in making a fishing net. When near night Luckiair and myself went out and gathered some breadfruit, and after making a hearty meal, slept soundly upon our mats until morning.

A little before noon the following day, two natives with their wives arrived from Lujno-ne-wort,³ the place where Hussey lived, and brought me some flour and a piece of meat. The natives would eat of the bread, but would not taste of the meat. I remained here about a week, when Ludjuan came for me. Nothing occurred of note during our passage back to Milly (the place of my residence) where I was welcome by the natives with every demonstration of joy. I was sent for by one of the chiefs, who asked many questions, and as a mark of his friendship for me, when I was about to return, presented me with a kind of food called *Cha-kak-a*.⁴ My present consisted of a piece about two feet long and six inches in diameter. It is made of a kind of fruit common among these islands and called by the inhabitants, *bup*. The fruit is scraped very fine, and then laid in the sun until perfectly dry. Some of the leaves of the tree bearing the fruit are then wapped around a piece of wood, which is the mould or former, and, when securely tied with strings, the former is withdrawn and into this cylinder of leaves is put the *pub*, which is of a sweet and pleasant taste.

At the urgent request of the natives, I now adopted their dress. Having but one pair of trousers and a shirt left, I laid them by for bad weather, and put on the costume of a Mulgrave Islanders. This dress, if it may be so called, consists in a broad belt fastened round the waist, from which is suspended two broad tassels, The belt is made from the leaves of the *bup* tree, and very ingeniously braided, to which is attached the tassels, which are made of a coarser material, being the bark of a small vine, in their language called *aht-aht*.⁵ When the dress is worn, one of the tassels hangs before and the other

1 Ed. note: Perhaps better written as La-kiyar, or simply Kiyar, this man was named after a piece of pandanus fruit. As for his master, Ludjuan, it may have come from La-joun, or simply Joun, which means "(Number) one," probably because he was a first-born.

2 Ed. note: Rather Jellbon, or Jelbwon, now written Chirubon, in the SE corner of Mili atoll, facing Knox atoll, and N° 36 in Bryan's Place Names. It seems that the Yankees had first landed on Ngar (or Gar) in the NW corner, n° 72.

3 Ed. note: Probably corresponds to La-jobenor, n° 90 in Bryan's.

4 Ed. note: Now written *jekaka*, it is made of the pandanus fruit, whose generic term is *bob*.

5 Ed. note: Now written *atat*, the scientific name for this vine is *Triumfetta procumbens*, Forst. F. (Tiliaceæ), according to Abo's Dictionary, page 21.

behind. The sun, as I expected, burned my skin very much; which the natives could not account for as nothing of the kind ever happened among themselves.

One day there was seen approaching a number of canoes, which we found were loaded with fish for the chiefs, and to my great joy Hussey was one of the passengers. My master accompanied me to see him; and we anticipated at least a mental feast in each other's society. But of this enjoyment we were deprived by the natives, who were always uneasy when we were conversing together.

I learned, however, from Hussey, that the natives had been kind to him; but before we had an opportunity to communicate to each other our hopes and fears, he was hurried away. Having now gained considerable knowledge of their language, I learned that they were afraid that if we were permitted to hold converse, we should be the means of provoking the Supreme God, *Anit*, to do them some injury.¹

The breadfruit beginning to ripen, we were all employed in gathering it; and I will endeavour to give the reader an idea of the process of preserving it. After the fruit is gathered, the outside rind was scraped off, and the seeds taken out; which are in size and appearance like a chestnut. The fruit is then put into a net, the meshes of which are quite small, taken into the salt water, and then beat with a club to pummice. It is then put into baskets made of coconut leaves, and in about two days becomes like a rotten apple: after which the cores are taken out, and the remainder after undergoing a process of kneading is put into a hole in the ground, the bottom and sides of which are neatly inlaid with leaves, and left about two days; when it again undergoes the same process of kneading, and so on, until it becomes perfectly dry. This occupied us a number of days; and when we were engaged in gathering another, and a larger kind, a small boy came running towards us, and exclaimed; "*Uroit a-ro rayta mony la Wirrum*," that is, the chiefs are going to kill William.² Ludjuan, seeing that I understood what the boy said, he said "*Reab-reab!*" it is false.³ From the pains taken by the natives to keep Hussey and myself apart, it was evident that they were in some measure afraid of us; but from what cause I had yet to learn. After passing a sleepless night, we again in the morning pursued our labors, but I was continually agitated by tearful apprehensions. About midnight I overheard some of the natives in the tent talking about me, and I was now convinced that some injury was contemplated. I then asked them what I was to be killed for. They seemed surprised when I told them I had been listening; yet they denied that I was to be killed, and one of them who had frequently manifested for me much friendship came to my mat, and lay down with me, assuring me I should not be injured.

The harvest being ended, a feast was had, and the chiefs were presented with considerable quantities of this fruit, after it had been prepared and baked, which in taste resembled a sweet potato, sending presents of it in all directions about the island.

1 Ed. note: Now spelled Anij, but the word "anit" is common to the whole family of Austronesian languages.

2 Ed. note: Would now be written: "Uroj ankilaa manman La-William."

3 Ed. note: Now written *riab*.

Having now but little work to do, I confined myself to the hut as much as possible, for I had been observed for some time in a suspicious manner. In a few days I was informed that Hussey had been brought to the island, and it was immediately suggested to my anxious mind, that we were now to be sacrificed, Ludjuan went with me to see Hussey, but we were only allowed a few moments conversation, when I was taken back to the hut, and communicated my fears to my old mistress, who sympathized with me, but said if the chiefs had determined it, there was no hope for me. I now was made acquainted with the cause of their dislike, which was no less than a superstitious idea that we were the cause of a malady, then raging to considerable extent!

This disease consisted in the swelling of the hands and feet, and in many instances the faces of the youth swelled to such a degree that they were blind for a number of days. Such a disease they had never before been afflicted with. I had now an opportunity of most solemnly protesting my total inability to injure them in this way, and as the disease had as yet caused no death, I had a hope of being spared. I learned that a majority of the chiefs in council were for putting me to death, but one of them in particular protested against it fearing it might be the cause of some worse calamity. As the vote to carry into effect any great measure must be unanimous, this chief was the means by his dissenting of saving my life.

The afflicted began to recover, and my fears were greatly lessened, but as these people are of a very unstable and changeful character, I could not entirely divest myself of apprehension.

As soon as the harvest was completed great preparations were made for the embarkation of the chiefs, who were going to make their annual visit to the different islands. They told me that the King, whom they called **La-boo-woode-yet**,¹ lived on an island at the N.W. and if he did not receive his yearly present of preserved breadfruit and *pero*, he would come with a great party to fight them.² Twelve canoes were put in the water, each one carrying a part of the provisions, and manned by about 200 men.

After an absence of four or five days, during which time we exchanged civilities with numerous chiefs, we returned to Milly, and hauled up the canoes. I now learned that the principal chief had said that it would have been wrong to kill me, firmly believing that the disease with which they had been afflicted had been sent by their God, as a punishment for having killed Payne and the others! The malady having now entirely disappeared, they considered that crime as expiated!

About two days after my return, there was great excitement, in consequence of the appearance of a ship! Seeing the natives were very much displeased at the circumstance, I concealed as well as I could the gladdening emotions which filled my breast; and, surrounded by about 300 of them, went round a point of land, when I distinctly saw a ship standing for the land. The displeasure of the natives increased, they demanded to know

1 Ed. note: In other words, his name was something like Buwujet.

2 Ed. note: This king perhaps lived on Bar Island, n° 84 in Bryan's. *Pero* is another food prepared from pandanus fruit and coconut.

where she came from, how many men she had in her, etc. I was compelled to tell them that she was not coming to get me, and even pretended to be afraid of her approach, which pleased them much as they appeared determined I should never leave them. At dusk she was so near the land that I saw them shorten sail, and fondly anticipated the hour of my deliverance as not far distant.

During the night, sleep was a stranger to me, and with the most anxious emotions did I anticipate a welcome reception on board, and above all, a happy and joyful landing on my native shore. In the morning, Ludjuan went with me to the beach, but alas! no ship was in sight. She had vanished, and with her fled all my hopes of a speedy deliverance. The kind reader can perhaps form some idea of my disappointment.

The natives continued to be kind to me, and I was often complimented by them for my knowledge of their language; and the appearance of my person had very much improved, my hair and beard being long, and my skin turned nearly as black as their own! I was often importuned to have my ears bored and stretched, but never gave my consent, which much surprised them, it being a great mark of beauty. They begin at the age of four years, and perforate the lower part of the ear, with a sharp pointed stick, and as the ear stretches, larger ones are inserted, until it will hang nearly to their shoulders! The larger the ear, the more beauty the person possesses!

About a fortnight after I saw the ship pass, Hussey came with his master on a visit. His disappointment was great, and we could only cheer each other by hoping for the best, and wait patiently the pleasure of Heaven.

Hussey again left me, but we parted under less bodings of evil than before, for the kindness of the natives began to increase, and their suspicions to be allayed.

I will here acquaint the reader with some of the means that I was induced to make use of to satisfy the cravings of appetite. As the island now was in a state of almost entire famine, my daily subsistence not amounting to more (upon an average) than the substance of one half a coconut each day. The chief I lived with, having several coconut trees that he was very choice of, and which bore plentifully, I would frequently (after the natives in the hut were all soundly asleep) take the opportunity and get out of the hut unperceived, and climb one of those trees (being very careful about making the least noise, or letting any of them drop to the ground, whereby I might be detected) and take the stem of one coconut in my mouth, and one in each hand, and in that manner make out to slide down the tree, and would then (with my prize) make the best of my way to a bunch of bushes, at a considerable distance from the hut, where I would have a sumptuous repast; and if any remained would secrete them, until by hunger I was drove to the necessity of revisiting that place.

I made a practice of this for some time, until the chief began to miss his coconuts, and keep such watch that I, for fear of being detected, was obliged to relinquish that mode of satisfying my appetite.

A short time after this, I ventured to take a coconut off the ground where the natives had recently buried a person; a deed which is strictly against the laws of their religious principles (if it can be said that they have any) and a deed which the natives never dare

to do for fear of displeasing their God (Anit) under a certain length of time after the person had been buried, and then the spot is only to be approached by males.

Not 24 hours had elapsed after I took the coconut before they missed it, and coming immediately to me, charged me with having taken it, telling me that not a native on the island would have dared so much as to handle it for fear of the bad spirit (Anit).

I then told them that I had taken it, but pleading ignorance in the case, and promising never to do anything of the like again, and making it appear to them that I was surprised at what they told me of the bad spirit, and also that I believed the same, they left me, after telling me that if I ever handled another of them it would not only bring sickness and death upon myself, but would bring it upon the whole island.

The reader will naturally suppose that my mind was considerably relieved on their leaving me so soon, fearing that something serious might be the result.

After this I was very careful how I did anything that I thought would in the least displease, or irritate them, and made myself content with the portion they saw fit to give me.

I frequently fired a musket to please them, by their request, and told them if they would let me have some powder, I would fire off the swivel, left by the **Globe**. They consented, and collected to great numbers, and after I had loaded the gun with a heavy charge, I told them they had better stand back. They said I must set her on fire, and tell them when she was going off, and they would run! I, however, touched her off, when they instantly fell on their faces in the greatest panic. When their fears had subsided, they set up howling and yelling with ecstasy!

They said, if they should have a battle, I must carry that gun with me, which would alone vanquish their enemies!

We were visited by eight or ten canoes from a distant island called Alloo.¹ They came to exchange presents with our chiefs, and very soon a great quantity of *pero*, etc. was baked, and having been inspected by the chiefs, to see that it was in a proper state to be presented to their visitors, it was given them to eat.

As these people had never seen me before, I was much annoyed by them. During their stay I was constantly surrounded, my skin felt of, and often became the sport of the more witty, because my skin was not of so dark a hue as their own, and more especially as my ears remained in the same form as when nature gave them to me. These visitors, to my great satisfaction, did not remain long with us.

Their mode of anchoring their canoes is singular. One of them takes the end of a line, and diving to the bottom, secures it to a rock; and in the same way do they dive down to cast it off, I have seen them do this in five fathoms of water.

1 Ed. note: An island just directly north of Mili, same as Alu, or Nalu, n° 74 in Bryan's.

CHAPTER VI.

It was not until the 23rd of November, 1825, that the prospects of being relieved from my disagreeable situation began to brighten. Early in the morning of that day, I was awakened by a hooting and yelling of the natives, who said a vessel had anchored at the head of the island. They seemed alarmed, and I need not assure the reader that my feelings were of a contrary nature. Their God was immediately consulted as to the measures to pursue; but as I was not allowed to be present when he was invoked, I cannot say what was the form of this ceremony, except that coconut leaves were used. Their God, however, approved the plan, which was that they should go to the vessel, or near her, and swim on board, a few at a time, until 200 were on board, and then a signal was to be given, when they were to throw the persons on board into the water, and kill them. Two large canoes which would carry 50 men each were put in readiness, but at first they refused to let me accompany them, fearing that I would inform of their having killed our men, and they would be punished. I assured them that the vessel, having but two masts, did not belong to my nation, and I was certain I could not speak their language.

They at length consented for me to go. We arrived within a few miles of the vessel at night, and early the following morning were joined by a number of canoes, which made in all 200 men. It being squally in the forenoon, we remained where we were, but when it cleared up the yells of the Indians announced the approach of the vessel. I had only time to see that it was really an armed schooner when I was secreted with their women, about 40 in number, in a hut near the shore, and the women had orders to watch me close, that I did not get away.

A boat at this time from the schooner was seen approaching the shore. She landed at about 100 yards distant from where I was confined, but it being near night, I soon found she was making the best of her way towards the schooner. Night came, and I was sent for by the principal chief, and questioned closely concerning the schooner. My fears and apprehensions were now excited to a degree beyond human expression, and the kind reader will pardon all attempts to express them.

The natives seeing the whites so bold, excited in them a fear which induced them to flee the island. Accordingly, about midnight, the canoes were launched, and I was carried to a remote part of the island [rather atoll], a distance of about 40 miles, where I remained until my fortunate escape.¹

29th. Early in the morning, we discovered a boat under sail, standing directly for the place where we were; the natives were considerably agitated with fear, and engaged in planning some method by which to overcome the people in the boat, if they should come where we were; and, as I expected the natives would hide me, as they had heretofore done, I thought it best to offer my services to assist them—I said I would aid them

¹ Ed. note: The distance is exaggerated, since he was taken only as far as the north part of the atoll, maybe 15 miles.

in fighting the boat's crew—and that, as I could talk with them, I would go to them, in advance of the natives, deceive the crew, and prevail on them to come on shore and sit down, and for us to appear friendly till in possession of their arms, then rise upon the crew and kill them without difficulty or hazard. Some of the natives suspected that I should revolt to the other party, and turn the current of destruction on them; but the chief Luttuon said he liked my plan much, and would inquire of their God, and if he found that I should be true to them, my plan should be adopted. The inquiry resulted in favor of my plan, and they said I might go. The boat was now within 100 rods of the shore, and Luttuon called me to him, oiled my head and body with coconut oil, and gave me my charge how to conduct. I pledged myself to obey his orders. My joy at this moment was great as the boat anchored near where we were. I went to the beach, accompanied by about 100 of the smartest natives, whom I charged not to manifest a hostile appearance. I hailed the boat in English, and told the crew what the calculations of the natives were, and not to land unless they were well armed. The officer of the boat replied that he would be among them directly; and in a few minutes they landed (13 men and 2 officers) and, when within a rod of us, I ran to Lieut. H. Paulding, who took me by the hand, asked if I was one of the **Globe's** crew, and inquired my name, etc. We then retreated to the boat, facing the natives, who all kept their seats, excepting the one I called father, who came down among us, and took hold of me to carry me back, but desisted on having a pistol presented to his breast.

Lieut. Hiram Paulding, of the Navy, for such was the name of this gentlemanly officer, informed me that the vessel was the U.S. Schooner **Dolphin**, sent on purpose to rescue us, and commanded by Lieut. Com't John Percival.

After expressing my gratitude as well as I was able to Heaven, which had furnished the means of my deliverance, I acquainted Mr. Paulding that the only survivor of the **Globe**, except myself, was Cyrus M. Hussey; who was held in bondage upon a neighboring island. After the boat's crew had taken some refreshment, we left the landing place, and soon arrived at the place where Hussey lived. The natives had concealed him, but after some threatenings from us, restored him, and we were received on board of the **Dolphin**, and treated in the most kind and hospitable manner.

Our hair was now cut, and we were shaved. Our appearance must have been truly ludicrous, our hair having been growing 24 months, untouched by the razor or scissors.

Our joy and happiness on finding ourselves on board an American man-of-war, and seeing "the star-spangled banner" once more floating in the air, we will not attempt to describe. Suffice it to say that none can form a true estimate of our feelings except it be those who have been suddenly and unexpectedly rescued from pain and peril, and threatening death. In the afternoon the Captain wished me to go on shore with him, as an interpreter. We accordingly went, and passed over to the village on the other side of the island, where we had an interview with a woman of distinction (the men having fled, being principally absent with the chiefs at Alloo). The captain informed her he wished to see the chiefs, and requested her to send for them that night, that he might visit them in the morning, and make them some presents. We then returned to the vessel; and the

following day, Dec. 1st, went on shore for the purpose of seeing the chiefs, but could not obtain an interview with them. The captain informed the natives that he must see the chiefs, and that he would wait another day, but if disappointed then, he should be compelled to use coercive means. They immediately sent another messenger after them, and we returned on board, accompanied by several of the natives, among whom was Ludjuan. The Captain made him several presents, and informed him they were given as a compensation for saving my life. Shortly after, the natives went on shore.

The next morning, Dec. 2nd, the Captain sent me on shore to ascertain whether the chiefs had returned, and I was informed by the natives that they had, and were then at a house half a mile distant. This intelligence having been communicated to the captain, he went on shore, and took myself and Hussey for interpreters; but we found on our arrival that the natives had been practising a piece of deception—the chiefs not having returned. Very much displeased at this perfidious treatment, the Captain made a demand of the chiefs before sunset, threatening, if it were not complied with, to go on shore with 50 men, well armed, and destroy every person he could find. This threat threw the natives into consternation and immediately another messenger was despatched for the chiefs. The natives were so alarmed that they soon sent off three or four more messengers: and we remained on board to dine. After dinner, I went on shore with Mr. Paulding, the first Lieutenant, and some of the under officers, for the purpose of shooting birds. After rambling round the island for some time, we discovered a number of natives quickly approaching us from the lower part of the island; and supposing the chiefs were with them, we sat down to await their arrival; but before they came to us, a signal was set on board the schooner for us to return, which was immediately obeyed without waiting for an interview with the natives.

Early on the next morning, I was sent ashore to ascertain whether the chiefs had arrived, and soon found that they had, and were in a hut waiting to receive a visit from the Captain, who, I informed them, would come on shore after breakfast, to have a talk with them, and also to bestow some presents. Accordingly, the Captain with myself and Hussey, repaired to the hut, where we found them sitting, and ready to commune with us.

The Captain told them he had been sent out by the Head Chief of his country, to look for the men that had been left there by the ship **Globe**—that he had been informed they murdered all but two—that, as it was their first offence of the kind, their ignorance would plead an excuse—but if they should ever kill or injure another white man, who was from any vessel or wreck, or who might be left among them, our country would send a naval force, and exterminate every soul on the island; and also destroy their fruit trees, provisions, etc., and that if they would always treat white men kindly, they never would receive any injury from them, but would have their kindness and hospitality reciprocated. He also adverted to the practice of stealing, lying, and other immoralities: stating to the natives that these crimes are adhorred and punished in our country; and that murder is punished with death. He then sent me to the boat lying at the beach, to

bring three tomahawks, one axe, a bag of beads, and a number of cotton handkerchiefs, which were presented to the chiefs. He also gave them two hogs, and a couple of cats, with injunctions not to destroy them, that they might multiply. The Captain caused potatoes, corn, pumpkins, and many valuable seeds to be planted, and gave the natives instructions how to raise and preserve them. This conversation with the natives being ended, we went on board, dined, and the Captain and Hussey went again on shore. The first Lieutenant made preparations for cruising in the launch round the island [group], to make topographical surveys, who took me with him, as interpreter, and about 4 o'clock we commenced a cruise with a design to sail up an inlet or inland sea; but the wind blowing fresh, and having a head sea, at 12 o'clock we anchored for the night.

Dec. 4th.

At sunrise, we found ourselves not more than a mile from the place where we crossed over the evening before; and immediately getting under weigh, and rowing to the westward, we soon came to the place where the **Globe's** station had been anchored, and went on shore, for the purpose of disinterring the bones of Comstock, who had been buried there, and to obtain a cutlass, which was buried with him; but before we had accomplished the undertaking, the schooner got under weigh, and soon anchored abreast of us, at the same place where the **Globe's** provisions were landed.¹ The Captain and Hussey immediately came on shore to view the place; but as I caught cold the preceding night, by lying exposed in our launch, I was excused from serving further with Mr. Paulding in making surveys, and Hussey supplied my place. Soon after, I went on board with the Captain, carrying with me the skull of the person we had dug up, and the cutlass, intending to convey them to America.²

After dinner, the Captain made a trip in the gig, to Alloo, taking me for his interpreter, where we arrived in half an hour, and soon travelled up to the village. The natives received us with marks of gladness, and in a short time the house at which we stopped was surrounded by them, who came undoubtedly for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity by gazing at us. We remained at the village about two hours, during which time we had considerable talk with two of the chief women, and made some small presents to the people, such as beads, etc. They did not treat us as they usually do visitors, with fruit, etc. there being at that time what we call a famine, which in their language, is *Ingathah*.³

After having taken leave of the natives, and walked about half the distance to the shore, we stopped to refresh ourselves under a fine cool shade. While in conversation on the manners and customs of the natives, an old man and woman approached us,

1 Ed. note: The map of Mili published by Lieutenant Paulding confirms this islet as being Garu, or Gnad, n° 72 in Bryan's Place Names (see Doc. 1825C).

2 Ed. note: Comstock's brother William, who wrote his biography (see M2 below), simply says, in the last paragraph of his book, that the skull and cutlass were "deposited in one of the Museums in New York City," but he did not say which one.

3 Ed. note: Now written "fiuta."

who had acted towards me, during my residence among them, as father and mother. I immediately made them and their kindness to me known to the Captain, who, in consideration of their humane treatment, rewarded them with a few beads and a handkerchief, for which they appeared thankful and grateful—telling them at the same time the presents were to recompense their hospitality to me, and enjoining on them at all times to be friendly to the whites, and a reward would certainly await them. It being near the close of the day, we left Alloo, and having a fair wind, reached the schooner before dark.

The next morning, Dec. 5th, being very pleasant, all hands were employed in procuring wood for the schooner—some in cutting it down, and others in boating it off. Our carpenter had been engaged for a few days at Milly; to instruct and assist the natives in repairing a canoe. The distance was four or five miles, and the Captain wanting the carpenter, set sail for Milly in his gig, and soon arrived there; where he learned that the carpenter had repaired the canoe, to the great satisfaction of the natives, who expressed a strong desire that he might be permitted to remain among them on the island; but the Captain informed them he could not spare him. When the natives saw the carpenter packing up his tools, they expressed to me an expectation that the tools would be left with them as a present. We left the natives, and reached the schooner a little before sunset; the Captain feeling anxious for the fate of the launch, as nothing yet had been heard of the fortune which had attended her, or the men in her.

Dec. 6th.

Having procured a sufficient supply of wood, though our supply of provisions was hardly sufficient for the voyage, and the launch having returned, at about 10 a.m. we weighed anchor and proceeded to the place called Milly, where we anchored for the purpose of planting some seeds, and taking a last farewell of the chiefs and their people. The Captain went immediately on shore, taking Hussey for his interpreter. He was gone till nearly night, when he returned, bringing with him Luttuon and several other natives. The Captain gave orders to beat to quarters, to exhibit the men to the natives, and explain to them the manner of our fighting. Those untutored children of nature seemed highly gratified with the manoeuvres, but were most delighted with the music, probably the first of the kind they ever heard. We informed them we always have such music when we are fighting an enemy. The natives were then landed, and we immediately made sail for the head of the island, intending to cruise around the other shores of it, for the purpose of making surveys, and constructing a map of it. We stood eastward till nearly morning, then altered course and headed towards the island.

During the following day, Dec. 7th, having favorable winds and weather, we made a regular survey of the whole length of the group, before sunset. The Captain now steered N.W. to endeavour to discover other islands which the natives had often described to me, during my abode with them. They said they had frequently visited ten or

twelve different islands in their canoes, and that the people who inhabit them, all speak the same language, which is the same as their own, and that the islands lie about one day's sail from each other.

[Visit to Arno]

Dec. 8th.

The weather pleasant and fair; about 9 o'clock, a.m., we saw land ahead, and passed it on the windward side, then varied our course and sailed to the leeward of the island.¹ but night coming on, we were obliged to defer landing till morning, The Captain then attempted to reach the shore in the gig, but was not able to land, on account of the surf. After he returned on board, we made sail, cruising farther to the leeward, in hopes of finding a place to anchor, but in this we were disappointed, not being able to find bottom thirty yards from the rocks. However, at high water, the Captain, at imminent hazard in passing the surf, succeeded in landing. He had previously given orders to me and Hussey not to let the natives know that we could converse with, or understand them, but to be attentive to everything that might pass among them, to ascertain whether their intention and dispositions were hostile or friendly. After landing, the Captain and Hussey visited the house where the head chief, or king of all those islands lived, of whom I had formerly heard so much, while I was on the Mulgraves.² They continued with him about two hours, were treated well, and discovering nothing unfriendly in the natives, the Captain told Hussey he might make them acquainted with his knowledge of their language, by conversing with them. The king, on hearing Hussey speaking in the language of the natives, appeared at first so frightened and agitated that he could scarcely reply;³ but by degrees became composed, and inquired of Hussey where he learned their language, and why he had not spoken to them immediately on coming ashore. Hussey informed him he was one of the two persons that had been on the Mulgraves (in their language, Milly) and that the other person (myself) was on board the schooner—that the schooner had been there after us, that we left the Mulgraves the day before, and had then visited that island for the purpose of examining it, etc. The king had long before heard of our being at the Mulgraves, and told Hussey he had been repairing his canoe, in order to go to those islands, with a view to induce us to live with him, who had that been the case, would undoubtedly have used us well. The king was about 70 years of age, and had a daughter on the island where we had resided, wife to Luttuon. He inquired if his daughter was alive and well, with tears in his eyes and trembling form, for it was a long time since he had received any intelligence of her; and hearing of her welfare so unexpectedly quite overcame the good old father's feelings. And here the reader will observe, that the pure and unaffected emotions produced by paren-

1 Ed. note: It was Arno atoll, also known as Pedder Island, according to Lieut. Paulding in his book.

2 Ed. note: According to Paulding, this island was in the NE corner of the atoll, possibly Langar, now Rakaru, n° Mar 15-71 in Bryan's Place Names.

3 Ed. note: We now know that this paramount chief feared the white men who had been with his rival Lamari, and Kadu, in northern Radak.

tal affection are similar among all the human species, whether civilized or savage. The natives of the island we were then visiting may be ranked with those that have made the fewest approaches towards the refined improvement of enlightened nations, yet the ground work of humanity was discovered to be the same; and the solicitude of a fond father for a beloved child was manifested in a manner which would not disgrace those who move in the most elevated circles of civilized life. The old king expressed his regret that he had not visited the Mulgraves during our stay there, was very sorry we were about to return to America, and used all the force of native eloquence to persuade us to continue with him. He inquired if we had got the whale boat he had heard of our having at the Mulgraves. Hussey informed him it was on board the schooner, and the swivel likewise. The Captain then informed the king that he wanted coconuts and *bup*, which were obtained; and in return the Captain gave the natives some beads and handkerchiefs. The Captain then went on board the schooner, made sail, standing a N.W. course, in pursuit of another island.

[Aur]

Dec. 9th.

About 10 o'clock in the forenoon, we discovered land ahead and off our lee bow. About 2 o'clock p.m. we arrived near the land, hove the schooner to and sent two boats ashore, to get provisions. At sunset the boats returned, loaded with coconuts and *bup*. We hoisted up our boats, and with a strong breeze, it being the inclement season of the year, prosecuted our voyage to the Sandwich Islands, and had much boisterous weather during the passage.¹

...

1 Ed. note: Paulding said that this island was Ibbetson's Island, which identified it with Aur.

CHAPTER VII.

I will now proceed to give the reader some account of the islands I visited, and of the manners and customs of the natives, and shall endeavour to be as candid and correct as possible.

The Mulgrave Islands are situated between 5 and 6 degrees north latitude, and between 170 and 174 degrees of east longitude. They are about 50 miles in length, and lie in the form of a semi-circle, forming a kind of inland sea or lake; the distance across it being about 20 miles. The land is narrow, and the widest place is probably not more than half a mile. On the north side of the group are several inlets or passages, of sufficient depth to admit the free navigation of the largest ships, and if explored, excellent harbors would in all probability be found. In the inland sea are numerous beds of coral, which appear to be constantly forming and increasing. These coral beds are seen at low water, but are all overflowed at high tide. The whole group is entirely destitute of mountains, and even hills, the highest land not being more than six feet above the level of the sea at high water. By the accounts given me from the natives, it appears that some parts have been overflowed by the sea. Their being so low makes the navigation near them very dangerous in the night, both because they would not be easily seen, and because the water is very deep quite to the shores, and a place for anchoring can scarcely be found on the outside of the island.

The air of these islands is pure, and the climate hot; but the heat is rendered less oppressive by the tradewinds, which blow constantly, and keep the atmosphere healthful and salubrious for so low a latitude.

The soil, in general, is productive of little besides trees and shrubs, and most of it is covered with rough coral stones.

The productions are breadfruit in its proper season, and coconuts, which they have throughout the year; and a kind of fruit different from any that grows in America, which the natives call *Bup*—all growing spontaneously. Of the leaves of the trees the women manufacture very elegant mats, which they wear as blankets and clothing; of the bark of a vine they make men's clothing; and of the husks of the cocoa they make ropes and rigging for their canoes, and for almost every other purpose. The waters round the islands abound with fish, and the natives are very expert in catching them.

There are no animals on the islands, excepting rats; and by these little quadrupeds they are literally overrun.

The number of all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, is probably between five and six hundred.

[Marshallese customs]

The following may be given as prominent characteristics of the natives. They are, in general, well made and handsome—very indolent and superstitious. They are morose, treacherous, ferociously passionate, and unfriendly to all other natives. When they are not fishing, or otherwise employed, they are generally travelling about, and visiting

each other. They have no salutations when they meet, but sit down without exchanging a word of civility for some minutes; but after a silent pause the head of the family, if there is anything in the house to eat, presents it to his guests, who, when they have eaten sufficiently, if there are any fragments left, are very careful to secure them and carry them off when they return home; and the host would regard it as an imposition if his visitors were to neglect this important trait of politeness, and fashionable item in etiquette. They accustom themselves to frequent bathing; and commence with their children on the day of their birth, and continue the practice twice a day, regularly, till they are two years old. They do this to invigorate the system, and render the skin of their children thick and tough by exposure. Their living consists simply of breadfruit, coconuts, and *bup*, but coconuts are all they can depend on the year round—the two other articles being common only a part of the year.

Their diversions consist in singing, dancing, and beating time with their arms, in a manner similar to the amusements of the natives at the Sandwich Islands; in which they appear to take great delight.

They wear their hair long, and tie it up in a kind of bow on the top of the head, and this is all the covering they have for their heads. The men have long beards. One part of their dress makes a singular and ludicrous appearance, which resembles two horse tails suspended from the waist, one before and the other behind. The women's dress consists of two mats, about the size of a small pocket handkerchief, which they tie round them like an apron.

I never saw any form of marriage among them, but when a couple are desirous of being united, their parents have a talk together on the subject, and if the parties all agree to the union, the couple commence living together as man and wife; and I never knew of an instance of separation between them after they had any family. In a few instances polygamy prevailed.

The following will give a pretty correct idea of their funeral rites and solemnities:

When a person dies, the inhabitants of the village assemble together, and commence drumming and singing, hallooing and yelling; and continue their boisterous lamentations for about 48 hours, day and night, relieving each other as they require. This they do, because they imagine it is diverting to the person deceased. They bury the body at a particular place back of their houses and use mats for a coffin. After the ceremony of interment is performed, they plant two coconut trees, one at the head and the other at the feet of the buried person. But if the trees ever bear fruit, the women are prohibited from eating thereof, for fear of displeasing the bad spirit, *Anit*. And here it may not be inappropriate to remind the reader that Eve ate of the forbidden fruit notwithstanding she knew it would displease the Good Spirit.

In their personal appearance, the natives are about the middle size, with broad faces, flat noses, black hair and eyes, and large mouths.

In relation to literature, they are as ignorant as it is possible for people to be, having not the most distant ideas of letters.

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of the Mulgraves, the following remarks will give all the knowledge I am in possession of:

They believe there is an invisible spirit that rules and governs all events, and that he is the cause of all their sickness and distress; consequently they consider him to be a very bad being. But they have no belief in a good spirit, nor have they any modes of worship. It is a prevalent opinion among them, when any are sick, that the bad spirit rests upon them; and they believe that particular manoeuvres and a form of words, performed round and said over the sick, will induce *Anit*, the bad spirit, to cease from afflicting, and leave the unfortunate sufferers. With regard to a future state of existence, they believe that the *shadow*, or what survives the body, is, after death, entirely happy; that it roves about at pleasure, and takes much delight in beholding everything that is transacted in this world; and as they consider the world as an extensive plain, they suppose the disembodied spirits travel quite to the edge of the skies, where they think white people live, and then back again to their native Isles, and at times they fancy they can hear the spirits of departed friends whistling round their houses, and noticing all the transactions of the living. Singular as some of these notions and opinions may appear, there is much to be met with in Christendom equally at variance with reason; and I have heard from the pulpit, in New England, the following language: "I have no doubt in my own mind that the blessed in Heaven look down on all the friends and scenes they left behind, and are fully sensible of all things that take place on earth!"

CHAPTER VIII.

[The narrative of Cyrus Hussey.]

This chapter, and the concluding remarks of the narrative, will be collated from a journal kept by Cyrus M. Hussey; and if there appear occasionally some incidents similar to those recorded in the preceding account, it is believed the value and interest of this history will not be diminished by them. Hussey commences thus:

About the last of April, myself and Lay were separated, destined to different islands, nor knowing whether we should ever see each other again. At night we arrived at an island, and hauled up our canoe. We found but few natives, but among the number was the mother of the chief with whom I lived. She was very inquisitive respecting me and talked so incessantly through the night that I could not sleep. The next morning we were employed in gathering breadfruit, for the purpose of curing it for the winter. This employment continued about three months, during which time I was very uneasy about my situation. At intervals of leisure, when the old chief had no particular engagements to engross his attention, he would launch his canoe and go and search for fish; but my shoes having been taken from me, whenever I was employed round the rough shores of the island, my feet were so wounded that I could hardly walk. The natives now commenced the destruction of my clothing, and not being able to converse with them, I found it very difficult to preserve my apparel. They often requested me to divest myself of my clothing and dress as they did, or rather not dress at all. I made signs that the sun

would burn me, if I should expose myself to its scorching rays. When they found that persuasion would not induce me to divest myself of clothing, they began to destroy my clothing, by tearing them in pieces. It was some time before I could understand their language, so as to inform them the sun would burn my back; and being robbed of my clothes, the powerful influence of the sun soon scorched me to such a degree that I could scarcely lie down or take any rest.

About the latter part of July, William Lay and others came to the island in a canoe to see me, being the first interview we had enjoyed since our separation, which was about three months previous. Lay informed me that the natives had taken his bible from him and torn it up, and threatened his life. He informed me that it seemed to him as though he was robbed of that comfort which none in a Christian land are deprived of. We were soon parted; he in a canoe was taken to an island by the natives called *Dilabu*,¹ and I went to my employment, repairing a canoe which was on the stocks. After I had finished the canoe, the natives prepared a quantity of breadfruit and fish for the chiefs, and on the following morning we set sail for an island called Milly, one of the largest in the group, at which resides the principal chief. We arrived just at night and were cordially received by the natives, who had assembled on the beach in great numbers, for the purpose of getting some fish which the old chief had brought with him. He then hauled his canoe on shore; and I had again the pleasure of seeing my fellow sufferer, William Lay, after a month's separation. Since our first meeting we were not allowed to converse much together.

The old chief tarried at this island but a short time, and Lay and myself were once more separated. The old chief, his family, and myself returned to the island which we had left two or three days before, called, in the language of the natives, *Tabarawort*;² and he and his family commenced gathering breadfruit. As the old man with whom I lived had charge of several small islands, we found it difficult to gather the fruit as fast as it ripened so that a considerable part fell to the ground and perished. In the meantime, while we were employed in gathering in the fruits of the earth, news came to the island, to inform the chief with whom I lived that it was the intention of the highest chiefs to destroy us both (that is myself and Lay) because a severe sickness prevailed among them, and, they being superstitious, supposed we were the occasion of it. I informed them that we could not have been the cause of the sickness, as no such sickness prevailed in our country, and that I never before had seen a similar disease. But still they talked very hard about us; and the highest chief sent to the chief I lived with to have me brought to the island of Milly, where Lay lived, in order that we might be killed together. Preparations having been made, the old chief, whom I called father, with his family and myself set sail the next morning for Milly, where we arrived about sunset. He immediately went to see the chief of Milly, to inquire the circumstances relating to the necessity of taking our lives, leaving me and the rest of the family in the canoe. I shortly perceived William Lay and his master coming towards the canoe, which pro-

1 Ed. note: Rather Jellibon.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for Jabarawort, which is Jabwonwod, now spelled Jobenor.

duced sensations hard to be described. Affectionate and sympathizing reader, what must have been our feelings and conversation at that moment, when nothing seemingly was presented to our view but *death*? We were allowed an interview of only a few minutes, when we were again separated.

My master soon returned to the canoe, and entered into very earnest conversation with his family, which, at the time, I did not fully understand; but found afterwards it was a relation to his family of his interview with the natives on the subject of taking our lives; and that if they killed me, they would first have to kill him (my master) which they were unwilling to do. My kind old master told them he had preserved me, and always should. Night now coming on, I lay down to sleep, but fear had taken such possession of my mind that the night was spent in wakeful anxiety.

The next morning I asked leave of my master to visit Lay, which he readily gave. I set out for the hut in company with my master's son; but on approaching it, Lay called out to me to inform me that I must not come—that the natives did not like to have us together. On my turning to go back, Lay's master called to me to come. I went and sat down, and entered into conversation with Lay, to ascertain what the intention of the natives towards us were. He told me it was the design of the high chief to kill us. I observed to him, that we were in the hands of the natives; still there was a higher and more powerful Hand that could protect us, if it were the Divine pleasure so to do. I then bade him farewell, and returned to the canoe, never expecting to see each other again till we should meet on the tranquil ocean of eternity.

My master being now ready to return to his island, the canoe was launched, and we set sail, and arrived the same night, having been absent two days. The natives expressed much joy on seeing me return, and asked many questions respecting the chief of Milly; but as I was unable to speak their language intelligibly, I could give them but little information. We then went on with our work as usual, which was fishing, etc.

After having been at this island some time, my master's wife manifested an inclination to go and visit her friends, who lived at an island called in their language *Lugunewort*.¹ After a successful excursion in fishing, we cooked a part, and took some breadfruit, and embarked, agreeably to the wishes of my master's wife, and arrived at Luguonewort in two days. The natives of that island gave us a cordial reception. We hauled up our canoe and remained some time among them. After our agreeable visit was ended, we returned to the other island, found the natives well, and that good care had been taken by the chief's mother, an old woman to whom the superintendence of things had been left.

About six months after the massacre of my shipmates, the brother of the native in whose possession I was came to the island, and informed us that a ship had been seen to pass a day or two before, and that it caused great disturbance among the chiefs—that they thought it was the ship that left the islands (the **Globe**) and that she was in search of us. My old master immediately prepared his canoe to visit the chiefs, and he

1 Ed. note: This corresponds to Lukwonwod, or Lukunor, near the SE corner of the group, n° 47 in Bryan's Place Names.

wanted also to inquire of me what I thought respecting the ship. We loaded our canoe and made sail for Milly, where the chiefs were. We arrived at night, and found a great number of natives collected on the beach to see if we had any fish. We hauled up our canoe for the night, and the natives began to question me about the ship. I told them I did not know, concluding it would be good policy to say but little on the subject. The natives crowded round me in great numbers; and I did not see Lay till he came to me. I inquired of him what he had seen, and he informed me that there had been a ship in sight about half an hour before sunset, and that she was near enough for him to see them take in their fore- and mizzen top-gallant sails, but could give no definite account of her, as she was soon out of sight.¹ We were not allowed to be together long; and I went to rest as usual, but could not sleep. "Hope springs eternal in the human breast"—and hope that the ship which had been seen had come to deliver us from savages and transport us to our native country and dear friends had an influence on my feelings more powerful than sleep, and imagination was busy through the night in picturing scenes of future happiness.

But the prospect of our being released from our unpleasant situation was not very flattering. Early next morning I asked and obtained permission from my master to pay a visit to Lay, before passing round to the opposite side of the island. Accompanied by my master's son and several others. I went to the hut where Lay lived, and we had the pleasure of another interview; but it was of short duration, for we were not allowed to be together more than a quarter of an hour. I returned to my master's canoe, and there continued till the middle of the day; we then launched and set sail for Tabanawort, where we arrived the fore part of the night. Early next morning we prepared for a fishing cruise, had pretty good success, and returned just before night, made a fire, cooked some fish, and ate a delicious supper.

Our canoe being leaky and very much out of repair, my master and I commenced taking her to pieces, for the purpose of re-building her; and we were occasionally employed upon her nearly two months, when we launched her, and commencing fishing business, had alternately good and bad success. One day we had the good fortune to enclose, in a kind of weir made for the purpose, a large quantity of fishes, and with a scoop-net we caught a plentiful supply. After cooking them, we set out with a quantity to dispose of to the chiefs of Milly, where we arrived before night, on the same day of sailing. Very soon after our arrival I saw Lay and his master approaching the canoe, and we once more had a short but pleasant interview. I inquired of Lay how he fared, as to food, etc. His reply was, better than he expected, and that the natives were kind to him, always giving him his part. I informed him I had a basket of fish reserved for him as a present, which he requested me to keep till dark, that he might be enabled to carry them home without having them all begged by the natives. He came at night for the fish, and I retired, agreeably to my master's wishes to sleep in the canoe, to prevent the natives from stealing the remainder of the fish that were on board. The next morning my master was highly pleased to find that nothing was missing; and gave me liberty

1 Ed. note: She could have been a three-masted whaling ship.

to go and see Lay. I went to the hut and found him with his master. They gave me a cordial welcome, and presented me with some coconuts in return for the fish. Lay's master inquired of me very particularly respecting my master, and the quantity of fish we caught. I then returned to the canoe, carrying the coconuts, to deposit in the hold. My master asked me where I got them. I told him Lay's master gave them to me. If this minute detail should appear unimportant to the reader, he may draw a moral from it; for it evinces that my master was like the other masters, desirous to know if his servant came honestly in possession of the coconuts. He then ordered me and his son to launch the canoe, which we did, got under sail for the island we left the day before, and arrived back at night. We learned that during our absence the natives had caught a considerable quantity of fish; and in a few days we caught a large quantity more; loaded our canoe, and embarked for one of the head islands to pay a visit, where we stopped some time. On our return, we commenced catching a kind of fish called by the natives *kierick*.¹ They are about the size of a small codfish; and the manner of taking them is very curious: they made a line of the husk of coconuts, about the size of a cod line; they then in the canoe pass round the fish to the windward of the flat, then lie to till a considerable quantity of them get on the flat, then square away by the wind and run down and go round the flat with this line, and thus catch them, men, women, and children being employed. I have known them catch 100 at a draught. The fish are afraid of the line, and when enclosed, taken by a scoop-net. After taking a sufficient quantity, they go on shore to prepare for cooking them, which is done by digging a large hole in the earth, filling it with wood, covered with stones. The wood is then consumed, which heats the stones—the fish are wrapped in leaves to prevent them from falling to pieces, then covered with green leaves, and cooked by the heat of the stones. About an hour is required to cook them sufficient for eating. Their manner of curing fish is to split them and dry them in the sun, without using salt. Thus cured, they will keep some time.

While we were employed in fishing, Lay came to the island, in company with a native, to visit me; but did not stay long, for the chief sent for him, fearing, as I afterwards found out, that they should lose us. From some hints that had been dropped, a report had got in circulation that my master and **Lamawoot** (Lay's master)² intended to leave their islands, and embark for an island to the north-west, where the king lived, and carry us with them as a great curiosity. Lay was carried back to the chiefs—the head one sent an express to my master and Lay's to come and see him—they made preparations and set sail for Milly; where they were closely questioned respecting their going to the other island, etc. They denied that they had even intimated any such design; which was false, for I had frequently heard them talking on the subject, but kept silent, as it appeared to be a great crime for any to desert their islands; and I feared the consequences of making it known. They then parted in peace and friendship, and I and my master returned to our habitation.

1 Ed. note: Not recognizable in a modern list of fishes. Perhaps a *Kuro*, or rock cod.

2 Ed. note: Hussey has confused the name of the paramount chief with the true name of Lay's master, Ludgean; this is confirmed below.

We then went to an island to catch fish, and a disagreement taking place between two of the natives about some trifling affair, the particulars of which I did not learn, one of them took a spear belonging to the other, and after breaking it across his knee, with one half of it killed his antagonist, and left him. The parents of the man killed, being present, laid him out in some mats, and appeared to regret their loss very much. They kept a continual drumming over the body of the deceased for two or three days; after which he received a decent burial on another island at some distance from the island where he was killed.

CHAPTER IX.

Having a successful fishing voyage we loaded our canoe, and carried our cargo to the chiefs of Luguonewort. I had the satisfaction of an interview with Lay; but our provisions being soon exhausted, we were obliged to go again in search of fish. At this time there was a severe drought, and breadfruit trees suffered extremely, many of them entirely died. The superstitious natives supposed the drought was sent upon them as a judgment, because myself and Lay were allowed to live. I informed them that we could neither make it rain nor prevent it; but some of them were so ignorant that they believed we could control the weather. But some of the chiefs thought the drought was visited upon them because they had killed our shipmates, and I was always ready to join with them in that opinion. The drought continued about four months with such severity that most of the breadfruit trees on the small islands were so completely dried up that they never sprouted again. Many of the ignorant natives still insisted that their sickness and drought were occasioned by suffering us to live upon their islands; but this gross ignorance was counterbalanced by most of the chiefs, who believed differently, and to their more liberal opinion we are indebted for our lives.

About this time the islands were refreshed by plentiful showers of rain, and the natives assembled at Milly to sing for the breadfruit to come in abundance. They said their singing would please *Ani't*, and that he would reward them with a very great crop.

A disturbance existed between the high chief and his brother Longerene. The disagreement lasted about nine months, during which time the two brothers did not see or speak to each other. Luttuon, the high chief,¹ then sent a canoe to inform his brother Longerene that he wished to see him. An interview took place, and a treaty of peace was ratified.

During our stay at Milly, I had frequent opportunities of seeing Lay, my fellow sufferer; but the only relief we could afford each other was derived from a sympathy of feelings, and in conversation relating to our homes and native country, by blending our mutual wishes for a safe return, etc. The reader can hardly conceive the unpleasantness of our situation at this time—the famine was so great that the tender branches of trees were cooked, and the nutritious juice drank as food. My strength was so reduced in

¹ Ed. note: Rather this was the name of Lay's master (see above.)

consequence of being deprived of my usual quantity of provisions that I was unable to accompany my master on a fishing voyage. When my master returned, he found me lying in the hut, and asked me what was the matter. I informed him my indisposition proceeded from hunger; he cooked a fish and gave me, which, though it afforded me some relief, was not half enough to satisfy the cravings of appetite.

After I had recruited my strength, one day while engaged in fishing, a canoe came to the island; and as soon as the canoe was near enough for the natives in her to be heard, they commenced hallooing and making dreadful noises, which is their practice when war is declared. They informed us that the high chief had killed several of the lower chiefs who belonged to the island called Alloo [i.e. Alu]; that Longerene had fled to Allo, his own island; and that the high chief was determined to pursue and kill him. We were ordered to go immediately to his assistance; accordingly we set sail for the island Milly, where we found a great number of natives collected for war. Again I had the satisfaction of being with Lay; who informed me that they were going to fight the other party at Alloo; and that the chief had told him that he and I must prepare two muskets, and go and fight with them. Luttuon [sic] sent for me and Lay, and informed us he was about to have a battle, and that we must prepare to take a part in it. We asked him if he had any powder—he said he had a plenty, and showed us a small box, which contained a little powder and mustard seed mixed together, which, if it had been good powder, would not have made more than five or six charges. We told him it was good for nothing; but he said we must do the best we could with it. As we were afraid to offend him, we went to work with the powder, and dried it in the sun, and prepared our muskets for battle. The next morning we launched 15 or 16 canoes, containing in all about 200 natives, and set sail for Alloo; where we arrived and landed, and proceeded to a village in order to give battle to the enemy. On learning that the chief of Alloo and his family had fled in a canoe, we returned to our canoes, made sail in pursuit of the chief, but did not overtake him. After returning and spending a day or two at the island of Alloo, we launched our canoes and went to our respective homes, and heard no more of the war.

Some time after my master returned to the island where we usually resided, a canoe came and brought the information that a vessel was anchored near one of the head islands—that she carried guns on each side, and had 100 men—that they (the natives that brought the news) had been on board of the vessel, and received presents of beads, which they had on their necks. The natives said the vessel was not like our ship which we came in, but had only two masts, I told them we had vessels of all descriptions, some with one mast only. They said the men on board did not look like us, and that they were very saucy. I informed the natives the vessel was a war vessel, and that if molested by the natives, they would shoot them. The natives said they would take the vessel and kill all the men on board. I told them their safety consisted in friendship, and that any hostile attack on the crew of the schooner would lead to their own destruction. They then set sail for Milly, to inform the chiefs of the arrival of the vessel at the head island. The chiefs of Milly gave orders to launch the canoes, 15 in number, to go and take the

schooner. These canoes were manned by 200 natives. My master's canoe not being in perfect repair, we could not join the party.

On the night of the 25th (Nov.), we saw several of the canoes returning towards the island where I was. From one of the canoes landed the high chief, who began to question me respecting the vessel. I told him I had not seen the vessel, and of course could not tell much about her; but that I expected she had come after me and Lay, and that she would have us. He then said he had better kill us both, and then there would be none to tell that the natives had killed the rest of our crew. I told him that the people on board the schooner knew there were two alive, and if they killed us, the crew of the vessel would kill all the natives. This appeared to perplex his mind, and he shortly left me, and retired to rest.

On the next morning, 26th, the chief again questioned me respecting the vessel, but I could give him no particular information, as I had not seen her. The natives then commenced knotting up leaves to inquire of their god, who, they said, would inform them what was best to be done. Towards night they departed, leaving me with my master, giving him strict orders not to let me go to the vessel, fearing that I should not only remain on board, but give information that my shipmates had been murdered. I was glad to see them depart, for I feared they would kill me. The reader can have but a faint idea of my feelings at that time; nor will I attempt to describe them.

Towards the close of the next day (27th), a canoe came to the island which had been boarded by a boat from the schooner. The natives offered the men in the boat some coconuts, which they would not accept. The boat then proceeded towards the Island of Milly. The natives informed me that the men in the boat inquired after the men who were left there by the ship **Globe**, but they would not give any information where they were. The canoe left the island and we went to rest.

The next day passed without hearing any thing of the schooner; but the day following (29th of Nov.), as I was walking in the woods in the afternoon, I heard a dreadful outcry for Hussey. I ran to the hut to learn the cause, and to my unspeakable joy, I discovered that one of the schooner's boats was on the beach waiting for me, the men all armed and equipped for battle. As I approached, the Lieutenant spoke to me and told me to come to him. I went and sat down by him. He asked me several questions, but my feelings were so overcome and agitated that I know not whether I replied in English, or the language of the natives. While we were sitting together, the old man whom I had always called master, but who was now willing to be considered my servant, asked me if the white people were going to kill him. The Lieutenant inquired of me to know the purport of the old man's question; I told him he was afraid of being killed. The Lieutenant replied that he should not be hurt, if he behaved himself properly.

We then walked around the island and I collected what few things I had, a musket, etc., and made preparations for our departure. My old master being unwilling to part with me, asked permission to go with me. I spoke to the Lieutenant on the subject, and he readily consented. We then set sail, accompanied by my master and his son. We soon fell in with the 2nd Lieutenant, in another boat, who informed that all the survivors of

the **Globe's** crew were now rescued. The boats soon lost sight of each other, as night came on, and that in which I was arrived at the Island about 9 o'clock in the evening. We landed, cooked supper, and anchored our boat at a little distance from the shore for the night.

The next morning (30th), we got under weigh, accompanied by the other boat, beat to the windward, for the outside passage, and then ran down to the schooner, and got alongside at 9 o'clock. I will leave it for the reader, to picture my feelings on entering once more on board of an American vessel, after having been among unmerciful savages 22 months. We soon had some breakfast, after which my hair was cut, which was of two year's growth, and I was furnished with clothing, and remained on board till the next day.

From this date to the time of our arrival in the United States, all the important incidents and facts which transpired will be found in the preceding pages, arranged from the journal kept by Lay.

After expressing my thanks to all who assisted to rescur us from savage bondage, and my gratitude to Heaven for a safe return to my friends and native land, I bid the reader a respectful farewell.

Editor's notes.

The 1963 edition of the same book has an introduction by Edward A. Stackpole, the historian of Nantucket, who adds the following information about the two young men who were the first white men to live on Mili in 1824 and 1825. The ring-leader of the mutineers, Samuel Comstock, was only 20 years old when he perpetrated his evil deed. Most of the crew were also near that age, Captain Worth being the oldest man on board, at 29. Beetle was 26, and Lumbert 25. Lay was 17 when he joined. It is not known if William Lay ever went back to sea. Tradition says that he emigrated to the western part of the U.S., and never returned.

It was Lay who looked after the printing of 3,000 copies of this book by Bolles, a New London printer; the book was sold to subscribers for 62-1/2 cents (75 cents for one with a leather binding).

As for the boat-steerer who brought the ship to Chile, Gilbert Smith, he later became a mate, then a captain of his own ship, and subsequently went to LeHavre in France to take charge of a fleet of French whalers. He never returned home.

The 1900 edition of this book states that "Mr. Hussey died off Cape Horn on his way home from another voyage he had been upon, in the ship **Congress**, of Nantucket, in the year 1829, being 24 years of age." In fact, after spending only two months at home, he joined the whaler **Alexander**, of Nantucket, Captain Samuel Bunker, which sailed on 13 September 1827 (ref. Starbuck, p. 260), and returned on 12 March 1831. It is obvious that he had transferred to the ship Congress somewhere in the Pacific, probably in Hawaii. The Congress, Captain Benjamin Worth, Jr., had sailed from Nantucket on 29 September 1826, and returned on 2 May 1829 (Starbuck, p. 258). So, if

Hussey was 24 when he died in early 1829, he was 19 years old when he arrived at Mili atoll.

[Mili atoll, Marshall Islands]

VOCABULARY

Of Words and Phrases, used by the natives of the Mulgrave Islands, with their definitions and so spelt and divided in syllables as to give the Reader a very clear understanding of the pronunciation.

[English]	[Marshallese]	[Modern spelling] ¹
Beard	Cor y ack	[Kwodeak]
Iron	Maale	[Maal]
A sail	Wood je lah	[Wojla]
An oar	Thib bet	[Jebwe]
Steering	Kib bet tebet	[Jebwebwe]
Sailing	Der rauk yruk	[Jerakrok]
Sleep	Mad du rah	[Majur]
Awake	Mim mit	[Memej]
Dark	Mar roak	[Marok]
Light	Mar rum	[Meram]
Night	Boong	[Bon]
Day	Roun	[Raan]
Growing	Aung	[Eon]
Drowned	Mal long	[Malon]
[Coconut] Oil	Bin in yep	[Pinneep]
Water	Rir ren	[Dannin(?) Dandan(?)]
A long time [ago]	Et tow	[Etto]
Yourself	Guay	[Kwe]
Sleepy	Mit tegee	[Mejki]
Victuals	Cuck con	[Kkan]
Scrape	Goo tuck	[Kutak]
Build	Ae	[Eje]
Hold on	Coppy dirty	[Kabbjrak]
Man	Mom marn	[Mmaan]
Woman	Cir rah	[Kora]
Boy	Lod rick	[Laddik]
Girl	Lid rick	[Leddik]
An instant	Hi dir ry	[Idin]
Black	Eg gil ly mit	[Kilmeej]
White	Em mew it	[Mouj]
Red	Em mirt	[Mir]

1 Ed. note: Taken from Abo et al. Marshallese-English Dictionary. Compare with Doc. 1817C.

Drink	E ranck	[Idaak]
Fingers	Jan thurt	[Janit]
A bird	Paw o	[Bao]
A knife	Noad rick	[?] ¹
Begging	Angue ot	[Unnar]
Work	Derry bol	[Jerbal]
An adze	Jal tosk	[Jaltok]
A nail	Mer ry	[now Mede]
Grass	Oo joo et	[Wujooj]
Leaves	Bel ly bal	[Palli-Bolok]
Counting	Bun ne bun	[Bonbon]
One	Jew on	[Joun]
Two	Roo ah	[Ruo]
Three	Te lew	[Jilu]
Four	A men	[Eman]
Five	Ri lim	[Lalem]
Six	Dil je mo	[Jiljino]
Seven	Dil jit je mo jew on	[Jiljilimjuon]
Eight	Ad je no	[?] ²
Nine	Ad dil y mo jew on	[?] ³
Ten	Dongue ole	[Jonoul]
100	Jib be wee	[Jibukwi]
1,000	Der rab bin	[Jerapen]
Mosquito	To cotch op	[Jokwajok]
Fear	Cwurd	[Kor]
Giving	Hi dir inge	[?]
A rope	Tow	[To]
Wind	Gut to	[Koto]
Rain	Woot	[Wot]
Lay down	Bah boo	[Babu]
Get up	Der ry cock	[Jerkak]
Not good	Nah nah	[Nnan] ⁴
Very good	En no	[Nno] ⁵
Talking	Com el tah to	[Komlot]
Fighting	Tarr yin ia	[Tarinae]
Kill	Mon ny	[Manman]
Smoke	Bout	[Baat]

1 Ed. note: Local word, or archaic.

2 Ed. note: Local word, or archaic.

3 Ed. note: Local word, or archaic.

4 Ed. note: Meaning bad-tasting.

5 Ed. note: Meaning good-tasting.

Sand	Boak	[Bok]
Diving	Doo lock	[Tulok]
Digging	Cob e coob	[Kobkob]
Bury	Col ly boo ny	[Kallib ...]
Sewing	Thil thil	[?] ¹
Eat	Mong ah	[Mona]
Singing	Al lil	[Al ...]
Sun	Al	[Al]
Moon	Al lung	[Alloñ]
Star	E jew	[Iju]
Sky	Lid ere lung	[...-lañ]
Sunset	Doo lock Al	[Tulok(un) al]
Sunrise	Tuck in Al	[Takin al]
Today	Raun ene	[Rainin]
Yesterday	In nay	[Inne]
Day before yesterday	Jay marn	[?]
Tonight	Boon ene	[Bunniin]
Tomorrow	Geen a raun	[...-raan, now Ilju]
Vomitting	Mum mit	[Momoj]
A blanket	Cawd	[Kooj]
A costume	Ene	[Ed] ²
Fuel	Con ny	[Kane]
Land	Yin ny	[Iane = ashore]
A bottle	Buck ah	[Boka]
Cutting	Boo way	[?]
Fastening	Geel ing	[?]
Stealing	Mid dart	[?]
A rat	Kid dir rick	[Kijdik]
Hair	Co coa no bot	[?]
Ear	Lou dil lyg nu	[Lojilñi]
Eyes	Mid dat	[Maj] ³
Nose	Bow thurt	[Boti]
Mouth	Loung ing	[Loñi]
Chin	Chim in ny gne ad	[Jimwin ñi] ⁴
Chief	Tam moon	[Tamon] ⁵
Forward	A marn	[Maan]
Egg	Lip	[Lep]

1 Ed. note: Perhaps archaic; Chamisso has it also as "Dilledill.

2 Ed. note: Archaic: a mat for wearing.

3 Ed. note: Formerly "matai."

4 Ed. note: The word 'ad' was superfluous; it means "our".]

5 Ed. note: Archaic.

Drift	Pay lock	[Pelok]
Paddle	Aun arn	[Aonon]
I know	E del lah	[Jela]
Yes	Ing ah	[Inña]
No	Aub	[Eaab]
Backside	Al by gin	[Lodiñi]
Playing	Cook ke ry	[Kkure]
Medicine	Oo noe	[Wuno]
Whale	Rat	[Raj]
A louse	Git	[Kij]
Strong	Mad jo jow	[Majojo]
Enough	Em mut	[Emoj] ¹
Thread	Uer	[Eo(?)]
Forget	Mer no lock wy	[Meloklok]
See	Lal ly	[Lale]
A sword	Jah jay	[Jaje]
A handle	Je jew er	[Juro-]
Running	Tit thurt	[Ttor]
A musket	Boo wat	[Bu-wa = gun-shot]
A cannon	Bac ca	[Pakke]
[Gun-]Powder	Bow on ope	[Bourok]
Fire	Kid ja ick	[Kijeek]
Hewing	Jick e jick	[Jekjik]
A house	Imm	[Em]
Fish	Ikk	[Ek]
Stone	Buck ah	[Deka]
Head	Bor on	[Bora]
Hand	Bon	[Pa = arm]
Foot	Nane	[Ne = leg]
A shark	Bac co	[Pako]
A spear	Mor ry	[Made]
Coconuts	Korce	[?] ²
Breadfruit	Mah	[Ma]
Go	Wy lum	[Welok]
Come	Wy to	[Watok]
Very large	El lip	[Lap]
Scar, or cut	Gin net	[Kinej]
Thunder	Daw roort	[Jourur]
Lightning	Dar rum	[Jarom]
Lizard	Cid re be lin	[?]

1 Ed. note: Meaning "finished, no more".

2 Ed. note: The generic word has always been "Ni."

A canoe, or any vessel	Woa, or Wah	[Wa]
Put it down there	Lickitin i genny	[?]
Throw it away	Jow lock y	[Jolok]
I am thirsty	E mar row	[Maro]
Give me some drink	Letto lim ma dirick	[?]
Fingernails	Og guck	[Akki]
Bailing	An ain	[Anen]
Mast	Cod jew	[Kaju]
A saw	Dir te ban	[Jidpan]
My father	Gim mah	[Jema-ao]
Your father	Gim mum	[Jema-am]
His father	Gim men	[Jema-an]
My mother	Gin nah	[Jine-ao]
Your mother	Gin mum	[Jine-am]
His mother	Gin nen	[Jine-an]
Where are you going?	Guay te wy jickut	[Ewi ...]
What are you doing?	Guay je thah	[Ewi ...]
Where do you come from?	Guay te wy to den air	[Ewi ...]
Is there any?	O ra cy	[Or ...]
What is the news?	Ere nin narn	[Or nnaan]
A bag, or pocket	Pau jaw	[Bojo]
Do you know?	Guay del larky	[Ewi jela]
What is that?	Mer rot thany	[?]
What part?	E thane	[?]
You must not	A mow	[Emoj] ¹
A cable, or anchor	Em mi tock	[Emjak]
A cask, or chest	Tub be tub	[Toptop]
Laying a rope	Bit the bit	[Pitto(?)]
A cloud, or squall	Cur raw	[Kodo]
Fair weather	Em mon Lung	[Mman lañ]
Don't say a word	Tab co war roang aroang	[?]
Sharpening iron tools	Jim me jim mal	[Jemjem]
Take that and go	Book y em ettal	[Bbok im etal]
Sick in the stomach	Ma long a lung	[Molañoñ] ²
How large is this island?	Rir ret llong ene	[... ane]
What's the name of this isle?	I tan lling ene	[Atan ... ane]
Going to sea	Gib be lak	[Jerakrok]

THE END.

1 Ed. note: Or "Mo" meaning "taboo."

2 Ed. note: Actually meaning seasick.

THE
LIFE
OF
SAMUEL COMSTOCK,
THE TERRIBLE WHALEMAN.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE
MUTINY,
AND
MASSACRE OF THE OFFICERS
OF THE SHIP GLOBE, OF NANTUCKET;
WITH HIS SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES, AND HIS BEING
SHOT AT THE MULGRAVE ISLANDS.
ALSO,
LIEUTENANT PERCIVAL'S VOYAGE IN SEARCH OF THE SURVIVORS.



BY HIS BROTHER, WILLIAM COMSTOCK.

BOSTON:
JAMES FISHER, PUBLISHER.
No. 71 COURT STREET.
TURNER & FISHER, NEW YORK, AND PHILADELPHIA.

1840.

M2. The biography of Captain Comstock, by his brother

Sources: William Comstock. The Life of Samuel Comstock, the Terrible Whalerman (Boston, 1840).

Note: The author was the mutineer's brother. He re-wrote and edited the narrative of William Lay (see Preface below).

PREFACE.

The author of this work fell in with William Lay, in Providence, several years ago. Having given the young man an invitation to his boarding-house, he was obliged by a visit from him in the evening. Mr. Lay signified that he was not well pleased with the edition of the Globe Narrative, which he was at that time selling. He said that neither he nor Hussey wrote a syllable of it; but having laid the facts before a writer belonging to Nantucket, the whole had been put into its present shape, for the *trifling* consideration of fifty dollars—said writer being, in many ways, leagued with those who had suffered by the mutiny, and dependent upon them for his support. A gloss had therefore been given to the “plain unvarnished tale” of the youths, and many of the facts had been ingeniously *twisted* to fit in, and lay up with the stands of prejudice and partiality. He therefore offered the author of this work, another fifty dollars to correct the errors, and supply the defects of the writer, intending to get out a second edition as soon as he had disposed of the first. As the author left the country a few weeks after the conversations, he had not an opportunity to carry the plan of Mr. Lay into effect; but hopes that in the following pages he has given the public a more faithful account of the mutiny than any that has yet met their view.

...
The description of the chief mutineer in Lay & Hussey's Narrative, is a mere effigy, and the account of him in the Criminal Calendar, is a clumsy portrait of it.

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL COMSTOCK, THE TERRIBLE MUTINEER

Samuel Comstock was born at Nantucket, in the month of November, 1802. His genealogy, by the father's side, may be traced back to the early settlement of Massachusetts...

On his mother's side, the great-grandfather of our hero was an Irish sea-captain by the name of Emmet...

Some biographers regret that the early history of their heroes is lost in obscurity. I trust I shall begin early enough, when I state that ere yet her first-born had become one of the sons of men, my hero's mother expressed a belief that he would be a person of

extraordinary energies, which belief, was accompanied by a singular presentiment that those energies, would be ill-directed...

Little Samuel soon began to exhibit such proofs of address and boldness as are seldom seen in one of his age. When three years old, he insisted on going to market alone to buy a beef steak. The market house was more than a mile distant, yet he transacted his business satisfactorily with the butcher, and returned in safety with his purchase. About the same time he expressed a wish to go to the south shore and see the breakers as they came tumbling in from the Atlantic. Several large boys undertook to guide him thither. After a walk of three miles across the common they reached the strand. Samuel was early missed by his mother, whose uneasiness became excessive when the dinner hour arrived and he had not been seen or heard of. It was late in the afternoon when she saw from the front door, two large boys leading a third towards the house whose countenance nearly resembled that of her little son; but it could not be he, as Samuel left home in a boy's dress; but this little fellow was attired in petticoats. She was soon undeceived, however, for upon catching her eye, the little fellow bounded away from his companions and ran towards her. It was, indeed, her lost son; but how in the name of wonder he became possessed of his new garb, was a question which imagination could not answer. The other boys, upon being questioned, said that they had taken their protégé to the south shore, where he stood for some minutes gazing upon the flittering surges, until, no longer able to contain himself, he plunged head-foremost into the surf, laughing exultingly as the retreating breakers bore him off, and the succeeding ones tossed his light form into the air, enshrined in mist and foam. This was "laying his hand upon the mane of ocean," with a vengeance. The other boys barely succeeded in rescuing him from his perilous situation. They conveyed him to the nearest cottage, where a gentle matron stripped off his wet garments, and dressed the lion-hearted urchin in petticoats.

...

It is said the Indians ridicule our soldiers, by saying that they rush into danger like lions; but when wounded they behave like women—not having sufficient fortitude to endure pain. Samuel's conduct always formed an exception to this one-sided heroism. While children, he, and I, had a dispute about a hammer. I had hold of the iron and he had grasped the handle, each pulling with all his might. He being the stronger, drew it from my hand; but as I let go my hold suddenly, the claw flew up and split his lip. A doctor was called, who sewed up the wound. During the whole operation not a muscle in Samuel's face moved, to show that he was sensible of the pain.

...

[Young Comstock was placed in a succession of boarding schools run by Quakers in New York State. While the family lived in New York City, when at 9 years of age he was the leader of a street gang.]

...

Our hero made himself a large wooden shield, and a substitute for a coat of mail; then, stealing away from home in the evening, led his little band to the scene of con-

flict. He often returned late at night with ghastly wounds on his arms and legs, the multiplied scars of which he carried with him to his grave...

Here it may be well to state, that he was never insensible to favors; of ingratitude he was wholly incapable. He yielded easily to persuasion; obstinacy formed no part of his character; but, when injured, his resentment was implacable.

Our hero's strong bias for military pursuits, developed itself on every occasion. The backyard was transformed into a camp; trenches were dug and fortifications were thrown up, little companies of boys were paraded with mock guns and swords, cats and dogs were tried by court martial and shot, in all due form and order, with small brass and iron cannon. Our hero was quite an adept in the art of fencing, before he was twelve years old; and pistols and daggers were carried in his bosom by day, and deposited under his pillow by night. It may be readily supposed that these unquakerlike manoeuvres were not very agreeable to his father. He once presented his warlike son with the romance of Don Quixote, in the hope that the keen ridicule of Cervantes would throw a damper on his chivalrous ardour—but the effect was precisely the reverse. The high-toned bombast of the Castilian knight was sacredly revered, while the moral sank like dregs from his sight. Our hero was sent to the best schools, and no expense spared to render him an accomplished scholar, his father intending him for college. He was not very remiss in his studies, although his whole soul was bent upon wild adventures, fame and glory. It would be tedious to enumerate all his scrapes, battles and contrivances.

...

It is not to be supposed that a boy of ardent and adventurous spirit, residing in a sea-port town, and seeing much of sailors and shipping, should escape the sea mania so common to boys under such circumstances. When our hero had reached his thirteenth year, he began to evince a disposition to see blue water, but doubting his father's concurrence in his wishes, he set out in company with an Irishman whom he had before formed acquaintance with, at the digging of Harlem Heights, to travel to Philadelphia, at which place, he imagined he should find an opportunity to ship as a green hand. Night came, and no Sam. made his appearance. His mother sat up for him the greater part of the night; but she might as well have been abed, for the delinquent was posting to the sister city with all the despatch imaginable. Alarm sat upon every countenance when his place at the breakfast table was unappropriated on the following morning.

At about noon, a French gentleman entered his father's counting house, and prefacing his intelligence with the usual quantity of shrugs and grimace, said, a little boy bound to Philadelphia, on foot, had been detained by the landlord of a public house in Elizabethtown—said boy having attracted the notice of every one in the hotel by his good looks and intelligence. He said, that on being questioned, the little fellow had declared that he was bound to Philadelphia, on business for his brother, who kept store in New York. This appearing a very strange story, he had been put in *duress*, and finding no way to escape, had finally confessed that he had left his parents without permission.

The Frenchman had been deputed to call at his father's store and ascertain the true state of the case. Thomas Freeborn, a Quaker gentleman of New York, having some business in New Jersey, called at the hotel at Elizabethtown, and took up the runaway. He arrived at his father's house in the evening of the next day, and being questioned as to the reason of his strange conduct, declared his wish to go to sea. His father told him that if he preferred a sea-faring life, he should not thwart him in his choice of a profession, but represented to him the hardships and dangers incident to maritime adventures. Samuel persisted, and on the next day his father called on Hicks, Jenkins, & Co., in order to get him a chance on board one of their Liverpool traders. The ship **Edward**, commanded by Josiah Macy, was lying at the wharf, and Samuel was desirous of going to sea in her. The owners were very much opposed to his going to sea, and, but for the intervention of Captain Macy, would hardly have allowed him to embark in their vessel.

We now see the little school boy doffing his Quaker coat, and assuming the blue jacket, tarpaulin hat, and duck trousers, marching about the streets as proudly as a new-made peer who has forgotten his ancestors...

At length, the **Edward** sailed for Liverpool, and no doubt there were some who, in the height of their holy zeal, wished our hero might find a tomb in the ocean before she returned; but it was not so decreed, and after an absence of four months, the young sailor made his appearance again in the city. Instead of resuming the Quaker habit, he now attired himself in a fashionable dress, which sealed his damnation in the eyes of the Society of Friends. They turned up the whites of their eyes when they met him in the street, and buttoned their coats to the chin to keep out the contamination of his presence, while the little Quaker lads nestled to the sides of their parents as if they had seen a wolf. It might have been better for some of the little she-quakers if they had done the same; for, unfortunately, he was but too successful with the amorous sex. His extravagance in money matters, now exhibited itself to an alarming degree, and when destitute of pocket money, he always found an inexhaustible resource in several open casks of copper spikes, which stood in a loft of his father's store...

He set sail in the ship **Beaver**, for Canton, by way of the Pacific Ocean. The **Beaver** was a ship of 500 tons, owned by John Jacob Astor & Sons, and commanded by Captain Cleveland. She left New York in June 1817. The contest was at that time vigorously carried on between the Royalists and Patriots in South America. The **Beaver** had on board some supplies for the latter, and on being boarded on the coast of Chili by one of his most Christian Majesty's men-of-war, was adjudged a lawful prize and taken into Talcahuana. The crew were immediately thrown into prison, where they lay about five months. Captain Cleveland succeeded in recovering the ship, which in due time, was brought back to her owners. Our hero was highly indignant at the conduct of the Spaniards, and vented his rage upon them in such a manner, as to endanger his life at several different times. Being allowed occasionally to leave his prison and walk about the town, he took advantage of the privilege to insult the populace, and generally when he returned to his place of confinement, he came at full speed before a crowd of Spaniards and repeated showers of stones.

At length the whale ship **George**, of Nantucket, touched at Talcahuana; and Nathaniel Bunker, chief mate of the **Beaver**, prevailed on our hero to return in the whaleman with him to the United States. Although very anxious to go to Lima with Captain Cleveland, he yielded to the persuasions of the mate, and became one of the **George's** crew.¹ During the homeward passage, our hero conceived a violent antipathy to whale-ships and their officers—an antipathy which never afterwards left him. The shocking ignorance and gross vulgarity of the **George's** crew, was a theme on which he often dwelt with uncontrollable disgust. It may be a question how far an intelligent person is warranted in finding fault with the coarseness, or ignorance of humble laborers, who are honestly toiling in their avocations, and make no pretensions to anything higher. But, unfortunately, the Nantucket whalers are as vain and boastful as they are unlettered and stupid. The captain of a whaleship often inquires (like an African prince): "Do they speak of me in France?" A Nantucketman in any part of the world, may be known by the surly importance and glum dignity of his manner. Instead of endeavouring to amuse or instruct those with whom he associates, he considers it his business to draw the attention of every one to himself, and resents highly a want of peculiar respect and admiration for his own undeservings. After a crew has shipped on board a Nantucket whaleman, the first step taken by the officer, is, to discover who are natives of the island, and who are strangers. The honour of being a Roman citizen was not, in days of yore, so enviable a distinction, as it is on board one of these ships, to be a native of that sand bank, named Nantucket...

To all who contemplate a whaling voyage, I would say: avoid, if possible, Nantucket or New Bedford, although the latter place is not so exceptionable as the former. Newport, R.I. is the most auspicious port from which the young sailor can embark on a whaling voyage. The owners there, are liberal, generous men—and if a change has not taken place with a few years, their ships are commanded by gentlemanly and intelligent men, the officers being like unto them.

When our hero reached Nantucket, he was kindly received by his relatives in that town. Widow Ennice Mitchell (a connection by marriage) and her lovely daughters, Lydia and Mary, showed the little adventurer much kindness, and he always spoke of them in terms of high commendation...

At Nantucket our hero first heard that his mother had died in his absence. The tidings were deeply affecting to him, as he was strongly attached to her. She died at the age of 35, and left a family of 8 small children...

On his return to New York, being only 15 years of age, he was sent to school to Goold Brown, a Quaker. Some roguish boys once assaulted the school house, during school hours, throwing snowballs against the doors and windows, and bawling at the top of their voices, in order to disturb the teacher in his duties. The master opened the

1 Ed. note: The *George*, Captain John Fitch, was a 359-ton ship, built in 1815 at Rochester and owned by Obed Mitchell. She had left Nantucket on 25 February 1816, and returned on 24 July 1818 (ref. Starbuck, p. 220).

door, and spoke to them, but they replied in insolent terms. Our hero, thereupon, started from his desk, and rushing out, gave battle to the saucy troop and put them all to flight, for which belligerent action, Friend Goold considered himself much scandalized, believing that if the assailants hit him with a snow ball on one cheek, it was his duty to turn and receive a patch of mud on the other. Such are the principles of the Quakers...

Our hero now began to associate with some loose characters, though privately. There was a famous brothel kept in Lombardy Street, opposite Mechanic Alley, by an old bawd named Jackson. On the sign, over the door, the words "James Jackson, boarding and lodging," would have led the passers-by to suppose it was an honest house, were it not for a red-faced pimp whose head was every now and then thrust out the door, and whose brandy nose served as a light house to guide distressed mariners to the arms of beauty. Here, our hero became entrapped, and, it is to be feared, got rid of some of his loose change. There can be no doubt that he also paid some visits to Corlears' Hook, as he was affectionately attached to that part of the town. The young Quakers are generally in the habit of going to Anthony Street for recreation, and probably they led him off on some of their excursions. Be that as it may, his late hours were a convincing proof that he considered his evenings at his own disposal.

After remaining at home a considerable time, he expressed his wish to go to sea again. His father insisted that if he tried another voyage, it should be in a whale ship, as the whalemen are seldom in port, and little opportunity would be afforded for dissipation. Although strongly averse to whaling, Samuel was not obstinate, and wrote to Captain Shubael Chase, who was then making preparations for a voyage to the Pacific. Captain Chase returned an answer that he should take command of the new ship **Foster**, as soon as she arrived at Nantucket, and that he would give him a berth. Previous to setting out for Nantucket, our hero met with an accident which threatened to be serious. He was making some fireworks with powder when a spark accidentally fell into his magazine and the whole flashed in his face. Fortunately he was not blinded, but his hands, face, and neck were badly burned. He repaired immediately to Dr. John C. Cheeseman, who administered the necessary remedies. The doctor afterwards mentioned the unflinching fortitude with which he bore the operation, in admiring terms. Being about to go to Nantucket, his father told him he needed a new coat, and here our hero's pliability was again manifested, inasmuch as he consented to assume the Quaker garb. His appearance must have been rather novel, while flourishing with his skinned face and straight coat among the liberal girls of Newtown.

All things being ready, the **Foster** sailed for the Pacific Ocean in the summer of 1819.¹ Among the crew were two boys named John Lincoln and John Cotton, to whom

1 Ed. note: This was a ship of 317 tons, built in 1819, owned by P. Mitchell & Sons, that left Nantucket on 27 July 1819, and returned on 12 April 1822 with 1,624 barrels of sperm-oil. Starbuck (p. 229) notes an incident that took place during this cruise: "The bottom of the Forster was pierced by a horn-fish and the horn left there. On sawing it off in the hold, the water rushed through the opening 1,000 strokes per hour."

our hero became much attached, both of them being rather superior to the generality of whalers. Not liking the mate very well, he proposed to one of these youngsters to assist him in flogging the said dignitary, but he was not seconded, and gave up the project. He entertained a sincere regard for Captain Chase, who was a methodist, and bears the character of a good and liberal man. While on board the **Foster**, our hero was frequently observed walking the deck in a rain storm, without his jacket, and talking earnestly to himself. The subject of his cogitation came to my knowledge after his return from sea. It seems that he had long dwelt on a romantic design of spending his life among the savages on one of the Pacific isles. He wished to be the only white man on the island, and doubted not in a short time he should be able to get himself elected king, when he would make sea excursions with the natives, and capture any vessel which chanced to come in his way. Thus, he would be the terror of the South Seas, and acquire that immortality for which his soul so ardently burned. Accordingly, when the **Forster** touched at Easter Island, he endeavoured to get Captain Chase's consent to go on shore, but was not permitted.

The **Foster** also paid a visit to Valparaiso. Here our hero met with many adventures among his old friends, the Spaniards. A little to the right hand of the town are three hills, called the Fore, Main and Mizzen Top, where sailors resort for the purpose of carousing, and enjoying the company of certain Spanish girls, of whom Diana would not have been extravagantly proud.

[Comstock went up Main Top and met Spanish prostitutes, but was attacked after dark by a negro with a knife. He pretended to look for money, but lounged at his attacker, pushed him off a cliff, and thought he had killed him. He then managed to make his way silently down to the beach, intending to swim back to his ship.]

When he arrived at the beach, he perceived that the little shantee called "Hit or Miss" was still open, and that some sailors were carousing there. He thought he would step in a moment, and see if there was any person whom he knew, in the building. The company proved to be part of the crew of an English brig which had arrived the day before, and who had got liberty to spend the night on shore. They looked rather coolly at the intruder; but as he always possessed an extraordinary faculty for making himself at home in all society, they soon became sociable with him; and said if he would wait until daylight, they would take him off to his ship in their boat. Drinking loosens the tongue—it was so here; and several of these seamen who had been smugglers and pirates, related their adventures, and exulted in the evil deeds which they had committed in former times. Our hero listened to these narrations with great interest, and began to feel that he had fallen among kindred spirits. One of these men was John Oliver, of whom I shall have occasion to speak again. Oliver seemed to be highly interested in our hero, and, drawing him away from the rest of the group, made inquiries respecting his present condition and future prospects. Samuel related to him the adventure in which he had been engaged in that very night, at which Oliver proposed that they should take a

walk in the vicinity of the Calibouse,¹ and try to discover what was to be the fate of the two girls. Our hero readily assented, and they set out together for the prison. The sentinels were probably slumbering at their posts, for the two spies had gained the centre of the prison yard before they were discovered.

[Comstock was caught, tried to escape but was locked up for the night. While sleeping he was almost killed by a negro prisoner with a knife, but woke up in time, when his attacker stepped on his foot. This negro was the man he had pushed off the cliff, but had gone through the roof of a Spaniard's house, and been arrested for infraction and attempted robbery.]

During the long voyage in the **Foster**, our hero's dislike to whaling, gathered so much strength that he was often heard to swear by all the saints of the calendar that he would never engage in the business again, and he would no doubt have kept his word, but for events which he could not foresee.

...

After an absence of 33 months, the **Foster** arrived at Edgartown, where the crew commenced discharging their oil. This place is much improved of late years: they have places of public worship; cannibalism has become almost extinct, and our hero walked the streets in open day without being molested by the inhabitants...

Having worn out all his clothes during the voyage, our hero was obliged to remain at Edgartown until the tailor had prepared him some. His coat was first finished, and I have heard some persons laugh at the recollections of his appearance when he first arrived at Nantucket, where he was seen for several days dashing about the streets with a fine broad-cloth coat, and patched canvas trousers. After being kindly welcomed by his relatives on the island, and affording them infinite amusement by his anecdotes, of which he always possessed an inexhaustible fund, he began to turn his attention to the fair sex. I have already said that Nantucket abounds in lovely and interesting girls. He could now approach them with increased confidence, because he had been around Cape Horn, and "struck a whale." His gallantry was, however, peculiar to himself. His compliments were never of an ambiguous nature—he never assailed the sex at long shot distance—but preferred close quarters, and always threw out his grappings without ceremony when the prize suited his fancy. His dislike was as frankly expressed—to one young lady whom he thought rather prudish in her demeanor, he said he "should like to see her heart broiled on a gridiron!" It may readily be supposed that such delicate insinuations rendered him quite a favorite with the Spartan dames of Nantucket. But being now nineteen years of age, he thought it high time to fix upon some object for a companion through life. Accordingly, he pitched upon a respectable young lady, as different from himself as can well be imagined. She was a member of the Methodist so-

1 Ed. note; Usually written "Calaboose," it comes from the Spanish word "calabozo" meaning gaol, or jail.

ciety, gentle, unassuming, and pure in heart as the angel's at the right hand of God. Her parents, who knew but little of his wayward propensities, did not seem averse to the match. He visited their daughter, went to meeting with her, presented her with a prayer book and became all at once so partial to the Methodists, that it was rumoured he intended to become a preacher of that denomination. He was in the habit of frequenting a certain tailor's shop, he held long conversations on the subject of religion, where he often met a pious old Methodist, with whom the young hypocrite generally ending with: "The people of God I do admire," "I hope my sins are washed away," or some other cant phrase of that enthusiastic sect—so that his reputation for godliness kept pace among the older inhabitants with his reputation for gallantry among the younger ones. In short, dissimulation, stratagem, and finesse were weapons which he wielded on every occasion.

At length he took passage in a packet for New York, where he was anxiously expected by his father's family. There was a pretty English girl on board the sloop, who was also going to New York, and our hero immediately formed an acquaintance with her, and before the vessel reached the city, he had made her a promise of marriage. On parting from her at the wharf, he obtained her address, and agreed to visit her frequently. I was much surprised at his altered appearance, when I came home on a Sunday evening and found him in the house. He had not grown much taller, if any; but his chest was broad and full, his limbs very large, his face and neck nearly as black as an Indian's, while there was nothing left in his eyes of the frank and open expressions that once characterized them. There was a deep, subtle, and mysterious expression about them, which I thought very repulsive. His sister noticed the change, and remarked to me that he had "a bad look." His manner, however, was not like his appearance. There seemed to be no shyness or reserve, no feeling of conscious guilt in his soul. He was as cordial, bold, and reckless as ever; and seemed to feel himself perfectly at home.

Immediately on his arrival he declared his resolution to forsake the whaling business, and even the sea, forever. His father applauded his determination, and expressed a wish that he would enter his store as a clerk, especially as I was then about leaving home, and George was too young to be of much advantage in a mercantile establishment. His father was then about moving his concern into a store which he had just purchased, and Samuel was sent to superintend the preparations at the new store. A brisk mulatto girl was employed in white-washing the counting room. Samuel told her to go down into the cellar and get a pitcher of water. She obeyed, and he immediately followed her, shutting the cellar door after him. They were below together, in the dark, sometime, when they returned, and the girl whispered to me that my brother was a real devil.

Our hero now wrote to his sweetheart at Nantucket, and very cavalierly informed her that as he had given up the whaling business, it would be inconvenient for him to marry her, and she had better turn her attention elsewhere. Her father was undoubtedly indignant at this insult offered to his family; but it does not appear that the young lady followed the example of Queen Dido.

Samuel and I were about this time much in each other's society, and I discovered that although he had ostensibly turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, his mind ran entirely upon battles, dark deeds, and perilous adventures of every description. He professed an enthusiastic admiration of our naval heroes, and incorporated a B. with his name out of respect for Captain Burroughs; but as his acquaintances were not generally aware of the addition to his cognomen, I have dropped it in this biography. He told me it had long been a favourite scheme of his, to sail in some vessel bound to the Pacific Ocean, and while there to kill the Captain and officers, and take possession of the ship. He would then take the vessel to some island inhabited by savages, and after murdering all his crew, join with the natives, teach them the art of war, and raise himself to the dignity of a king. All of this sounded to me like an idle dream. I supposed him wholly incapable of murder.

The time soon arrived for me to go to Nantucket, as the ship in which I was about to embark for the Pacific Ocean, had reached that place. On the morning that the packet left New York, our hero came on board to bid me farewell. As I had never been to sea, he gave me some advice about my future conduct, and ended with: "If you ever make a seaman, you will observe this: Never get the lee side of a clue line, nor at the batter end of a jib-down haul!" There were the last words that I ever heard him speak.

It appears that after I left home, he continued in his father's store; but did not attend very closely to business. The girls occupied much of his attention, and the English damsel, to whom he was under marriage engagements, came in for her full share. He was frequently seen walking the streets with her, and he sometimes attended her to places of amusement. Her faith in her *future spouse*, received a slight shock on one occasion, when she met him in the evening parading the street by the side of a female of very doubtful reputation; but as his virtuous mind was very much shocked at learning her character from the lips of his beloved, she readily forgave the *inadvertancy*. She did not altogether relish his continual postponement of the marriage ceremony; but he assured her that, as soon as he could remove the prejudices which his father had unfortunately conceived against the union, he would lead her to the altar.

Our hero soon grew tired of the inactive life he led, and turned his thoughts once more towards the ocean. A Patriot frigate lay at the wharf, and was nearly ready to sail. He contrived to ingratiate himself with her officers, and soon obtained the offer of a good situation on board of her. He gained his father's consent to go in the ship, and his every wish seemed gratified. He applied himself assiduously to the study of naval tactics, and became a thorough master of every part of the science of navigation. Of medicine and surgery he had already a considerable knowledge; but a blight came upon his hopes, and his fondly cherished anticipations were blasted with a breath. Some miserable Quaker bigots assailed his father, and remonstrated violently against his permitting his son to go on board a ship of war. He was at length persuaded to withhold his permission—to take back the promise which he had given; and our hero was informed that he would receive no aid—and even the necessary outfits, which, as an officer, he would need upon entering the Patriot navy. He was also given to understand

that he must fix upon some other business, and pursue it steadily, on pain of his father's displeasure. At that moment, the star of Samuel Comstock sunk in blackness forever! A streak of blood had crossed his son; and Fate's dark finger, as it pointed his future course, even trembled at the signal that itself had given.

Samuel answered his father that he would go on another whaling voyage. Whaling, indeed! who could not have seen with half an eye, that such whaling as he would engage in, would bring no profit to the owners? When I was told in the Pacific by Captain George Washington Gardner,¹ that he had sailed in the ship **Globe**, I was struck with amazement.

His father seemed very well suited with his choice of a profession, and told him, for his encouragement, that if he would go a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and conduct himself well, he would buy a ship, on his return home, and give him the command of her.

Our hero immediately set off, in a desperate state of mind, for Nantucket, and engaged a boat-steerer's berth. He then returned to New York for his equipment. George then expressed a wish to accompany his brother in the **Globe**, and as he had long been pestering his father to go to sea, this was thought a favourable opportunity.

In making his preparations for the voyage, Samuel laid in a much greater quantity of clothing than was required; purchased a case of surgical instruments, a medicine chest, and every variety of *garden seeds*. In addition to which, he packed up a goodly share of pistols, daggers, and swords—together with powder and ball. Before the **Globe** sailed, a circumstance took place, which might be considered ominous. While our hero and two other young men were at sea in a lighter, they sat together on the rail of the vessel. The captain cautioned them against the danger of their situation; but they heeded him not. Suddenly the vessel gave a lurch, and precipitated all three of them into the sea. One of them was drowned, and the other two saved with great difficulty.

Now that he had resumed the whaling business, our hero called on the young lady whom he had discharged so cavalierly, and told her the alteration in his prospects rendered it convenient for him to renew his acquaintance with her. Her father preached a little sound doctrine to him, but finally the young people were permitted to begin their courtship again at the place where it left off. In the meantime, about two dozen girls of New York, having perceived that Samuel had left the city, started up from their different roosts, like the followers of Rhoderick Dhu at the sound of a whistle, and exclaimed against the duplicity of our hero, who, they affirmed had promised them marriage. But, if misery loves company, neither of the love-lorn damsels could have suffered much as there was a goodly number of them.

...

Shortly after Samuel and George had taken their final departure from New York, a singular circumstance occurred. The family had been induced to leave the house in the city and retire to Greenwich, on account of the yellow fever, where they remained until late in the fall. Before moving back to town, two maids were sent to get the house ready

1 Ed. note: Captain of the ship **Maria** of Nantucket, 1822-1825 voyage (ref. Starbuck, p. 242).

for their reception. While the two girls were at work in a front chamber, a sea-bird flew in at an open window, and continued his course until he reached the partition at the back part of the room. When he wheeled, flew back to the window and went off, leaving two distinct streaks of blood on the ceiling, extending the whole length of the room. When our hero's father mentioned the fact to a visitor, the latter replied: "If thou were inclined to superstition, thou would be likely to imagine that was some omen relating to thy two sons who are about going to sea in the ship **Globe**."

...

To return to our hero—There was a respectable widow lady at Nantucket by the name of Plum, with whom he was fond of conversing. A short time before the **Globe** sailed, he paid her a visit, and told her that the evening before he was walking up Main Street, and thinking on certain subjects, until his feelings so overcame him that he was obliged to sit down on the steps of a house; a woman whom he knew, passing that way, saw him, and desired to know what was the matter. He told her "nothing much—a little faintness had come over him—that was all." She advised him to go home, and finally assisted him in reaching his boarding house. At another time, Mrs. Plum asked him what he was going to do with his surgical instruments. He replied that he thought they might be needed. She asked him if he thought he could have the hardihood to cut off a man's leg. "Yes," replied he, "or his *head* either!" Mrs. Plum told him she had heard young men talk before; that they were always fond of extravagant speeches, and she supposed that he was like the rest of them.

The **Globe** of Nantucket was at this time considered a lucky ship, and the young seamen pressed forward eagerly to get a chance in her. Her preceding voyage had been remarkably successful. She was then commanded by George Washington Gardner, the most enterprising sea captain of the island. After an absence of not quite twenty months, she returned with nearly a full cargo of oil—whereas the term of the voyage is often three years, and seldom less than two and a half. A good share of the credit for this almost unparalleled success was due to Thomas Worth, her chief mate, whose ardour, intrepidity, and unwearied energies were perhaps unequalled by any other officer engaged in whale fishery. Added to this, however, he was passionate, violent, and some times tyrannical. While chief mate of the **Globe**, he was known, several times, to rush in the steerage where the hands were at dinner, with a naked lance in his hand, and threaten to nail the men to the deck, if they did not hasten up to their duty. He was better educated, and more of a gentleman than his fellow officers, and possessed some talent. Altogether, he was just the man to be pleased with our hero, who was as great a dare-devil as himself. Captain Gardner having taken command of a new ship, Mr. Worth, the former mate, was requested to take charge of the **Globe**, and he did so. Captain Worth very soon became attached to Samuel Comstock, treated him with consideration, and placed the utmost confidence in his integrity and his friendship.

It being late in the season, the **Globe** took in her supplies at Edgartown. While there, our hero was introduced to many new acquaintances, who were universally pleased with him, and thought him a young man of excellent principles and correct deportment. The

news of his subsequent conduct fell upon the inhabitants of Edgartown like a clap of thunder. He was the last person they would have suspected of such a deed. When the young bride of Captain Worth smiled at his sallies, little did she imagine that at that moment he was laying schemes to make her a widow! But dark and bloody was the thoughts of his soul, and his smile was like a sunbeam playing on the tomb.

The first mate of the **Globe** was William Beetle; the second mate was John Lumbert; the third mate, Nathaniel Fisher. Of the mates there is little to be told, excepting that Mr. Lumbert bore the character of a generous and well-disposed young man, in whom there was no evil. Gilbert Smith and Samuel Comstock were boat-steerers. The hands before the mast were: Stephen Kidder, Peter C. Kidder, Columbus Worth, Rowland Jones, John Cleveland, Constant Lewis, Holden Henman, Jerimiah Ingham, Joseph I. Prass, Cyrus M. Hussey, Rowland Coffin, George Comstock, and William Lay.

At length the supplies being all on board, and every thing prepared for the voyage, the **Globe** set sail for the Pacific Ocean, on the 15th of December, 1822; but an accident happened to some of her rigging, and she was forced to put back, come to an anchor, and repair the damage. This the superstitious would pronounce a decidedly bad omen. The **Globe** lay in port four days, when adieus (some of which were doomed to be last farewells) were hastily snatched, and on the 19th the ship put to sea again.

One whale was taken in the Atlantic Ocean, and again our hero's denunciations of the whaling business broke forth. The crude oil always had a bad effect upon him, filling him with biles, and inflaming his flesh. He now lamented that he had been prevented from going out in the Patriot Frigate—declaring that his prospects were blighted, and the best part of his existence consigned to waste on board a “cursed blubber hunter.” Nevertheless, he performed his duty with as much alacrity as those who liked the business. Some of the green hands, not being accustomed to keeping awake in the night, were much disposed to sleep on deck in their watch. That was a weakness of which he was never guilty, and he considered it unpardonable in others. He therefore sprinkled the sleepers plentifully with cold water, which procured him many enemies among the crew. But Captain Worth was well pleased with his zeal. In short, our hero took every opportunity to tyrannize over the men, under the mistaken idea that such conduct was spirited and officer-like—an error into which a great many simpletons run, when invested with “a little brief authority.” You will often hear a Nantucket mother boast that her son “who is *met* [i.e. mate] of a ship is a real *spit-fire*”; meaning that he is a cruel tyrant, which, on that island, is considered the very *acme* of human perfection.

On the 5th of March, the **Globe** doubled Cape Horn, and stood to the northward. She made no stop on what is called the offshore ground, but made the rest of her way to the Sandwich Islands, Captain Worth intending to get on Japan as quick as possible, that being the field on which the **Globe** had reaped such a plentiful harvest on the preceding voyage. An old seaman on board the **Globe** was very much distressed by that excruciating disorder, the gravel—our hero's knowledge of medicine and surgery was found useful on this occasion, insomuch that he performed a radical cure, and the old man was restored to soundness and health. He also performed a daring operation on

himself. His foot was much swollen, and he had been compelled to neglect his duty on account of it. Determined to remove the cause of complaint, he split open the top of his foot with a lancet, to the very bone. A little boy with a hook, to which a string was attached, held open the flesh for him. Observing the lad to tremble when the sinews and veins were laid bare, he harshly reprimanded him for what he was pleased to call his *cowardice*. Having given the bone a good scraping and arranged the machinery of his foot to satisfaction, he sowed up the chasm—the wound healed and his lameness was removed.

The **Globe** made the Sandwich Islands on the morning of May 1st, 1823. As the ship drew near the Island of Hawaii, in the afternoon, a large number of canoes came off to her. It fell calm, and the ship was not able to approach nearer than nine or ten miles from the shore, yet the natives flocked on board in great numbers, bringing potatoes, yams, fish, and other products of the island. The Captain forbade the crew to have any intercourse with the women, who came on board; and accordingly, as was supposed, the females had all returned to the Island before the watch was set. But our hero had secretly smuggled one of the brown damsels into the steerage; and on the next morning, when the Captain was walking the deck, Lady Comstock made her appearance, emerging from the steerage, with an air of great dignity, dressed in a new Scotch bonnet, and rose blankets, which her gallant had presented her. The Captain stared at this unexpected apparition; but perceiving under whose protection she was, made no remark.

The **Globe** next went to Woahoo, the great rendez-vous for whalers, where Nantucket Captains meet and plan new schemes of tyranny for their crews. The **Globe** lay but twenty hours at Woahoo, and then sailed for Japan, in company with the whaling ships **Palladium** and **Pocahontas**.¹ Captain Worth cruised in the Japan seas a few months, during which he obtained 550 barrels of oil, and then shaped his course again for Woahoo. During the cruise on Japan, the crew complained much of being put on a short allowance of food. The fault was not, perhaps, altogether in the Captain; for the owners of whale ships too frequently neglect to victual their ships properly, depending on the Captain to stint his crew in proportion to his means, by which a few dollars are saved to the rich owners, while the poor hard labouring sailor famishes with hunger. When any man complained to Captain Worth that he was suffering with hunger, he would tell him to eat iron hoops; and several times gagged the complainants' mouths with pump-bolts. It does not appear that our hero discountenanced these arbitrary proceedings; but, on the contrary, did all he could to encourage them; anticipating, no doubt, effects favourable to his schemes.

Our hero's father received a letter from him, written during the cruise on Japan, in which were these ominous words: "You will soon see the bloody flag hoisted on board

1 Ed. note: Ship **Palladium** of Boston, Captain Macy, 1821-24 voyage; ship **Pocahontas** of Falmouth, Captain Frederick Chase, 1821-24 voyage (ref. Starbuck, pp. 238-241).

the **Globe!**" During his leisure hours, he devoted himself very assiduously to the study of abstruse science, never sleeping more than four hours out of the twenty four.

When the **Globe** arrived at Woahoo, six of the dissatisfied hands deserted in the night. Two of them were caught and put in irons, in the fort; but they made out to unshackle themselves and escaped.

While lying in harbour, our hero amused himself by beating the negroes on board with his cutlass, and by other acts of tyranny which made him very unpopular with the ship's company; but raised him in the estimation of Captain Worth! He was designated by the crews of the other ships as "the rascal in a red jacket." Yet, while Captain Worth imagined he was so loyal and zealous a champion, he was secretly engaged in stimulating revolt. He actually assisted the two men in the fort to make their escape.

An East Indiaman was at this time lying in the harbour, and our hero was desirous of getting his discharge from the **Globe**, and going to sea in her. Captain Worth refused to discharge him, at which he was much incensed, and was heard threatening (in Jack Crown's shantee) that if Captain Worth took him to sea again in the **Globe**, it would be at the peril of his life.

He seemed to want some pretence for raising a mutiny; and now he imagined he had sufficient ground for doing so. The Captain had ever treated him kindly at sea; but he had now refused to grant his wishes, unreasonable as they doubtless were, and discharge him.

With the mate he had sometimes quarrelled, and the mate had reported of him that he was cruel to the hogs on board—one of which he threw overboard for squealing. Therefore he felt justified in killing the mate.

The third mate, Mr. Fisher, had offended him in the following manner. Once at sea, while in company with the ship **Enterprise**,¹ the officers of the two vessels were amusing themselves by wrestling. Our hero challenged Mr. Fisher to the trial, who was much larger and stronger than his challenger. Fisher, with very little trouble, brought our hero to the ground. Thinking it a disgrace to be worsted in any thing, he became angry and struck Mr. Fisher, who then seized him and threw him several times on the deck, in a rough manner. Thereupon, our hero's rage lost all bounds, and he swore that he would one day take a deep and signal revenge upon Fisher. The latter paid no attention to these threats at the time but, in the opinion of Samuel Comstock, his life was justly forfeited.

It being necessary to make up the complement of hands, before the ship put to sea again, Captain Worth shipped the following men: Silas Payne, John Oliver, Anthony Hanson, William Humphries, Thomas Lilliston, and a native. Silas Payne, belonged to Sag Harbour. The inhabitants of that place had been much annoyed by his bad courses, while he lived among them, and were very glad to get rid of him when he left home. He was a tall, stern, and reserved person, of some resolutions, and of a rebellious na-

1 Ed. note: Ship *Enterprise* of Nantucket, Captain Reuben Weeks, 1822-26 voyage (ref. Starbuck, p. 242).

ture. John Oliver was a little contemptible looking fellow, coarse, vulgar, and ignorant. He belonged to Shields (England). Anthony Hanson belonged to Barnstable, William Humphries was a poor oppressed African. He acted in the capacity of steward. Thomas Lilliston belonged to Virginia. having taken on board a supply of vegetables, and as much fruit as could be preserved, the **Globe** weighed anchor, and went to sea. She ran into south latitude and cruised a while without much success. It is probable that our hero and the new hands took no great pains to see whales, having business of their own to think of, which they considered paramount to filling the ship with oil. In short, they were planning a bloody mutiny, "a deed without a name," without precedent, and against which the Captain and officers would have thought it madness to take precautions against, as they would have doubted the sanity of a man who forewarned them of such an incredible event. For who would have believed that a young Quaker scarcely 21 years of age, with the fairest prospects in life, respected by his Captain, and beloved by all his acquaintances, should concert with a band of outlawed, ignorant, and depraved wretches to exterminate four men who had never given *him* just cause of offence in their lives! The conspirators maintained the utmost secrecy—although our hero, it would appear, took a little pains to sound one of the crew, occasionally, in order to see how they were disposed towards the Captain and the officers. Being at the mast-head with William Lay, one morning, he said to him: "Well, William, there is bad usage in the ship—what had we better do, run away, or take the ship?" Lay made an evasive answer, and endeavoured to acquaint the second mate with what he had heard; but found no opportunity. Although the crew of the **Globe** were generally (perhaps every one) dissatisfied with the usage on board of her, we do not find that Samuel Comstock thought proper to ask the aid of any but Silas Payne, John Oliver, William Humphries, and Thomas Lilliston. His policy then is very apparent. Most of the hands who had come out in the ship were never at sea before, and their minds were easily awed, and kept in subservience by their officers. They had friends and relatives at home whom they were anxious to see once more—and they could not be easily tempted to do an act which would cut them off forever from their native land, or restore them to it, only to grace a gibbet. On the other hand, the men whom Captain Worth picked up at the Sandwich Islands were wanderers over the wide world, without an abiding place, without friends save such as the bottle generates, and probably cared not for kin or country—their hands against every man, and every man's hands against them.

Not finding whales plenty at the south, Captain Worth steered for Fanning's Island, which lies in lat. 3°49' N. and long. 158°29' W.

While cruising off this island, the ship **Lyra** was spoken, and the two Captains agreed to keep their ships together a while. The reader may not be aware that it is a common practice, when two whale ships fall in with each other at sea, for the Captains to agree to cruise in company—in which case the Captains visit each other's ship alternately—the mates sometimes partaking of the same privilege.

On Sunday, the 26th of January, 1824, Captain Joy of the **Lyra** went on board the **Globe**, and remained until dusk. On the morning of that day, Joseph Thomas (one of

the **Globe's** crew) offended Captain Worth, and the Captain whipped him with the end of the main bent-line. The crew looked on with great indignation, while Thomas was receiving his flagellation, and one of the new hands was heard to say it would be "the last time that Worth would flog one of the crew!" This was the right time for the mutineers to strike. The crew were incensed against the Captain and officers for this piece of high-handed tyranny. Our hero saw that the time was propitious, and resolved to carry into effect his diabolical plans, on that very night.

Late in the afternoon, a boat from the **Lyra** came to convey Captain Joy to his ship. The Captain not being quite ready to go, the boat's crew came on board of the **Globe** to wait for him. Our hero was setting on the deck, engaged in splicing the fore-sheet, while the **Lyra's** men were gathered around him. Suddenly he looked up, and saw the sun just sinking below the horizon, said: "That reminds me of the saying of a Roman General on the eve of a battle: 'How many that watch that sun go down, will never see it rise again!'" Of course, the listeners took no notice of this speech at the time. The sun went down; Captain Joy returned to his ship, and the night watch was set.

On whaling ground there is generally but little sail standing during the night, and the crew is consequently divided into three watches. The **Globe** manned but three boats, and each watch consisted of a boat's crew, with the boat-steerer in charge. Gilbert Smith had charge of the first watch, on this night, with the starboard boat's crew. Smith remained on deck until 10 o'clock. At 8, the Captain came on deck, and had two reefs taken in the top-sails; and at 9, he went below again, leaving with Smith the orders for the night, to be transferred to the boat-steerers who succeeded him. Those orders were to keep the ship by the wind until 2 o'clock, and not to tack until the last or morning watch came up; and, on tacking, to set a light as a signal for the **Lyra** to tack also, in order that the two ships might not part company in the dark.

At 10 o'clock Samuel Comstock came on deck, with the crew of the boat to which he belonged. Smith passed the orders to him, and went below, George Comstock took the helm. The night was quite dark, and a thick mist prevented his seeing objects distinctly. He heard persons in the waist, by the main-mast, whispering very fast and earnestly together, as if their interest was highly excited. He stretched out his head, and listened with all his might; but could understand nothing that was said. While thus engaged, he heard a voice at his elbow, and, turning his head, was surprised to see his brother Samuel standing at his side, of whose approach he had not been aware. "Keep the ship a good full," said Samuel, "Why do you have all the head sails shaking!"

George protested that the ship was already a whole point from the wind.

"Mind what I tell you," said his brother fiercely, and, putting up the helm until the ship had run off two points, ordered George to keep her so. The nautical reader will readily understand, that the object of our hero was to increase the distance between the two ships as much as possible. Samuel left his brother, and went forward. The whispering then continued, more earnestly than ever, and George was surprised by several more visits from his brother, as sudden and unexpected as the first, in which he ordered him to keep the ship off from the wind, as he had done before. George's heart misgave

him. There was some mystery which he could not unravel. When his time at the helm was up, George took the rattle to warn his relief that his turn had come; but the moment he begun to make a noise with it, his brother came to him, and bade him to desist. George replied: "It is not my helm, and I want to be relieved."

"If you make the least damn bit of noise," replied Samuel, "I will send you to hell!" Not liking the idea of transmigrating to such a warm climate, George became silent.

Our hero then lighted a lamp and went down into the steerage. As soon as his brother was out of sight, George took up the rattle again; but before he could make any noise, Samuel stood before him, and threatened him with instant death, if he presumed to give any alarm. The little fellow was paralyzed by the dreadful imprecations of his brother, and made no farther attempt to sound the rattle. All was silence and darkness for some minutes, when our hero came up to the vice bench and laid something heavy upon it. George afterwards learned that it was a boarding-knife—a sharp two-edged instrument, about four feet long, and three inches wide, with a sharp point, used for cutting toggle holes in the blubber.

George stood at the helm some time after this. Not a sound was heard—not a whisper. No human being was in sight. At length he heard a heavy blow, as if with an axe in the cabin; and the next moment, the scream of mortal agony broke upon his ear; a short scuffle, a few blows, and all was again silent. In the meantime, Smith hearing the noise in the cabin, supposed the officers were quarrelling with each other, and went aft to see what was the matter. He looked down the cabin and beheld Comstock covered with blood! Expecting it would be his turn next, he ran forward where the crew were already alarmed, and asked them what he had better do. As soon as Smith had retreated, our hero made his appearance at the binnacle, where his petrified brother was still standing. George describes his appearance, at that moment, as horrific in the extreme. His face, arms, and breast were bloody—his eyes flaming with fury—and his shirt nearly torn from his back. George asked him if he intended to hurt Smith. He replied in the affirmative, and asked George if he had seen him. Fearing that Smith would be next attacked, George replied that he had not seen him, and did not know where he was. Perceiving that George was shedding tears, his brother asked sternly: "What are you crying about?" "I am afraid they will hurt me," answered the boy. "I will hurt you," said the other, "if you talk in that manner."

Having lighted the lamp, which he held in his hand, Comstock returned to the cabin to continue the work of slaughter. But we will give the reader a history of all that transpired in the cabin previous to this time.

The plan of attack was thus arranged by the mutineers. Samuel Comstock was to kill the Captain with a sharp broad-axe; Silas Payne was to station himself by the side of the sleeping mate, with a boarding knife, the point of which was to be aimed at his heart; and the moment that Comstock struck the Captain, Payne was to stab the mate. The state-room at which the second and third mates slept, was to be secured before the attack commenced, while Oliver and Lilliston were ordered to stand guard at the door, and kill the two prisoners if they broke out. William Humphries (the black steward)

was appointed to hold the lantern. These things being agreed upon, Samuel Comstock went into the cabin softly, to satisfy himself that the Captain was asleep. That being ascertained, he fastened the second and third mates into their state-room. The mutineers then descended into the cabin, armed to the teeth; all save Lilliston, who gave back, and returned to the fore-castle. Payne pointed his boarding knife at the side of Mr. Beetle, while Comstock mounted the transom, and raising the axe until it touched the carline overhead, struck such a blow upon the Captain's head, as to sever it nearly in two. He repeated the blow, and then flew to the assistance of Payne, who had awoke the mate by an unsuccessful thrust, having bent his boarding knife nearly double against Mr. Beetle's ribs. Being thus suddenly awakened, the mate exclaimed: "What! what! what is this? Oh! Payne! Oh! Comstock! Don't kill me—Don't.—Have I not always"

"Yes, you have always been a damned rascal," interrupted Comstock. "You tell lies of me out of the ship, will you?" It's a damned good time to beg now, but you're too late." Here the mate sprang and grasped Comstock by the throat. A scuffle ensued, during which the light was knocked out of the murderer's hand, together with the axe. Mr. Beetle maintained a desperate hold on the throat of this antagonist, but the latter succeeded in letting Payne know that he wanted the hatchet. Payne felt about for it in the dark, until he found it and put it into Comstock's hand who struck Mr. Beetle a blow on the head with it, which caused him to relinquish his grasp, and he fell head foremost into the pantry. The steward had by this time returned with a light, and the mate was despatched by Comstock, Oliver putting in a blow as often as he could. The second and third mates were, of course, awakened by the noise. They lay still in their berths, listening, being ignorant of the number of the mutineers, but hoping their lives would be spared.

The light having gone out again, Comstock went up to the binnacle to light it, as had been already described.

When he descended again into the cabin, he loaded two muskets for the purpose of attacking Mr. Fisher and Mr. Lumbert. He fired one of them through the state-room door, and called out to know if either of them was shot. Fisher replied: "Yes, you have shot me in the mouth." Mr. Lumbert called out to Comstock and asked if he were going to kill him. He answered carelessly: "Oh, no, I guess not."

The mutineers then opened the door, and Comstock advanced on Lumbert with a charged bayonet. Lumbert escaped the thrust, and the murderer fell upon the floor of the state-room. Mr. Lumbert collared him; but he broke from his hold, and before he could regain his feet, Mr. Fisher presented the bayonet to his heart. Looking sternly at Fisher, the mutineer said: "Don't you advance that one inch!" Fisher hesitated, and Comstock sprang upon his feet. He then immediately run Mr. Lumbert through the body several times. Lumbert was all this time begging for his life, and said: "Oh, Comstock! I've got a poor old father with six little children at home!"

"Damn you, so have I!" answered the heartless ruffian.

Then turning to Mr. Fisher, Comstock said: "There is no hope for *you*. You recollect the scrape you get me into, when in company with the **Enterprise** of Nantucket." Fisher entreated that his life might be spared."

"It's no use," replied his relentless enemy, "You have got to die, and you may as well die like a man."

"If there is no hope," said Fisher, "I will die like a man," and turned his back, he said in a firm voice: "I am ready!"

Comstock put the muzzle of the gun to his head and fired. He died instantly.

In answer to Mr. Lumbert's entreaties for life, he then said: "I am a bloody man, I have a bloody hand, and will be avenged!" and again run him through the body with a bayonet. The dying man then begged for water. "I'll give you water," said he, and once more plunging the weapon in his body, left him for dead.

In the meantime, Smith was consulting with the crew in the forecabin about what measures he had better take to preserve his life. Some urged him to secret himself in the hold, others advised him to go aloft until Comstock's rage for carnage should be abated—but, reflecting that such a course would only delay the stroke a short time, and that it was better to put an end to his agonizing suspense at once, he resolved to confront the ring-leader, and know the worst without delay. Comstock's voice was now heard calling for Smith to come forth. The latter hastened to meet him; when throwing his bloody arms about his neck, and embracing him, the mutineer said: "You are going to be one of us, are you not?"

"Oh yes," answered Smith, being willing to humour his friendship, "I will do anything you wish me to."

The reader may be curious to know what enlisted the sympathies of the man of blood so much in favor of Smith; and I should be remiss in not informing him, as by so doing I shall develop a distinguished trait in my hero's character. Smith was a religious young man; and with all his faults, our hero entertained a high respect for sacred things, and a superstitious awe of pious persons. He told George that if he had killed Smith, God would have avenged his death, and that while Smith was with them, the Almighty would smile on their enterprise for his sake. It is surprising that nothing could shake his faith in orthodoxy. I once labored hard to convince him that the doctrine of endless punishment was derogatory to the character of the Almighty. "Don't try to argue me out of a belief in hell!" cried he passionately, "I tell you there is such a place; but that is not going to frighten me. If I go there, as very likely I shall, I will kick and squall and bear it as well as I can. But you can't persuade me that there is no such place."

To return—The slaughter having been concluded, Samuel Comstock ordered all hands on deck to make sail. The reefs were shaken out, and all sail set. A light was set for the **Lyra** to tack, while the **Globe** pursued her way, so that the two ships very soon separated.

Our hero now delivered a short address to the crew, in which he told them that he was now Captain of the ship, and they must obey him, that rebellion would be pun-

ished with death, and that all disputes among the ship's company must be settled according to the laws of honour, by duelling.

The mutineers then threw the body of Captain Worth into the sea, after barbarously mangling the corpse. Mr. Beetle, the first mate still breathed, but he was thrown overboard. Orders were next given to have the bodies of Mr. Fisher and Mr. Lumbert brought up. A rope was fastened around Fisher's neck, by which he was hauled upon deck. A rope was then made fast to Lumbert's ankles, and, in that manner he was drawn up. When in the act of being thrown overboard, he caught the plank-sheer with his hand, and appealed to Comstock, reminding him of his promise to save his life; but in vain, the murderer compelled him to let go his hold, and he fell into the sea. As he appeared to be able to swim, Comstock ordered a boat to be lowered, to pursue and finish him, lest he should be picked up by the *Lyra*. But, recollecting that the boat's crew might escape to the *Lyra*, he immediately countermanded the order.

The cabin was next cleaned out. It presented a hideous scene of blood and destruction. Every thing bearing marks of the murder was taken on deck and washed.

The hands were next employed in cleaning the small arms and making cartridge boxes. They were then instructed in the use of them, and trained regularly, every day.

About three days after the mutiny, George Comstock, who had been appointed steward, detected William Humphries (the negro) in loading a pistol. He immediately reported it to his brother, who asked Humphries what he meant by it. Humphries made some ambiguous answer; but being pressed to reveal the whole truth, at length said that Gilbert Smith, the boat-steerer whose life had been spared, and Peter Kidder were going to retake the ship. Smith and Kidder were therefore summoned to trial. They and Humphries were seated on a chest, under guard of six men armed with muskets. The trial took place on the following morning. Two men were selected to act as jurymen, and instructed to bring in a verdict of guilty against Humphries. The culprit was sentenced to be hung on a studding-sail boom, rigged out eight feet on the fore-yard. His execution immediately followed. His watch was taken from him, and he was seated upon the rail, with a cap drawn over his face, and the rope around his neck.

Our hero compelled every man to take hold of the execution rope, to be ready to run him up, when the ship's bell should be struck. Humphries was then asked if he had anything to say, as he had but fourteen seconds to live. He began by saying: "When I was born, I did not think I should ever come to this." The bell struck and he was at the yard-arm in an instant. He died without a struggle. After hanging a few minutes, the rope was cut; but getting entangled aloft, the body was towed some distance alongside, when a runner hook was attached to it, the rope cut, and the body sunk immediately.

The chest of the deceased was then examined, and sixteen dollars in specie found therein, which he had stolen from the Captain's trunk. It will be recollected that Humphries was one of the mutineers. Although Samuel Comstock, at the trial, charged the prisoner with a design to shoot Payne and himself, it is not probable that he entertained a very strong belief of his guilt. He was much averse to having a black man on board—he always felt a strong dislike to colored persons—and was therefore willing to lay hold

of any pretence to set Humphries aside. Payne (who was second in command) was probably glad to have Humphries removed, as he shared the blood-stained laurels with himself. Oliver, who was invested with the title of second mate, was a very ignorant contemptible fellow, and whenever the chief mutineer addressed him as *Mr.* Oliver, the crew turned aside to conceal their laughter, which the pompous airs of the said *Mr.* Oliver greatly contributed to excite. It does not appear that our hero placed much confidence in this dignitary, for at night he and Payne slept and relieved each other alternately.

The chief mutineer instituted public worship on board, and prayers were read for the eternal happiness of the murdered officers. Our hero appointed his favourite, Smith, chaplain, who read his chapter and sung his hymn very much in the spirit of the captive Israelites, when they hung their harps upon the willows and grieved to sing the Lord's song in a strange land.

Our hero also made laws for the government of the ship's company. Two of them read thus:

1. If any man sees a sail and does not report it immediately, he shall be bound hand and foot, and boiled in oil, in the try pots.

2. If any man refuses to fight a ship, he shall be put to death in the same manner.

Every man was compelled to sign this instrument. The seals of the mutineers were affixed to their names. Their seals were black. The others' seals blue and white.

An altercation took place between two of the ship's company, and our hero commanded that they should settle the dispute by an appeal to arms. The plan did not meet the approbation of the two individuals concerned, who would gladly have shaken hands, and made friends. But such was the regulation respecting all differences, and they were compelled to meet as duellists. The ship's company were all summoned to witness the battle, and every preliminary adjusted which the laws of honour require, excepting one—our hero presided at the loading of the pistols, and privately ordered, that as bullets were valuable, they should not be wasted on such contemptible poltroons, as were about to amuse the spectators with their cowardice. Accordingly the pistols were charged with *blank cartridges*. The belligerents were ushered forward with great parade, and solemnly enjoined to repent of their sins, and make their peace with God, as one or both of them would soon be in His presence. The pallid heroes took the pistols, and stretched out their arms, but one of them trembled so violently that his pistol fell from his hand. It went off when it struck the deck. His terrified adversary sprang about two feet into the air, and exclaimed that he was shot in the foot. His second received him in his arms, and the Chief Mutineer ordered his surgical instruments on deck. They were brought up, accordingly, and the fallen hero was laid on a blanket. His eyes were blindfolded that he might not faint at the sight of his own blood. The leg was stripped, and our hero made a sign to the bystanders to restrain their laughter when it was discovered to be wholly unscathed. The patient was, all this time, groaning piteously and talking of his poor mother. He was informed that the loss of his leg was inevitable, and our hero signified his intention of amputating it immediately. The pa-

tient sighed heavily at this intelligence, but meekly resigned himself to the discretion of the surgeon. "As wood is very scarce," said our hero, "I do not see how we can afford you a wooden leg. You had better keep your present limb until we reach some island where there is plenty of wood." The patient was then ordered to rise, and the chief mutineer giving him a kick in the rear, said: "Now, go forward, and attend to your duty, and if I hear any more of your quarelling I'll shoot you both."

Our hero had made arrangements for all hands to eat with him, in the cabin; so that they had an opportunity of hearing the conversations of their new officers. Payne and Oliver complained every morning that they had been troubled with horrible dreams, during the night, and that the murdered officers had appeared to them. Our hero laughed at their terrors, and told them that the Captain had also appeared to him, and shook his gory locks and pointed at his bloody head—"but," said Comstock, "I told him to go away, and if he ever appeared again, I would kill him a second time!"

George relates that our hero was once sitting in the starboard boat, biting his thumb nails as was his wont when his mind was actively employed, and seeing George looking at him with a sorrowful countenance, he called him. When George approached him, he said: "I suppose you think I regret what I have done; but you are mistaken. I should like to do such a job every morning before breakfast."

On February 7th, the ship made an island belonging to the Kingsmill group. She stood in towards the land, and a number of natives came along the land, and a number of natives came alongside in canoes; but had nothing to sell excepting a few beads of their own manufacture. Some cocoanut, and other trees were discovered upon the shore—also, a number of natives, and some dogs. The principal food of these islanders is a kind of breadfruit, pounded fine and mixed with fish.

On the next day, they took a departure from Kingsmill Island (one of the group of that name) in Lat. 1°27' N. and Long. 175°14' E. The **Globe** passed through the channel between Marshall's and Gilbert's Islands; then luffed to and sent a boat to Marshall's Island. The boat did not land, as the natives appeared hostile, and some of them who swam off to her, tried to steal from their visitors. When the boat was about leaving, a volley of musketry was discharged at the natives, which killed or wounded some of them. A canoe was observed paddling along at some distance from the shore, with two natives in her. The boat gave them chase, and when she came within gun-shot, the whites fired at the men in the canoe. They immediately ceased paddling, and when the boat approached the canoe, it was discovered that one of the natives was wounded. In the most supplicating manner, they held up a jacket manufactured from a kind of flag, and some beads being all they possessed, giving their pursuers to understand that all should be theirs if they would spare their lives! The murderers themselves could not resist such a heart-touching appeal! Yet one of these poor unoffending children of nature had already fallen. He lay in the bottom of the boat, and from his convulsed frame and trembling lips, no doubt rested on the minds of the boat's crew that he was mortally wounded. This unprovoked murder dictated neither by revenge, cupidity, nor policy, proved that its perpetrators had reached that climax of depravity when they could do

evil for evil's sake. The omnipotent Jehovah looked down from his seraph-girdled throne, and saw one of his unsophisticated children slain for mere pastime, and that moment passed His decree that the instigator of the foul deed should die by the same weapon with which he had slain his brother, and that the accessories should be cut off by the people whom they had wronged. The Destroying Angel bowed sternly as he received his orders, and posted down to Earth to bind the understandings and distract the counsels of those whom he was commissioned to destroy.

After the murder, the boat returned to the ship, and Comstock made all sail for the Mulgrave Islands.

On February 11th, at half past twelve p.m., the land was in sight, bearing E.N.E. distant 4 leagues. The ship stood in, and a number of canoes came alongside. A boat was sent ashore, which brought off to the ship a number of women, a large quantity of cocoanuts, and some fish. The ship stood offshore nearly all night.

On the next morning, she stood in again, and sent the women ashore. The **Globe** then stood along shore, looking out for a good place to come to an anchor, while the mutineers were also desirous of seeing a spot suitable for cultivation; but in this they were disappointed.

At night, the ship stood off shore again. In the morning of February 13th, she stood in once more, and after coasting the shores of several small islands, came to one, low and narrow, where it was determined the ship should be anchored. When nearly ready to drop the anchor, a man was sent in the chains to sound the depth of the water. He pronounced it 12 fathoms deep; but on heaving the sounding lead again, could get no bottom. The ship, therefore continued to stand in; but did not get regular soundings until within 5 rods of the shore, when the anchor was let go, in 7 fathoms water. The ship was then moored with a kedge astern, the sails were furled, and all hands retired to rest, excepting an anchor watch.

The next day was spent in looking for a landing place. In the morning a boat was sent to the eastward; but returned with the information that no good landing place could be found, as the shore was very rocky. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, she was sent in an opposite direction; but returned at night, without having met with any better success. It was then determined to land where the ship lay.

Nothing of consequence was done until Sunday, 15th February, 1824. On Sunday, in utter disregard of the presence of the Rev. Mr. Smith, all hands were set to work to construct a raft out of the spare spars, upon which to convey the provisions, &c., on shore.

The raft being completed, it was anchored so that one end rested upon the rocks, the other being kept seaward by the anchor. Another raft was made, by laying spars upon two boats, and the spars covered by boards; which last raft would float well up on the shore, at high water.

It was the intention of the mutineers to get everything out of the ship, and then haul her up and burn her. They, accordingly commenced their plunder. The following articles were sent on shore: One main-sail, one fore-sail, one mizzen-topsail, one spanker,

one driver, one main top-gallant-sail, one flying-jib (thrown overboard, because a little torn), three boat sails, three or four casks of bread, eight or ten barrels of flour, forty barrels of beef and pork, three casks of molasses, one and a half barrels of sugar, one barrel of dried apples, one cask of vinegar, two casks of rum, one or two barrels of domestic coffee (fudge!), one keg of W.I. coffee, one and a half chests of tea, one barrel of pickles, one barrel of cranberries, one box of chocolate, one cask of tow-lines, three or more coils of cordage, one coil of rattling, one coil of lance warp, then or fifteen balls of spun yarn, one ball of worming, one stream cable, one larboard bower anchor, all the spare spars, every chest of clothing, most of the ship's tools, and some other articles. The ship was, by this time, considerably unrigged.

The reader will doubtless inquire what was the object of our hero, in killing the Captain and officers of the **Globe**, and taking the ship to the Mulgrave Isalnds, to be there dismantled and destroyed. In reply, I can only say, that it had long been a favourite scheme of his, to establish himself on one of the Pacific Isles—to gain sufficient influence over the natives to induce them to elect him their king—and to live a daring and dreaded outlaw in his adopted clime. I have no doubt that he intended to gain the good-will of the natives as fast as possible, to enlist them on his side, and render them obedient to his wishes—in which case, he could cut off his partners in guilt and the ship's company generally, at pleasure.

On the other hand, it is very probable that the ignorance of his accomplices, gave him great influence over them while at sea—he being an excellent navigator, and the only one on board who possessed the knowledge requisite to carry the ship out of the way of those who might be disposed to put some questions which they would find difficulty in answering. But now having set their feet on *terra firma*, they conceived they stood in no farther need of his assistance. That part of the ship's company which had taken no part in the mutiny, outnumbered them by a vast majority—and they were now secure from perils by sea—they no longer looked up to the man of blood for protection. Payne and Oliver felt that if an appeal to arms was made, the innocent would prove more than a match for the guilty; and they well knew that the innocent men who had been dragged into exile by our hero, inwardly rebelled against the tyranny, the absolute control which he exercised over them. They knew that if they lifted their voices in opposition to the reign of terror, they would find a response in every breast. No doubt, the chief mutineer knew it too, and, therefore, he made many presents to the natives of these islands in order to attach them to his person, and gain friends by kindness to defend him against those whom he had made enemies by cruelty.

Payne was stationed on board the ship, where he attended to the delivering of the articles which were conveyed on shore. Our hero spent the most of this time on the island, making presents to the natives, and, apparently, exercising an unbounded influence over them. Whether Payne suspected his real object or not, is uncertain; but he evidently disapproved of Comstock's conduct. On Monday, February 16th, he sent word to the chief mutineer, "that if he did not act differently with regard to the plunder,

such as making presents to the natives of the officers' fine clothing, &c., he would do no more; but quit the ship, and go on shore."

At this symptom of rebellion our hero was much offended, and commanded Payne's presence, immediately, on shore, and Comstock asked him what he meant by sending such a message to him. A dispute between Payne and Comstock followed, and the latter was heard to say: "I helped take the ship, and have navigated her to this place. I have also done all I could to get the sails and rigging on shore, and now you may do what you please with her; but if any man wants anything of me, I'll take a musket with him."

"That is what I want," replied Payne, "and am ready." By this prompt reply, our hero was convinced that his authority was nearly at an end. This was a change in the tone of those under his command, which distinctly showed that his enemies were consolidated. If Payne had not been sensible that Comstock no longer possessed sufficient influence over the crew, to bring him to punishment, he would hardly have defied him thus. Should he fight with Payne and kill him, the number of mutineers would be reduced to two, himself and Oliver. He resolved, therefore, to put his ultimate scheme in practice at once, and revenge not only on Payne, but on all those who were leagued with him, i.e. to cut off the whole of the ship's company with the aid of the natives.

He hastened on board the ship, and taking the paper which contained the Laws, chopped it into pieces with his sword. Thinking the hands on board appeared pleased by his desertion of them, he became enraged and challenged them to fight him. They said nothing, and sheathing his weapon, he went on shore, saying as he went away: "I am going to leave you. Look out for yourselves!"

It was afterwards ascertained that the man of blood went and joined himself with a party of the natives with whom he plotted to destroy the **Globe's** crew; but an event occurred which altered the face of things materially.

Payne, who well knew the revengeful and remorseless disposition of the leader, who had made him his tool and accomplice in a bloody mutiny, felt some misgivings when he saw him depart; and especially when about dusk, Comstock passed the white men's tent, accompanied by about 50 of the natives in the direction of their village, upwards of a league distant. Payne went on board the ship, and expressed his apprehensions that Comstock would instigate the natives to kill him and his companions, and endeavoured to persuade Smith to join him in shooting the object of his fears. Smith dared not interfere, and expressed his wish to maintain a strict neutrality. Payne then picked out a number of the crew to go on shore for the night, and stationed sentinels around the tent, with orders to shoot any one who should approach without giving the countersign. The night, however, passed without any one's appearing.

Early on the morning of the 17th of February, the chief mutineer was discovered at some distance, coming towards the tent. Payne now called upon Oliver and several others (with whose names we have not been made acquainted) to go on shore and shoot Comstock as he approached the tent. After loading a number of muskets so as to leave no chance of Comstock's getting within reach of them with his cutlass, the assassins

hastened on shore, and stationed themselves in front of the tent—having taken the precaution to place themselves behind a barricade. As soon as the man of blood came within gun-shot distance, they commenced firing upon him, but he continued to approach without altering his pace, and as if totally regardless of the bullets which whirred by him. His eyes were cast upon the ground, and he seemed to be buried in deep thought. When he had approached very near the assailants, he drew his sword, and seemed to meditate rushing suddenly upon them, and selling his life at the highest cash price; but seeing four muskets aimed at him, and knowing some of them must take effect immediately, he coolly waved his hand, and told them not to fire, for he had not come to hurt them; but the sight of his drawn cutlass was rather disagreeable to their feelings, and they fired again. Two balls took effect. One struck him on the upper lip and passed through his head; the other entered his right breast, and passed out near the back bone. As soon as he had fallen, Payne ran to him with an axe, and buried it in his brains.

All hands were now called to attend the funeral of their late commander. He was sewed up in a piece of canvas. A grave was dug, by order of Payne, five feet deep. The body was then wrapped in the American flag, and lowered into the grave. His cutlass and every article of dress which he wore at the time of his death, was buried with him, excepting his watch. Muskets were fired over him, and Gilbert Smith read the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, by order of Payne, who now assumed the command. When the grave was filled, the surviving mutineers required of every man that he should dance upon it, to show his approval of Comstock's murder, and his allegiance to the new authorities. They all complied excepting George Comstock, whom neither threats of death, nor promises of friendship could compel to make an exhibition of triumph at his brother's death. It will be recollected that George was at this time but fifteen years of age. Samuel had been a sort of protector to him; and indeed, the man who murdered the Captain and officers of the *Globe* was not an unnatural brother. If George in common, with the rest of the ship's company, had felt restive under the authority of his brother, he was much more dissatisfied with the government of the ignorant and barbarous wretches who succeeded him; and gladly did he unite with Smith in the romantic project of running away with the ship in the night, and escaping forever the fangs of Payne and Oliver.

Payne and Oliver were far from feeling at ease, however, after they had taken the responsibility into their own hands. Ignorant of navigation, geography, and every other science, possessing no tact to secure the friendship of the natives, their condition was now truly deplorable. They bitterly repented the dark deed which had cut them off from the world forever. They would have given worlds to undo what they had done—to restore Captain Worth and his officers to life, and to be once more killing whales under their command in the broad Pacific. They felt that the mark of Cain was upon them. They knew not which way to turn. He who had amused them like an *ignis fatuus*,¹ and led them into the dark abyss of destruction, was gone. The eccentric light of his genius

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning "fatal fire."

was extinguished. The magical charm in which he had bound their senses was broken. The false enthusiasm which he had kindled, had sunk with him in his grave, like a candle expiring in the socket. They saw that they were naked, and that there was no rest for their souls short of eternity. They had served the devil most faithfully; but where was their reward?

On the day that the chief mutineer was shot, no duty was done; excepting that Payne selected six men to go on board the ship, and take charge of her. These men were: Gilbert Smith, George Comstock, Stephen Kidder, Joseph Tomas, Peter C. Kidder, and Anthony Hanson.

This arrangement happened very opportunely to favour Smith's scheme of restoring the **Globe** to her owners, and the innocent portion of the crew to their families and friends. Smith had spoken to all the hands whose consciences were not burthened by blood, and they had joyfully acceded to his proposal, dangerous as the execution of it must necessarily be. Two boys, William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey, had joined the conspiracy; but as they were retained on shore by Payne, they agreed to swim off to the ship in the evening.

The ship was not in good condition to go to sea. The seamen's clothing was on shore. The rigging was in the utmost disorder, and much time was required to put it to rights. The two binnacle compasses were in the hands of Payne, and there was none on board excepting a hanging compass in the cabin. Smith contrived, however, to obtain one of the former, and leave the hanging compass in its stead.

At 7 p.m. the hands on board the **Globe** began to prepare for their enterprise. They placed a musket and some other weapons where they could be readily seized, in case the mutineers discovered their intentions, and undertook to board the ship. The running rigging was cleared, and the deck put in order. A handsaw was well greased, and laid on the windlass for the purpose of sawing off the cable. A hatchet was placed by the mizzen mast to cut the stern moorings when the ship's head should have swung off from the land. The sails were loosened in readiness to let fall when the word should be given. Just then the tell-tale moon emerged from her watery bed, and the conspirators saw there was no time to be lost. The boys from the shore had not yet arrived, but it was necessary to leave them to their fate. At half past nine, George Comstock took the handsaw and softly cut the cable asunder. A fine breeze was blowing off shore, and the ship payed off quick. The hawser was then cut—the sails were dropped, sheeted home, and hoisted. A raft, loaded with iron hoops, alongside, was cut adrift, and the **Globe** bounded over the curling billows as if she knew the avengers were at hand. After a long and boisterous passage, the **Globe** reached Valparaiso. Smith knew that by steering East, he should strike the broadside of America, somewhere, and when he arrived on the coast, the **Globe** was picked up by a French vessel; and officer was put on board of her, who took her safely into the harbour of Valparaiso. Michael Hogan, the U.S. Consul, took possession of her, and put the crew in irons. They were examined before that worshipful personage, and told a cock and a bull story about Joseph Thomas—

that he was insubordinate, and had dropped hints which led them to suspect he was somehow leagued with the mutineers.

The **Globe** was then placed in charge of Captain King, who navigated her to the Island of Nantucket, where she arrived on Sunday, November 21st, 1824. Joseph Thomas was tried at the U.S. District Court, and acquitted.

Document 1824N

The Manila brig revisited—The brig Concepción cut off at Fiji, in 1825

Main sources: Fergus Clunie. "The Manila Brig." In Domodomo, Fiji Museum Quarterly 2:2 (July 1984), pp. 42-86; a document in the Philippine National Archives at Manila (see Doc. 1824A). Previously printed in Domodomo, 15:1 (2002), pp. 29-38.

Secondary sources: 1) Cary, W.S.. Wrecked on the Feejees (Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1972); 2) Driver, William R. Journal of the Ship Clay on a Voyage from Salem to the Islands of the South Pacific, 1827-1829; a ms. in the Peabody Museum, Salem; 3) Dumont d'Urville. Voyage de découverte de l'As-trolabe (Paris, 1833); 4) Eagleston, John H. Two Voyages to Islands in the Pacific Ocean in the barque Peru of Salem, 1830-1833; a ms. in the Essex Institute, Salem.

Summary of this story, with some explanations.

The story is already synthesized in the Calendar of main events published with the above article.

The brig **Roscoe** of Salem, Captain Vanderford, is supposed to have noticed much *bêche-de-mer*, or trepang, lying on the reefs of Fiji in 1822. This brig then went to Manila and the news of this opportunity spread among the traders there. Two Yankee sailors from the **Roscoe**, William MacPherson and William Devereaux, discharged by their captain were in turn recruited to guide a Spanish brig back to Fiji.

According to this author, the Manila brig **Laurice** [sic] of Manila, Captain Belistrana [sic], is supposed to have sailed for Fiji late in 1824, or early in 1825.

New fact: The Manila brig **Concepción**, under the command of Captain José Beristáin, arrived at Guam on 20 September 1824, and left on 13 October for islands to the south, as recorded by Governor Ganga Herrero (see Doc. 1824A).

Comments: The **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores**, Dolores for short, also of Manila, was confused with the Concepción, and is here written Laurice. However, Belistrana is undoubtedly a bad transcription for Beristáin, a Viscayan family name.

Discussion: If Captain Beristáin was indeed in charge of the brig in question, Governor Ganga could have made a mistake in recording her name, but this is very unlikely, in the case of a Spanish ship and captain known to him.

If the Laurice was indeed the Dolores, we can check this by studying the known history of the Dolores, the Manila-based vessel, as opposed to other Guam-based vessels of the same name.¹ It turns out that the Dolores, of Manila, was owned by the Government, and not by traders. She made irregular voyages to Guam, about every 2-3 years, to relieve the governors. For instance, in August 1822, the **Dolores** of Manila brought in Governor Montilla to replace Governor Medinilla. In August 1826, she brought back Governor Medinilla for a second term, and took away Governor Ganga (who had come in 1824 aboard a foreign vessel). So, although it is possible that the same Dolores visited Guam, between these two voyages, in September 1824, bound to “islands to the south.” I thought at first that the brig could have been sent to one or more of the Caroline Islands to bring back immigrants to Saipan, a plan that Medinilla had promoted; however, there is no follow-up documents to prove this supposition. That leaves a commercial venture to other islands, perhaps Palau, already known to Manila traders by the 1820s, or Fiji, for *bêche-de-mer*, an item whose importance in the China trade was well known in Manila.

Furthermore, according to the article by Fergus Clunie, when the Manila brig arrived at Fiji, she anchored off Viwa and soon established a curing station ashore. After several months, perhaps at the end of 1825,² the brig was almost full, when a mutiny took place on board, in connivance with a powerful chief ashore, named Seru Tanoa. The [three] officers were all murdered. The mutineers, most of them Filipino and Carolinian,³ effectively caused a civil war at Bau, because of the weapons, and the iron, from the brig, which was soon destroyed by rivals of Seru Tanoa.

Discussion: Well then, if the brig was destroyed by fire at Fiji, she could not have been the Dolores, because she showed up again at Guam the following year. That leaves only one possible conclusion: In reporting the story, some of the so-called “survivors” made a conscious, or involuntary, mistake about the name of the better-known Dolores, when the actual name of the Manila brig that was burned in Fiji was indeed the brig **Concepción**.

Aftermath: This oral history came mostly from a Filipino “survivor” telling the story to Captain Vanderford, when he returned to Fiji with a new ship, the **Clay**, of Salem, to get *bêche-de-mer* in September 1827. In 1828, this ship took some of the Filipinos and her cargo to Manila. The news of this success overtook the calamity of the brig. However, somewhere in the Philippine National Archives, there may be documents, written as a result of this tragedy, but I have not seen them, because they are certainly not part of the collection on the Marianas and the Carolines. I expect that such docu-

1 Ed. note: In the case of the Guam-based Dolores, she had been captured in 1818 by the insurgent ship **Argentina**, and disappeared with some Malay pirates. Another, with the same name originally, was built at Guam, but only in 1830.

2 Ed. note: It was early in 1825, three months after her arrival.

3 Ed. note: From Yap (see below).

ments, if found, would corroborate the name of the brig as being *Concepción*, and not *Dolores*.

By 1836, the *bêche-de-mer* at Fiji was no longer available in sufficient quantities, and this trade died, just as the former trade in sandalwood. While it lasted, the *bêche-de-mer* benefitted Yankee interests and Spanish interests also, because the American ships took their load to Manila. Meanwhile, the Filipinos, and at least one Carolinian, took an active part in the work of curing the raw material, and in attempting more mutinies among the crews of those Yankee ships.

In 1834, *Batan*, or *Betan*, a Filipino ring-leader, was finally captured and brought to Manila by Captain Winn of the ship *Eliza*. There he was supposedly tried for the 1825 mutiny and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1837, the civil war virtually ended at Fiji and there were fewer attempts made on the few foreign ships that still dared to visit the shores of those islands. In 1838, another Filipino was on board the *Mermaid*, Captain Eagleston, from Fiji to Manila; he too was jailed for life when he reached Manila, for his part in the 1825 mutiny. The other Filipino mutineers who had survived the civil war never returned to their homes.

[The story according to William Cary]

William Cary, who wrote the story of how he became the sole survivor of the massacre that followed the wreck of the *Oeno* in 1825, says that the Filipino mutineers stated that there had been only three white men on board the Manila brig; **one had come from Guam, but had left the ship before the mutiny**; the others acted as interpreters for the captain. The man from Guam could very well have been an Englishman, in other words, a deserter from an English whaler, a sailor who could speak both Spanish and English. Cary reports that this man lived at Levuka early in 1826. However, Captain Beristáin, MacPherson and Devereaux (the so-called interpreters) make three white men. The other white men would, in fact, be half-breeds, from Manila and/or Guam.

There is another reliable source of information: Captain Dumont d'Urville. He reports that **"a young seaman from Guam, named Mendiola"** was picked up by him in a Tongan canoe in May 1827. He led the French ship to Levuka where three Manila-men were also "rescued". D'Urville records their story, partly false, as follows: "The ship that brought our four 'Spaniards' to this archipelago was named **Concepción**; it was manned by a crew of 38 and had left Manila to come and take on a cargo of sandalwood in the Viti Islands. It was wrecked on one of the numerous reefs... Some 20 men perished in the wreck and their bodies eaten by the islanders..."

There we have it. The Spaniards were Spanish subjects, but not necessarily white men. The main point of the story may be false (a wreck to cover the mutiny), but there was no reason to change the name of the brig. She was indeed the **Concepción**. Contrary to what the author of the above-mentioned article has assumed, the name of the ship was not "an apt red-herring at all."

Cary continues his story, mentioning “three of the [Manila] brig’s crew who belonged to Yap, one of the Caroline Islands (after the mutiny they attached themselves to David [Whippy] and have been with him ever since).”

So, the Carolinian mutineers were Yapese, not Palauan, and there were at least five of them left in 1828, as the article says. They probably never returned to their homes either.

Driver continues: “...having ashore one Spaniard and two natives of the Caroline isles left sick by a Brig from Manilla which sailed from this place five years since for the Isle of Bow [Bau] to cure Beach lee Marr. The Canoe went on shore..., soon returned bringing the Spaniard Stephen de la Cruize a native of Manilla. He reports the Brig Laurice of Manilla, Capt Josef Belistrana, being here and sailing for Bow where the Officers, Mr Josef Boyce and Cornilla [Cornelio] with the Capt were murdered and the Brig destroyed that one of the crew (Marissio) [Mauricio] sometime after came here with presents (Musket, Powder &c) to Timboor [Tui Bua] (there seemed something unto[ward] which fear withheld. I therefore left questioning him).”

Comments: De la Cruz is a typical family name chosen by Filipinos after baptizing at the beginning of the colony in the Philippines. So, Esteban de la Cruz, may have come directly from Manila, rather than from Guam, but he definitely gave the wrong name for the brig, although the story of the mutiny is essentially correct. Therefore, the role of this informant had probably been a minor one, but he implicates Mauricio as a ring-leader.

It seems possible that Esteban de la Cruz was the ‘European’ who came from Guam and had left the brig soon after arrival at Fiji, if only because he was terrified of the mutineers on shore, and stayed on board the **Clay** as an interpreter, in 1827.

[The native account of the loss of the Manila brig]

Driver was made welcome by King Lebo [rather Naulivou] in October 1827. On a rainy day, with nothing else to do, this king told him the following story (here re-written with some explanations built in):

The brig had been at Viwa 3 months curing bêche-de-mer. One night, Mauricio murdered the boatswain, while he slept at the curing station. He and five other Filipinos (4 names are given: Paco, Lucas, Pecleo(?), Frederico) joined three white men in the launch and they headed for the brig. Two of the white men were part of the crew: William MacPherson, the Scot who had been formerly with the **Roscoe**, Captain Vanderford; William Devereaux, his buddy, who had been discharged from the same ship. The third man, David Whippy, was an American beachcomber.

The mutineers crept to the cabin and fired at Captain Beristain and his Mate while they were sleeping, but they were not then killed, because they jumped up and began to look for their pistols. They were immediately cut down with knives. Their mangled bodies were then tied to stones and thrown overboard. The ship’s supplies of brandy was then taken advantage of and the mutineers got very drunk.

The next day, it seems that the white men had gone ashore. One of the Filipino ring-leaders, named Teodoro, remained in charge of the ship. This man had the Yapese brought from ashore, but when they came alongside, he ordered them to throw their spears overboard. After they had done so, he explained what had happened, threatened to shoot them if they ever said anything about the affair, then told them to go and fend for themselves.

The mutineers then told the king (our informant) to come to the brig. When he arrived, he says that he wept upon hearing of the tragedy. The mutineers made him rich presents from the brig's stores. None of the mutineers could navigate the brig; the only three officers who could do so were now dead. Therefore, they decided to unload her, perhaps to sell the bêche-de-mer to another ship, then they offered the brig to the king. She was brought close to shore, at Bau, and anchored in 2-1/2 fathoms water.

Before long, the natives stripped her of everything they could remove. Finally, the king decided to burn her remains, as well as the stores, arms, etc. that had been taken from her and had not yet fallen into the hands of an enemy chief, Seru Tanoa. He also burned the town where a faction led by his brother lived.

Years later, the two lower masts were found incorporated into the columns of the new spirit-house, built after the fire of the town of Bau. As far as her two anchors are concerned, they were later seen leaning against one stone-faced mound. William Driver had witnessed the salvage of the anchors by the natives, on Sunday 7 October 1827. He reported that both anchors weighed about 1,400 pounds each, and one of them had a fine chain bent to it. The two large iron boilers had remained intact, and were used by Yankee ships to cure their sea slugs over the following decade.

Captain John H. Eagleston of the Salem barque **Peru** arrived at Bau, Fiji, in 1831, and has summarized the loss of the Manila brig **Concepción** very nicely thus:

“Some years ago a Spanish brig from Manila arrived at Bow, and obtaining a full cargo of fish and much [turtle] shell was about to sail, when the crew mutinied and murdering all the officers, gave the vessel up to the natives, and she laid her bones near their doors. For their murderous transaction they were promised women in plenty and an easy life.”

Note 1825A

The ship Caroline did not visit her islands

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 204.

Note: Neither the name of the Captain nor that of the logkeeper is mentioned. However, from other sources the Captain's name is given as Taylor.

Extract from this logbook

Ship Caroline. Voyage from Salem to Montevideo, Valparaiso, Lima, Sandwich Islands, Manila, Sumatra and return to Salem, 1824-26.

...

Ship Caroline from the Sandwich Islands towards Manilla 1825

...

Remarks on Saturday 12th Nov.

A gentle trade wind & pleasant though hazy weather. At 5 PM saw the Island Grigan north point bore N by S1/2S 9 leagues Dist. At 9 it bore S1/2E distance 5 miles, from which we correct our dead reckoning: 1°24' astern. This Island is laid down in most charts 35' too far North. Its true Latt by several obs places its north point 18°54' North. Our Chronometer places its Longitude at 146°20' E. Having passed through in the night could not discover any of the other Islands. Grigan resembles St. Helena more than any other Island I have ever seen. Ther[mometer] 84° [F].

N.B. By Chro. from this Island to the Isle Babuyan, makes it Long. **145°50 E.**

...

Document 1825B

The logbook of the *Leonidas*, Captain Bartlett, via Ngulu

Source: Logbook kept by Captain Bartlett, ms. in Mass. Hist. Soc. in Boston.

Journal of a Voyage on board Brig *Leonidas* of Boston from Buenos Aires Towards Canton, J. H. Bartlett, Esq. Comm.

Sailed August 6th 1825.

May God Prosper Our Voyage and Return Us in Safety.

[The brig went eastward to the Indian Ocean.]

...

October 15th 1825

At 10 p.m., Peter Smith the Cook came into the cabin while Capt. Bartlett was asleep, no other person being in the cabin at that time. Capt. B. awoke & seeing him with a light going to the locker where the powder was kept, being on the same side where Capt. Pulsifer slept, Capt. B. asked him what he wanted. He said he was getting some clothes for Capt. P. which he was not sent for nor wanted by said Pulsifer or Mr. Proctor. Capt. B. ordered him out of the cabin into the hold where he slept. He had a light with him & immediately set fire to some clothes & stuff that was in the hold & then ran to the passage that led to the cabin, apparently to try to blow the vessel up. He had been intoxicated a number of times & been forgiven & not flogged. This time he had been only two days out of irons & committed the same fault as before. When he was spoken to about going out of the cabin, he replied [that] he would not be put in irons again...

[They saw Bali the next day, Lombok on Oct. 20th, Bato Nov. 10th, Ombai on 25th, Buro Nov. 30th, off Amblow [sic] Dec. 1st., saw Pulo Lawn [sic] on the 2nd, Gilolo Passage on the 5th, when they met the ship **Royalist**, Capt.

Cook, 27 months out, from Coast of Japan... Lat. obs. 0°33' North]¹

...

¹ Ed. note: This English whaler left England on 22 August 1823, and returned in about June 1826 (according to Jones' Ships).

Tuesday Dec. 17th 1825

Commences moderate & pleasant. All sail set to advantage. Middle part light squalls with rain. 9:30 a.m., made one of the Matelotes Islands from deck. Saw 4 from [mast] head, bearing from N by W to NE by N. Noon bore from E1/2S to ENE North Pt. Breakers from mast head NNE extending from the Northernmost small islands five in number.

Lat. Obs. 8°22' North, Lat. D.R. 8°17', Long. 137°30' East, Var. 4°40' East.

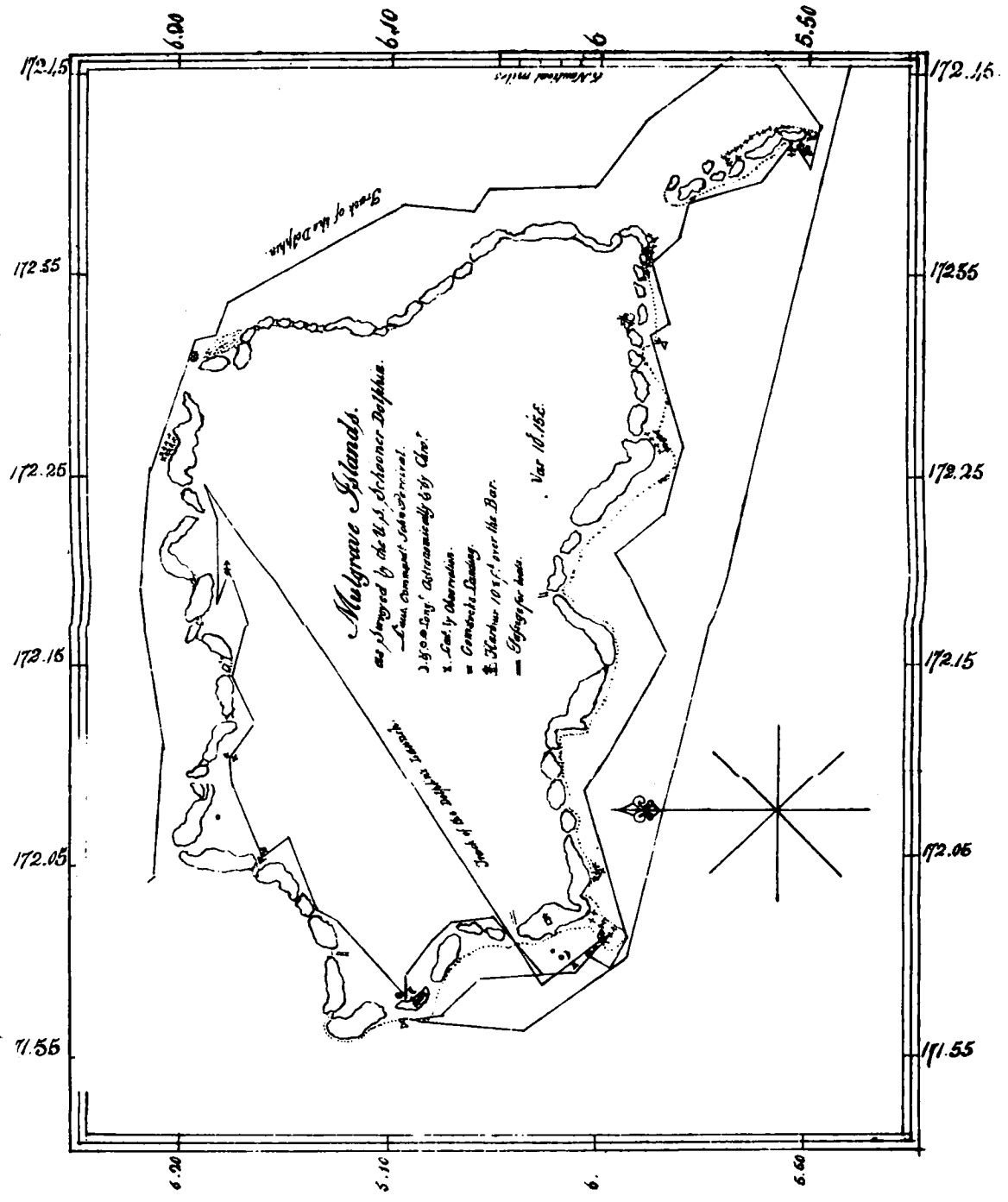
...

Tuesday Dec. 20th 1825

... William Beasley departed this life after suffering of a fever 18 days. Committed his body to the deep at 4 p.m...

Lat. obs. 19°6' N.

[They saw the Babuyanes on Dec. 21st and made it into Macau Roads on Christmas Eve and later that day took the river to Canton.]



Map of the Mulgraves, otherwise known as Mili Atoll.

Document 1825C

**“Mad Jack” Percival came in search of the
Globe mutineers**

Source: Lieutenant Hiram Paulding, U.S.N. Journal of a Cruise of the U.S. Schooner Dolphin (New York, 1831).

Notes: This schooner was launched at Boston in 1821. She had a capacity of 180 tons, carried 12 guns, had a length 80 feet, a moulded beam 24'7". Condemned and sold on Pacific Coast, 1835. Lieutenant Commandant Jack Percival (1779-1862) was a native of Cape Cod who had proven himself at the battle of Sandy Hook during the War of 1812 by capturing a British tender. Lieutenant Paulding (1797-1878), the first officer, had already served in the Pacific and elsewhere since 1811. Among other missions, he carried despatches from Callao, Peru, to the mountain headquarters of Simon Bolivar, a trip of 1,500 miles, on horseback. There supposedly exists another eyewitness account of this cruise, by Midshipman Charles Henry Davis.

**Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin,
Among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and a Visit to the
Mulgrave Islands, in Pursuit of the Mutineers of the Whale
Ship Globe, With a Map.**

By Lieut. Hiram Paulding, of the U.S. Navy.

...
[Visit to Nukunau]

On the 9th of November, Byron's Island was seen, at 8 P.M. six miles from us, and soon afterwards the shore was lighted up with a number of fires. The surf was beating heavily upon the weather-shore. We stood off and on until morning, when, having been driven to leeward by a strong current, we beat up for the island, passing several canoes on our way, and having a great many others in different directions to windward, running down for us. At meridian, we were close in with the land, where we beat about for several hours, looking for anchorage. Once we tacked, in three fathoms, so close to the coral bank, where was beating a heavy surf, that we could almost have jumped upon it. At 6 P.M. on the tenth, we anchored in ten fathoms, within less than a cable's length of the surf, and where the water was so clear, that we could see almost every coral rock at the bottom. Besides the rocks, it presented the appearance of a splendid landscape

of trees and copse-wood, ornamented with the most lively and brilliant colours, which, affected by the swelling of the ocean, were transformed into a representation of a rich and beautiful country of mountain and valley.

Whilst we were beating about, canoes were assembling near us, in great numbers, and as soon as we anchored, came alongside, the people jumping on board without the least hesitation, talking and hallooing to each other so loud, as almost to deafen us with their noise. They had not been long on board, before several of them were detected in thieving, and when threatened, seemed quite regardless of our displeasure, although it was expressed in a way calculated to make them sensible of its disagreeable consequences. They were all provided with long shark's-tooth spears, and walked about the deck with a swaggering, independent air, that seemed to challenge, at least, an equality. But few brought any thing else with them but their spears, which they would not dispose of, and altogether, their number and appearance was truly formidable. At sunset, we sent them off, and they all returned to their respective islets.

The appearance of Byron's Island, differed scarcely in any respect from that of the Duke of Clarence.¹ Its dimensions and formation were perfectly similar; and, like the latter, it was inhabited by an enterprising and warlike people, whose dress, arms, canoes, and manner of life, seemed to be identically the same. The islet abreast of us was all night illuminated with numerous fires, and the air rung incessantly with the shouts of hundreds of people.

When the day dawned, the whole ocean was whitened with the little sails of canoes that were seen coming from every direction, and some of them as far as the eye could distinguish so small an object. In an hour, not less than a hundred of them were alongside, and our deck was crowded with the natives. The officer of the watch undertook to wash off the deck, which he found altogether impracticable: not a word could be understood for the noise that they made, and when they were pushed out of the way by our people, they became insolent and resentful. We were at length, obliged to resort to some little violence to clear the decks of the unruly rabble, whose disposition to thievery and violence, became every moment more difficult to repress.

An old athletic chief, whom our captain had treated with more than ordinary attention, suddenly put his arms round him, and embraced him with such herculean strength, that he was constrained to call on the men near him for assistance; in a moment, they had a rope around the old chief's neck, and broke his grasp, and the captain having enough of Indian courtesy, was well pleased to dismiss them. They still remained near us, and as many as were allowed, came alongside. They exchanged for pieces of old iron, coarse matting, flying-fish, shell ornaments, and a few of them disposed of their spears.

One fellow, who evinced an obstinate determination to come alongside, was ordered off by the sentinel, who pointed his musket at him. As soon as the musket was pointed, he raised his spear, and stood in the attitude of throwing it until the sentinel came to a

1 Ed. note: Nukunonu, in the Tokelau Islands, which the ship had just visited.

shoulder, when he again took to his paddle; the musket was again presented, and the Indian, with the same promptitude, raised his spear, until the sentinel, feeling the awkwardness of his situation, reported the circumstance to an officer. I went forward, and pointing at the native a pistol loaded with very fine shot, motioned for him to retire; upon which, he raised his spear at me, and I discharged the pistol at his legs, when he dropped his arms and fled with the greatest precipitation; I afterwards remarked him outside of all the rest of the canoes, apparently afraid to come nearer the vessel. After this example, none of them seemed disposed to question the authority of a sentinel.

The islands we had seen, since our departure from the Marquesas, resembling each other so much, and none of them affording indications of water sufficient for our purposes, we began to think seriously, that we might experience great inconvenience, and perhaps suffering, before we could procure a supply; we determined, therefore, to let no opportunity escape us, of examining every island that came in our way, if it could be done without too much risk. With a view to this object, the captain pulled in shore, followed by nearly all the canoes; but when he arrived at the edge of the surf, which was so heavy as to make the landing difficult, he remarked that the people on shore, of whom a great many were assembled, had all armed themselves with spears and stones. This hostile appearance, together with the violence of the surf, made him hesitate about proceeding further, although the natives, on shore as well as those in canoes, pressed him to land. When, finally, he relinquished his object, and was about to return on board, the people on shore dashed into the water and swam off, and uniting with those in the canoes, made a violent attempt to drag the boat into the surf. The men promptly repelled them, when they dived to the bottom, and coming up, showered a volley of stones into the boat, which wounded a few of the crew slightly, and broke several pieces of the gunwale. In the midst of the excitement and confusion that prevailed, a native seized a pistol, which he struggled violently to carry off, until a musket was fired, and he was taken into the nearest canoe severely wounded; it had the effect to disperse the natives, who fled from the boat in every direction, as she returned to the schooner. When she was hoisted in, they came alongside, and some of them got on board. We commenced getting underway, and one of the anchors was already up; the other having hooked to a coral rock, the captain directed the sentinel forward, to give the musket to him, and repair to his station. A native, who had been talking to the captain, embracing a favourable opportunity, seized the musket, upon which was a fixed bayonet, and jumping overboard with it, swam towards the shore, keeping half the time under water. Muskets were fired at him, but he bore his booty safely through the surf to the coral bank, where, although he was still within striking distance, he marched away with the most perfect composure, until he disappeared in the bushes.

After this bold theft, several boats were prepared to land in search of water, and, if possible, recover the stolen property. The captain took the lead, and landed on the coral bank, with his arms and ammunition wet and useless, whilst the boat, in returning through the surf, was thrown upon the rocks, bilged, and before she finally got off, almost every timber in her broke. This fatality having attended his landing, he forbade

the other boats to attempt it, choosing rather to remain in his defenceless situation, surrounded by hostile natives, to the more serious consequence of losing the remainder of his boats.

By signals concerted previous to his departure from the vessel, he directed a fire at intervals from our cannon, in the direction of a large hut that we supposed belonged to the chief. A small group of natives approached him, one of whom, a man advanced in years, came up with a green branch in his hand; the captain demanded of him by signs the return of the musket, in reply to which, he addressed some one near him, who ran off, and in about an hour, brought it without either lock or bayonet; these were also required, and our demand repeated occasionally by a discharge of cannon in the direction of the chief's hut. It was not long before the lock was brought, but no threats could compel them to relinquish the bayonet. The situation of the captain and his party was becoming more and more critical with every moment's delay. They were on a bank of coral a hundred yards wide, and small parties of natives, of whom great numbers were assembled in the bushes, would frequently sally out and throw stones at them. They had no other means of protection or defence than what was afforded by our guns, which were fired whenever the hostile parties made their appearance. The bustle of our shot over their heads, and the fall of cocoa-nut trees, proved to them the superiority of our arms over theirs, and in a measure, had the desired effect of keeping them back. One circumstance, however, convinced us that they were not yet fully sensible of this superiority, or if so, that they were intrepid to a degree that might well alarm us for the safety of our people.

When one of their parties had sallied out, there were two men walking along the beach, carrying a canoe; a shot that was fired to drive the sallying party back, struck so near these men, that it threw the sand and gravel all over them. They laid the canoe down and looked round them for a few moments, when they took it up again and walked along, as they would have done under the most ordinary circumstances.

When the captain became impatient of his confined situation on the beach, besieged and harrassed as he constantly was by the natives, he made bold to risk an excursion back upon the island, to show the natives his disregard for them, and, at the same time, satisfy himself as to the existence of water. They did not any where oppose him or appear in numbers; a few persons were seen behind the trees, or stealing along through the thickets without any demonstration of hostility. His discoveries were few and unimportant; the only place where he found water, was in an old well, where it was stagnant and unfit for use. In the huts that he entered, were stores of dry cocoa-nuts, and a preparation of dried fish and sea-moss.

We were filled with solicitude for our party when beyond the reach of our assistance, knowing that they had no other means of safety than the opinion which might exist among the natives of their invincibility, and we were highly gratified, after an hour's watching, to see them returning to their old place of blockade—the coral bank.

It was now sundown, and the surf had increased so much that we did not believe it possible for a boat to reach the shore and return in safety; and to send men there with-

out a prospect of their being enabled to return, would be but a useless sacrifice of lives; but here was our people on shore; the natives had followed them on their return to the beach; and their remaining after dark would probably be attended with the most serious consequences. Two men, who were good swimmers, came forward and volunteered their services to take on shore a light boat that we had, and although I might have felt unwilling to exercise authority in the performance of so hazardous a service, I was happy to accept the generous offer. They landed in safety, and the boat being deeply laden with the captain and his party, they clung with one hand to her quarter, swimming with the other, until after a severe and most doubtful struggle, she emerged from the surf, almost filled with water, and was soon afterwards alongside. It was thought that if there had been one more breaker to pass, all would have perished.

The men of Byron's Island are stout, active, and well made. They were all naked, and covered with scars. Some of them wore skull-caps, of grass, and wreaths of dry cocoa-nuts. Their ornaments were rude, and worn by but very few. They consisted of shells and beads, made of something that resembled whalebone, worn in long strings,—by some round the waist, and by others round the neck. Their hair was long and matted, and their complexion very dark. Their beard was thin, and curled upon the chin, like that of the negroes. A few women came round us in canoes, who looked coarse, and almost as robust as the men. They wore round their loins a small mat about a foot wide, with a fringe at the bottom. But few of the men were tattooed, and they very slightly.

[Gilbertese canoes]

Their canoes were ingeniously wrought, of a great many pieces of light wood, which were laced together by twine, made from the husk of the cocoa-nut; but they were so leaky as to keep one man baling constantly. They were very narrow, sharp at both ends, and had a small platform of light wood, on one side, to keep them upright. They resembled the canoes of the Duke of York and Clarence islands, but were rather narrower, and made with better workmanship. The canoe sails, of all these islands, are mats of straw or grass.

As soon as the captain returned on board, we got underway, and bade adieu to Byron's Island, and its inhabitants, whose acquaintance had been productive of nothing but anxiety and perplexity.

[Visit to Tabiteuea]

We run off W. by S., and in three or four hours made Drummond's Island, ahead, distant three or four leagues.

At daylight, we passed a reef of considerable extent upon the N.E. end of the island, and ran down upon the west side of it. When we had approached the shore, within the distance of a league, canoes made their appearance in every direction, sailing off to us. We stood in, and found anchorage within two cables' length of the bank of coral, that stretched one or two miles from the shore, and which, at low water, was almost every where dry. Here we hove to, having in sight, along the shore, twenty or thirty large villages, besides other habitations, that were thickly interspersed amongst the trees be-

yond it. The island, indeed, was swarming with inhabitants, and, from its extent and forest of cocoa-nut trees, seemed well adapted to sustain a large population. It was low, and being quite level, promised but a poor prospect of affording a supply of water. We had not been long hove to, before we were surrounded by from one to two hundred canoes, having in each of them, with few exceptions, two men and a woman, the latter of whom was kept constantly employed baling the water out. They betrayed a greater degree of timidity than the natives of any island we had seen before, keeping in their canoes, at a distance from us, or approaching, with caution and distrust. At length some of them got on board, and others hung upon the sides of the vessel, talking and exchanging their cocoa-nuts, and flying-fish, for old nails, or pieces of tin. One of them, an interesting looking youth, was noticed by one of the seamen, who made him several presents, and in other respects, treated him very kindly. The youth appeared to be sensible of the favour shown him, and expressed his gratitude by smiles, and by repeatedly patting the sailor on the shoulder; but, after this dumb show had been going on for some time, and when his patron's face was turned from him, he snatched his hat from his head, and jumped overboard with it, making his way as expeditiously as possible to the nearest canoe. The canoes took him in, and pulled off dead to windward of us, until they were out of our reach, although we threw several shot over their heads, to convince them of the danger they encountered in such bold adventures. From our first stopping place, we ran down a few miles, followed by all the canoes, which were joined by many more. Some of the natives again came on board, and one man, to whom the captain had made presents, seized upon a fixture of the waist-boat, and abruptly took his leave. He was as suddenly saluted with a charge of bird-shot, from a pistol, but manfully clung to his prize, and bore it off in triumph to his canoe. Aided by his companion, he was playing us the same trick, as the fellow who stole the sailor's hat. But a few shot over their heads brought them to, when they lay down in the bottom of the canoe, until we lowered a boat, and sent it to them. When they saw the boat approaching, they took to their paddles, and made an effort to escape; but, finding that impossible, jumped overboard, and continued diving from one side of the canoe to the other, until they were taken. They trembled excessively, expressing a great deal of alarm, upon being brought on board, and made several attempts to escape. The captain inflicted upon the thief, a punishment, that he thought might be a useful admonition to the natives, in their future intercourse with white men, when, with his companion, he jumped overboard, apparently delighted, in having escaped so well.

The number and enterprising character of the people, changed our purpose of attempting to obtain a supply of water, by digging wells. And, besides the above objection, it was to be expected that, in the performance of our duty, at the Mulgrave Islands, it would be necessary for us to explore the whole group, where, within so great a compass, our wants could scarcely fail to be supplied. Accordingly, in the evening, we made sail, and, after clearing the island, hauled up to the northward and westward. The inhabitants of Drummond's and Byron's Islands, were, in all respects, similar to each other, even to their canoes and sails, the latter of which was a coarse matting of grass.

During our passage from Drummond's Island to the Mulgraves, which was of nine days' duration we had squally weather, and were constantly affected by violent currents, for which, as they were irregular, no allowance could be made. On the second day after our departure from Drummond's Island, our safety was considerably endangered from this cause. Being near a chain of small islands belonging to the Kingsmill Group, the weather thick and squally, we stretched off, calculating that, at meridian, on the following day, we should be thirty miles to the northward of them; but, to our surprise, when at meridian the weather cleared, and we got our observations, instead of being thirty miles to the northward, we were as much to the south, having been carried through them by a current at night. We were two or three days in the vicinity of the Mulgraves', laying to at night, and drifting with the current nearly as much as we advanced through the day, with light and baffling winds.

On the evening of November, the nineteenth, the welcome hail of "Land! ho!" was given, and shortly afterwards it was seen from the deck, two leagues off. It proved to be the easternmost of the Mulgraves', for which we run down on the following morning, and anchored on the lee shore, within less than a cable's length of the surf, in six fathoms water.¹

The island was low, of coral formation, and, in all respects, resembled Caroline, Clarence, York, Byron's, and Drummond's Islands. The inhabitants were not numerous, and differed from all we had seen before in dress and manners. They gave us a most kind and hospitable reception, freely offered whatever any of us expressed a wish for, and in all respects acquitted themselves in a manner highly satisfactory. Near our landing place we had the satisfaction to find two or three old wells of water, which, after being cleared out, would afford us a supply without much labour in getting it off, the landing being tolerably good.

On the twenty-first and twenty-second of November, we filled our water-casks, and, with several parties, explored the island. In our search we found a whaler's lance, and several pieces of old canvas; but all our efforts to obtain a knowledge, from whence they came, or of the persons who brought them, were unavailing. Some of the natives came on board, all of them were neatly ornamented. They wore wreaths of flowers round their heads, bracelets and necklaces of beautiful shells; a large roll of leaves, from one to two inches in diameter, through slits in their ears, and as a covering for their loins, two bunches of a kind of grass, that resembled hemp, hanging below their knees, one bunch being behind, and the other before. Nothing was stolen by them. They behaved in a most orderly manner, looking round the deck inquiringly, or seated themselves, and chatted familiarly with our people, taking pains to make themselves understood. In their look and action they appeared to be lively and intelligent; but whenever the subject of our visit was pressed upon them, by pointing to the whaler's lance, they became silent, pretending to be ignorant of our meaning. The activity of our exploring parties, in traversing all parts of the island, and our close examination of every

1 Ed. note: They were then off Alu in the NW corner of the Mili group.

thing among them, that had belonged to the whites, produced a sensible alarm by the third day; and, besides the desertion of their habitations by some of them, a large canoe was missing, that had departed from the island during the night.

Beyond us, to the south and west, was a range of islets, as far as we could see from the mast-head, and having thoroughly explored the island, where we were anchored, completed our watering, and made such repairs upon the vessel as were necessary, we determined to proceed further in that direction. At our anchorage here the wind several times changed from blowing off shore, which, as we had not room to ride in shore of our anchor, made it, upon such occasions, necessary to get under way, and stand off. At such times, we remarked, with particular satisfaction, the advantage we possessed in our vessel, being schooner rigged, as none but a fore and after could, with the same facility, have performed the delicate operation of getting under way, and crawling off, when riding upon a lee shore, within a few fathoms of the rocks, to have touched which would inevitably have been attended with shipwreck.

Upon the island, besides cocoa-nut, there were a few bread-fruit, with which the females of Nooaheeva¹ ornamented their necks, grew here in the greatest abundance, and was eaten by the natives almost constantly, who called it *bup* [i.e. pandanus]. A species of small rat, with a tuft of hair upon the tail, was very numerous, and so tame, that hundreds of them were constantly feeding about the huts.

The first land we approached in proceeding to the southward and westward,² was a narrow islet, made up of dry reefs, and verdant spots, from one to two miles long, and two hundred yards wide. On most of the islets grew cocoa-nut, and bread-fruit trees, the invariable indication of inhabitants. They were, however, but thinly inhabited. Some of the reefs that connected them were covered with water sufficiently for the passage of a boat. The captain landed upon the eastern extremity,³ people, most of whom fled at his approach, and such as remained, were so timid, that we could hardly look upon them as the countrymen and near neighbours of the natives, who had treated us with so much kindness at our anchorage.

A small canoe came off, paddled by one man, who ventured on board, and looked round for a few minutes, when he departed, without accusing to have had any other object in view than to gratify his curiosity. We should have suspected him of being a spy, had we not believed these people too simple, to adopt such an expedient of civilization. This we, however, afterwards ascertained was the capacity in which he came, having been sent by the principal chief of all the Mulgrave Group.

The schooner coasted along the islands, keeping way with the captain, who continued on to the westward [sic], examining all parts of it. Beyond, in what we afterwards ascertained was an inland sea of great extent, several large sail canoes were discovered coming from a distant islet. The captain crossed the reef into the island sea, where he

1 Ed. note: Nuku Hiva, in the Marquesas.

2 Ed. note: The real direction was true south, but he was influenced by magnetic compass readings.

3 Ed. note: He was perhaps at the southern tip of Garu, or Ngad, islet.

found the water smooth, but everywhere filled with shoals of coral. Without indicating a wish to examine the canoes, which might have caused them to put back, he soon afterwards returned on board, and another boat was sent to continue the examination of the islet, as we advanced. The officer prevailed upon some natives, that he met with, to come near him, and one of them gave him, in return for a present, some glass beads. Upon arriving at the western extremity of the islet, the captain put off for the shore, where he found four large canoes hauled up on the beach, and those he had seen before, coming over the inland sea, just in the act of landing. As we afterwards ascertained, it was the high chief of the Mulgrave Group, with from fifty to a hundred of his chiefs and warriors, on a cruise of observation, to satisfy himself who, and what we were, and what was the object of our visit to his lonely and unfrequented isle. None of the chiefs had anything to distinguish them, so that we knew not but that they were here upon some ordinary pursuit, otherwise, their presence would have excited in us a much more lively interest. As it was, we were gratified to have an opportunity of seeing so many of the natives, with their canoes, which we could examine, for proofs of the crew of the **Globe** having landed upon these islands, of which we were already pretty well satisfied from what we had seen. The fact was satisfactorily proved in a few minutes afterwards, by our discovering upon the platform of their canoes the lids of several sailors's chests. On a further examination, pieces of cloth and ash-spars were also found. The natives were watching our every look and motion, and notwithstanding their pretended apathy and indifference, could not conceal the intense excitement that our close examination produced among them. It soon gave rise to an animated conversation, which was accompanied with angry looks, and the only satisfaction they gave us, when we pointed to the chest-lids, was a vacant stare, or a few words of their island language not more intelligible. Not far from the beach was a pleasant grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, through which was scattered a number of neat little Indian huts. One of them, near the shore, was frequented by a great many of the natives, with whom our people freely mingled. It was about ten feet high, and above the ground; had a small garret, which was screened from observation by a floor of sticks, thickly interwoven with leaves. Although most of the huts had been examined by our men, it was our good or ill fortune, that this, where so many were constantly assembled, should escape observation. We should there have found one of the men, as he afterwards informed us, for whom we were so anxiously looking; but the discovery might have been attended with bloodshed, and, perhaps, fatal consequences to our shore party, than whom the natives were much more numerous.

William Lay, one of the **Globe**'s crew, had been brought to this islet, by the chiefs, to be used as circumstances might suggest. He was concealed in the garret of the hut, and guarded by a number of old women, who were directed, the first whisper of noise that he made, to put him to death, the chiefs having also denounced their heaviest vengeance upon him, if he should, in any way, disclose the secret of his being there. He lay in this unhappy situation for several hours, listening to the interchange of opinion

among his countrymen, from whose conversation he was informed of the character of our vessel, and the object of her cruise.

Towards sun-down, when our parties were weary with the labour of the day, they repaired on board for the night, and the natives, getting into their canoes, took their departure from the islet, and steered away, over the inland sea, until they were lost in the horizon. We stood off and on during the night, and, at nine in the morning, anchored in nine fathoms water, near our place of landing. Here there was a channel into the inland sea, having nearly water enough for the schooner, and through which we made an unsuccessful attempt to pass. Our situation was now becoming very unpleasant. It was necessary for us to have parties on shore, exploring the islands, and the remainder of the crew was quite insufficient to get the vessel under way—an expedient indispensable, whenever the wind came on shore, as the anchorage hardly ever extended more than half a cable's length from it. That we might lose nothing from delay or want of perseverance, however, soon after we came to, an officer, with a party of eleven men, attended by a boat to take them over the drowned reefs, was sent to march round, and explore the islets, that formed a continued chain to the southward and westward [sic] of us. We felt a conviction, from the conduct of the natives, that they were unwilling to give us the intelligence we required, and that we must depend entirely upon our industry and good fortune, for any discovery we might make. In the evening we sent a boat to communicate with our party, but they had advanced so far, that she returned without seeing any of them.

On the following day, November the twenty-fifth, the weather clear and pleasant, a boat was sent with refreshments to our exploring party, who were overtaken at the distance of ten miles from us, just commencing their morning's marche. The islets, thus far, were narrow, not averaging a quarter of a mile in breadth, and but thinly inhabited. Our party were pleased with the conduct of the natives they had seen. They gave them cocoa-nuts, without receiving any thing in return, and in the evening, when they stopped to repose for the night, provided them with huts to sleep in. The officer of the party, in the course of the day's search, found a mitten with the name of Rowland Coffin marked on it, who, by referring to a list of the **Globe's** crew, proved to be one of the boys left with the mutineers. From the place where the party was found, the extent of the island could not be seen. I landed at the settlement where we were anchored, and found the huts nearly all deserted. Such of the natives, as remained, seemed disposed to be very friendly, and followed me to the beach, where I shot a few sand-snipe, which drew from them loud shouts of applause, on witnessing the effect of my musket. Near the huts I observed a number of small white cranes, one of which I shot, supposing them to be wild, but afterwards regretted it very much, on learning that they were domesticated, and held in great reverence by the natives.

At five in the morning, November the twenty-sixth, a squall arose from the eastward, which struck the vessel adrift, in the direction of the trending of the land, and, dragging off the bank, we hove the anchor up, and stood along shore to the westward [sic]. When

we had run fifteen or twenty miles, we came up with our party, to whom we sent refreshments, and proceeded on, passing several remarkable points.

At three p.m., we came to, under a point, by which we were somewhat protected from the sea, in ten fathoms of water, and about thirty fathoms from the coral rocks, where there was but three feet. We were considerably in advance of our party, whom we had now determined should march round the whole circle of islets, if information of the mutineers should not sooner be obtained. In front of us the islet was wider than any we had seen elsewhere,¹ and presented a noble forest of cocoa-nut, interspersed everywhere with the broad green leaves of the bread-fruit tree, which indicated a most luxuriant growth. Huts were scattered about through the trees, and some close to the shore, forming a peaceful and romantic scene. The landing was good at low water, and practicable at high tide. As far as we could see to the westward [sic], the land still continued.

The surgeon, who was very much debilitated, when we sailed from the coast of Peru, had gradually, and almost imperceptibly, become more feeble, and for some time past believed that he had a disease of the liver. Until within two days of coming to our present anchorage, he discharged his ordinary duties, in attending the sick, when his mind began to fail, and it was evident to us that the period of his existence was near its close. He lay for a time in a state of insensibility, receiving the little aid that his friends could afford him; and at forty-five minutes after four p.m., November the twenty-seventh, breathed his last, deeply lamented by all the crew, to whom he had greatly endeared himself, by kind and assiduous attentions, even when he was extremely ill, and knew that he was fast hastening to the close of life. In the morning, I took a party of men on shore, and in a grove, at the foot of a wide-spreading bread-fruit tree, made the narrow bed of our departed messmate. At nine, the vessel struck adrift, and dragged off the bank. When she again stood in towards the shore, we landed, with as many of the officers and men as could be spared to bury the doctor's remains, with the honours of war. The natives assembled, to the number of twenty or thirty, and followed us to the grave, watching all our motions with an expression of great surprise. They were silent until the first discharge of musketry, when they burst into loud shouts and laughter, for which we drove them back, with threats of punishment, a considerable distance from us, where they afterwards remained quiet. At the foot and head of the grave we planted seeds of orange, lemon, and cheramoya, and upon the bread-fruit tree, at the head of it, carved his name, rank, and the vessel to which he belonged. Below this we spiked, firmly upon the tree, a brass plate, with his name, age, the vessel to which he belonged, and the day of his death inscribed upon it. A little to the eastward of the grave we had the satisfaction to find two springs of excellent water.

On the following morning our party arrived, and, after receiving refreshment, continued on to the northward and westward. They crossed a long reef, that connected the

1 Ed. note: They were then off Mili Island proper.

islet abreast of us with another,¹ at the distance of a few miles, that had the appearance of a large settlement, from the immense cocoa-nut forests that rose in that direction. Soon after crossing the reef, and arriving at the extreme east end of the islet, where it was narrow and sandy, they suddenly came to a place that was strewn with several hundred staves of beef and pork barrels, and old pieces of canvas and cloth. In advancing a little further, they found a skeleton, lightly covered with sand, and a box, containing a few Spanish dollars. The natives, some of whom had been constantly following our party, and occasionally mingling with them, and administering, as well as they could to their wants, upon approaching this place disappeared, or were seen in the distance, skulking through the bushes. These discoveries excited the liveliest expectation of soon making others more satisfactory, and proceeding a mile further, they found an unoccupied hut, where, night approaching, they encamped. Early in the morning they took up their line of march, and had not gone far, when it was evident that the natives were preparing for hostilities. Groups of them were frequently seen at a distance, armed with spears and stones, and holding animated discussions. They were much more numerous than our party, who, upon examining their ammunition, found it was wet, and that the few arms they had, which were no other than a pistol, for each man, were also wet, and unfit for immediate use. The officer, therefore, determined to retreat to the place of his night's encampment, until he could despatch information of his situation, and ask for a reinforcement and ammunition. On arriving where he had spent the night, he found that the hut he had occupied was gone, and also that a large sail canoe that he left there, had been taken away. Not a single person was anywhere to be seen. Here he remained, sending two of his party to the schooner, which was now several miles from him.

A little after meridian, we received them on board, and heard, with great interest, the information they gave. There was no doubt in our minds, that this was the place where the mutineers, and others of the *Globe's* crew, had been left,—but where are they now!—was a question, which naturally occurred to us. We had given the natives no cause, to excite them to hostility; but, on the contrary, had taken every means that suggested itself, to gain their confidence and esteem. If they wished to make war upon us, opportunities had been frequently presented, when our exploring party might have been assailed by overpowering numbers, with a prospect of success, of which they had not availed themselves, and here they were now apparently wavering between peace and war, just at the moment of our discovering the place where our countrymen had been. We knew not how to account for this change in their conduct, but by supposing that the mutineers were among them, and that, from our near approach, they were becoming alarmed for their safety, and had roused the natives to war, with the hope of defending themselves by open combat. If this supposition were true, and it seemed very probable, the situation of our party was very critical, and no time was to be lost in giving them the aid they asked for, and renewing our search with redoubled activity. The launch was hoisted out, and fitted with all possible expedition, and at four p.m., No-

1 Ed. note: Probably Garu, or Ngad, islet.

vember twenty-ninth, sailed with two officers and eleven men, together with the three belonging to the party, being all that we were willing to spare from the schooner, as a bold attempt upon her by a large party of the natives, led on by an enterprising and desperate chief, might have placed her and the lives of all her crew in the greatest jeopardy. I crossed the reef, which was sufficiently overflowed by the high tide, to admit of it, and ran down in the inland sea to the encampment of our party, where I arrived at eight in the evening, and found them all safe; but looking for our appearance, with the greatest anxiety. I allowed the boat's crew to land, and get their supper in company with those on shore, preparatory to commencing the night's work. When we were prepared for our departure, and had embarked, I was greatly chagrined on examining the boat, to find that the shore party, to whom I had brought fresh arms and ammunition, had, in their over-anxiety to be well supplied, deprived me of part of mine, and I was under the necessity of landing, and searching, not only the men, but even the bushes, before I found them.

Our party had acquired information since morning, but from the discoveries that had already been made, we felt satisfied, that on the following day, we should find other traces of the mutineers. In taking my departure, I stretched off with a fine breeze, but it was blowing directly from the point to which I wished to steer. I suffered the men to lay down and refresh themselves with sleep, whilst Midshipman S. and myself steered the boat, and to my regret, in returning back towards the shore from whence I had started, discovered that we had lost ground; besides, our boat being clumsy and badly fitted, we found that we had to contend with a strong current. I got the oars out, therefore, and pulled dead to windward until day-light, when having proceeded about six miles, we again made sail to the northward and eastward, close haul upon a wind; it gradually veered, until I could head for an island eight or ten miles from us, which just appeared above the horizon, and where I designed to land and give the men breakfast. When within two or three miles of the island, I observed a number of canoes leaving places nearer to me and landing upon it. Two canoes had put off from thence, and were standing for me as I was beating with my clumsy boat to weather an intervening coral reef; they were manned with about twenty natives, and armed with spears and stones. When they had approached me pretty near, and were passing under my lee, I ran alongside to examine them, for which they gave us a great many cross looks. As soon as I suffered them to depart, they immediately returned to the shore from whence they came, and where I not long afterwards discovered about twenty canoes that would carry from twenty to forty men each.

The canoes I had boarded, sailed at least three miles to my one, and I now discovered the impossibility of possessing ourselves of the mutineers of the **Globe**, whilst they, or the natives, if friendly to them, had the disposal of such fleet vessels, with which to avoid us whenever our too near approach endangered their safety. I determined, therefore, to take possession of all that were now assembled, even though I should be opposed by the natives, and reduced to the necessity of measuring our strength with them.

The island was small, producing but few cocoa-nuts, and having but a small number of huts upon it, notwithstanding which, there were several hundreds of people assembled—a great crowd, considering the thinly populated state of the islands. But as this large assemblage could only have been brought together from some extraordinary cause, I determined to land and search their huts, and look round, before I made so wide a breach with them, as must necessarily result from the seizure of their canoes. I was sorry to see, on our coming near them, that they were sending their women and children towards the huts, which were a short distance from the assemblage of natives; a movement that indicated a want of confidence in us on their part, or what was still less agreeable to us, a disposition to hostility.

There was some surf on the shore where we were about to land near the canoes, and that the boat might be the more readily at our disposal when we should have occasion for her after landing, I dropped an anchor, and was in the act of veering to through the surf, when, to my astonishment, a person dressed and looking like a native, addressed us in our own language. He was standing upon the beach thirty or forty yards distant, and halfway between us and the natives, all of whom had seated themselves. The first words that we understood, were: “The Indians are going to kill you: don’t come on shore unless you are prepared to fight.” The scene now presented to us, inspired an indescribable sensation; for, although we were convinced that this was one of the men we were so anxiously looking for, his sudden and unexpected appearance, his wild attire, and above all, his warning, seemed like an illusion of fancy. His hair was long, combed up, and tied in a knot on the top of his head; round his loins, he wore a large mat, finely wrought, and the use of cocoa-nut oil, and the action of a tropical sun, for nearly two years, had made his skin almost as dark as that of the natives. He earnestly repeated, several times, that we must not land unless we were prepared to fight, and described the plan the natives had concerted with him, which was, to prevail upon us to come on shore and seat ourselves among them, when, at a given signal, they would all rise and knock us on the head with stones. This statement was probable enough, but the suspicion that this was one of the mutineers, very naturally occurred to our minds, with the questions: “Why have we not found him before?” and “Why does he not now fly to us for protection, if he is innocent?” forgetting that our contemptible numbers precluded all idea of safety to him, if opposed by the numerous assemblage of natives by whom he was surrounded. I asked his name, which he told me was William Lay, and that he was one of the crew of the **Globe**. His stature and juvenile appearance, answered the description we had of him. I told him to come to the boat, but he said that he was afraid of the natives, who had directed him not to advance any nearer to us. I then directed him to run to us and we would protect him; but he declined, saying, that the natives would kill him with stones before he could get there. During all this time, they thought he was arranging their plan for us to come on shore, and called out frequently to him to know what we said; to which, he replied in a way calculated to suit his purpose.

After discharging and re-loading our pistols, with one of which and a cartridge-box each man was provided, we landed, and marched up to the place where Lay was standing. Still doubting whether he were not more foe than friend, and determined that, under any circumstances, he should not escape, I received him with my left hand, presenting, at the same time, a cocked pistol to his breast. I was not insensible to the sentiment my harsh reception was calculated to inspire; but circumstanced as I was, I could not risk everything in preference to inflicting a momentary pang, keenly as it might be felt. I repeated the question: "Who are you?" to which he replied: "I am your man," and burst into tears. I told him then to say to the natives, that if they rose from their seats, or threw a stone, we would shoot them all; but the poor fellow, delirious with joy for the moment, knew not what he said, and, instead of obeying my command, called out in half English, and half Island language, in broken sentences, most of which was unintelligible to us; among other things, he exclaimed: "They are going to kill me, they are going to kill me." I ordered him to be silent, and then asked, why he told them we were going to kill him. Recollecting himself immediately, he begged my pardon, declaring that he knew not what he was saying. By this time, some of the natives had risen, and were becoming very animated and violent in their conversation and gestures. Two or three advanced towards us; I pointed my pistol at them, and made Lay repeat my threat, which had the desired effect on all but one old man, who, unarmed, advanced in defiance of me. Lay desired me to suffer him to approach, which he did, and taking hold of Lay's hand with both of his, he asked what his countrymen were going to do with him. Lay explained to him, in a few words, as clearly as he could, at which the old man seemed much affected. This was his benefactor, the person to whom he was indebted for life; and the poor fellow seemed not wanting in sensibility or gratitude, at the moment of their parting. He embraced him affectionately, told him that he would see him again before he departed, and wept like a child. I was unwilling to remain longer than was absolutely necessary, lest the natives, when they had recovered from their first surprise, should conceive a contempt for our small number, and make trial of our strength, in which I know they would be much superior to us, if they were determined and brave, as the first discharge of our pistols would place us upon an equality with the same number as ourselves. I therefore cut short Lay's interview with his friend, and hastened him to the boat; there he wept for joy, and gave us several proofs of the agitated state of his mind. His first impulse, which did great credit to his heart, was, to inquire if his friends were well, and then recollecting that it was probable none of us knew them, told us he belonged to East Saybrook, Connecticut, and asked if any of us were acquainted in that section of the country. He several times repeated the same questions, forgetful that he had asked them before, and that we had replied in the negative. When his mind was a little composed, we made inquiries of him respecting the rest of the **Globe's** crew, who had been left on the island; to which he answered, that they were all dead except Cyrus H. Huzzy [sic], who was on an island a few miles to windward of us, and now full in sight. He asked, with an expression of great solicitude, if we would go for Huzzy, and when I told him we would, it seemed to afford him not less pleasure than his own de-

liverance. He stated that he and Huzzy both knew that we were in search of them, and that our vessel was a man-of-war. He said that the chiefs had sent spies on board of the schooner every day when it was practicable, who had communicated to them the number of guns we carried, and, within a very few, the number of which the crew consisted. They had apprised them of the force and conduct of our exploring party, descending to the minutest particulars, and even describing most of the individuals on board. They had seriously debated the question of making war upon us several times, and always consulted Lay and Huzzy as to the propriety of it, and what would probably be their prospect of success. They dissuaded them from it, of course, and filled them with apprehension, by declaring, repeatedly, that we were invincible, and that there was scarcely anything we could not accomplish with our six-pounders; they even made them believe, trifling as our armament was, that we could sink the islands with our cannon: so ready is the human mind to receive for truth what it cannot comprehend, if recommended by superior intelligence, though it may be at variance with every thing in nature or reason.

The natives were told to let us go where we pleased, without molesting us in any way, to give us whatever we asked for, and, at all times, to show themselves friendly to us. They had strictly pursued the course of conduct pointed out to them by the young white men, in whose superior knowledge of us and our prowess, they placed every reliance; but still they doubted the probability of conciliating our friendship in the sequel, and adhered tenaciously to the idea of accomplishing our destruction in some way, to make their own security the more certain. With this object, a variety of plans were submitted at different times, to Lay and Huzzy, by those among the chiefs esteemed the wisest and bravest, all of which were discouraged, and the success of such an undertaking in any way, as frequently declared to be utterly hopeless.

One of their plans was, to get alongside of us at night, unobserved, and with some of the sharp instruments they had obtained from the **Globe**, make a hole in the bottom of the vessel, and sink her; when, they very truly believed, that those who were not drowned, would be an easy prey to them, and that the party on shore, unaided by the schooner, might soon be overcome and destroyed by their superior numbers.

Another of their plans, and the most plausible one, was, to assemble secretly all the canoes of the islands, at some point not distant from us, and approaching under cover of the night, surprise and board us.

If this last plan had been put into execution, in a dark night, it is possible that it might have succeeded, as we could hardly have seen them in time to use our cannon, and the fire of musketry which they had heard before, would probably not have driven them back when they had advanced near to us, particularly if, as might be apprehended, at night, the fire were not directed effectively. They would not have found us entirely unprepared; for, under the impression that the mutineers were still living, and on terms of friendship with the natives, we were on the lookout for such an attempt being made, as it seemed to be the only means by which they could possibly escape, and the plan which would most naturally occur to desperate men in their situation.

In advancing towards the island where we expected to find Huzzy, Lay told us that the island where we found him was a favourite place for fishing at a particular season, when numerous shoals of fish swam upon its shore. Our schooner was anchored at the place of residence of the high chief, who, with those we found assembled upon the small island, had fled there to avoid us. The boat's crew being oppressed with fatigue and hunger, I landed upon a dry reef, after proceeding a few miles to give them rest and refreshment. It was painful to witness Lay's anxiety to depart, who, fearing a messenger might be despatched to the chief who had Huzzy in custody, kept his eyes fixed upon us with an anxious, hurrying look, and several times expressed his fears that the chiefs might have the boldness to attempt his rescue. On finishing our frugal repast, we pulled up under an uninhabited point of Lugoma's Island (this was the name of Huzzy's chief) which, having passed without observation, an ample bay, upon the shore of which was situated the village of the chief, opened to our view; and, to our great joy, the only sail canoe in his possession, was seen hauled up on the beach. For a few moments, no-one was seen; but when we were in the act of landing, Lugoma and several old women came walking down to the beach, attracted by the strange and unexpected appearance of our boat. They were struck with the utmost consternation at beholding Lay, who was still in his native dress; and the old women began calling out, in a loud tone, demanding of him what he was doing there, and what we wanted. Before he had time to reply to them, I got out of the boat, and taking hold of Lugoma, and pointing a pistol at him, bade Lay say to him, that unless Huzzy was brought to me immediately, I would kill him. He begged that I would not hurt him, and said Huzzy was near and should come to me. The old women, alarmed for the safety of the chief, instantly ran off, calling aloud for Huzzy. It was but a few minutes before he appeared, walking towards us, with his fine yellow hair hanging in ringlets about his shoulders, and his person quite naked, with the exception of a piece of blanket, tied round his loins. When he had approached sufficiently near, and I said to him: "Well, young man, do you wish to return to your country?" his eyes filled with tears as he replied: "Yes, Sir; I know of nothing that I have done for which I should be afraid to go home."

As soon as Lugoma felt relieved from his apparently dangerous situation, he began to express his solicitude for Huzzy, begging that I would not hurt him; and when he was assured that no injury was intended towards his son, as he called Huzzy, entreated me not to take him away. The old women united with the chief in the expression of their wishes, and seemed, by their loud talk and significant gestures, to insist upon the white man's remaining with them. The scene was an interesting one, and we found a picturesque group assembled on a beautiful lawn, in front of a number of huts, surrounded by cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. Huzzy owed his life to the native chief; he had been in the condition of a slave to him for two years. To him he was indebted for many acts of kindness, some of which he had requited by his industry in his service, and some had been cancelled by harsh treatment; yet, still he stood in a delicate situation towards the chief. The saving of the life alone, conferred an obligation upon him, which could scarcely be repaid by long and faithful services. The chief evidently appeared to regard

him as his son, and when the moment of our departure arrived, and he saw we were determined to take our countryman with us, he joined tears to entreaties, saying he should weep long and bitterly for him. He told Huzzy that he must come back again, and asked me if I would bring him. As the only way in which I could get clear of so strange a petition, urged with so much feeling, I promised to bring him back if his mother consented to his return. With this, he appeared to be tolerably well satisfied, and we were about returning to the boat, when Lugoma took Huzzy aside to talk to him privately. When their interview was ended, I asked Huzzy what the chief had been saying to him; to which he replied, that he had been reminding him how difficult it would be for him to get along with his work without him, and that he must return as soon as he could, and bring with him some axes, guns, and cloths, such as his countrymen wore. "I have promised to bring them," said he, "when I return, and he is quite satisfied." When we were ready to depart, to conciliate the good will of the female part of Lugoma's family, I presented them with a variety of trifles, such as finger-rings, glass beads, etc. for which, in return, they loaded me with a profusion of small mats, and rude shell ornaments, accompanied with many expressions of thankfulness and regard. When I came to take leave of Lugoma, I presented him with a jack-knife. With the exception of an axe, I could have given him nothing more valuable, and it gained for me his unreserved confidence. He immediately proposed going with me to the schooner, and got into the boat with his son, a lad eight years old. Huzzy took with him a musket and a Bible, the only things he had saved at the massacre. The first had been preserved for him by the chief, who thought that with this in Huzzy's hands, although he had no powder, he was a match for all his enemies; and the Bible he had clung to himself, and had kept as the companion of his lonely hours. The Bible was more an object of curiosity to the natives than anything else they found in the possession of the white men: they often inquired of Huzzy what it was, its use, &c., and his explanations seemed only to increase their superstition and aversion to it. They were never pleased to see him retire to the garret of his little hut, to read it, as was his custom; and invariably remonstrated with him against it. They urged him frequently to destroy it, and when he refused, they threatened to do it themselves. As the reason of their dislike, they said it would bring spirits round the house that would kill or hurt some of the family. Huzzy told them, that if they destroyed it, the Great Spirit would come and kill them all; to which he was probably indebted for its preservation.

I was walking, back of the huts, over a level green spot, enclosed by cocoa-nut trees, when Lugoma came to me in great haste, and with a disturbed look beckoned me to come away, at the same time saying to Huzzy, that I must not go there; it was a place for the dead. My presence would disturb them, and bring spirits round his huts; I indulged his superstition, and walked off.

Lugoma was about thirty years of age, of moderate stature, squarely built, with low forehead, and flat nose; having an expression of countenance that indicated intelligence and enterprise. Huzzy gave him the character of being very passionate, inveterate in his enmities, fierce and determined in his hostility, but firmly attached to his friends, and

possessing a benevolent heart. He often became offended with Huzzy, in their ordinary occupation, and upon such occasions would use violent language, and sometimes threaten to kill him; but, when his passion subsided, would be very sorry for what he had said, and soothe Huzzy by telling him not to be afraid; he would not hurt him. Once, however, in working their canoe, when something went wrong, he raised a paddle and struck Huzzy with it, upon which, the poor fellow, slave as he was, gave way to his indignant feelings, and was in the act of repaying the chief's violence with interest, who, seeing that he had gone too far with the high-spirited white man, and that his life was menaced, begged him not to strike, declaring that he would never again raise his hand against him; and the quarrel was amicably settled by Huzzy's telling him that if ever he did, he would kill him. From this story, I thought there might be some truth in the one which Huzzy told me was one day related to him by Lugoma's son, the boy that was in the boat with us. We had a mulatto lad on board of the schooner, and at the time our contemplated capture was spoken of among the natives, this little boy told Huzzy that his father was going to save the life of the mulatto boy, and then kill him as he was getting too large. The mulatto boy was a great favourite among the natives, and upon several occasions, quarrels had arisen among the chiefs who should have him, when in the presence of Lay or Huzzy they were debating the question of our capture.

The day was far advanced when we left Lugoma's Island, and stood along the shores of the islets to intercept the land party whom we met at no very great distance, making rapid marches. We landed to inform them of our success, and that their labour was at an end, in which they could not but rejoice with us, although they were extremely disappointed that they should not themselves have been the fortunate persons, after all the toil they had experienced in the search. We put off and made sail in both our boats, and as the canoes were all still upon the beach of the island from whence we had taken Lay, I intended to land and get his musket, which, in the hurry of our departure, he had forgotten. No sooner, however, did the natives see both our boats standing towards them, than they put off with all their canoes, and bore away directly before the wind. We made all sail in chase, but soon perceived that they were leaving us very fast; and, as night was coming on, we made the experiment of a few musket shots, fired over their heads, with the hope of bringing them to. Instead of answering the desired purpose, it served only to increase their alarm, and the weather becoming squally, we suffered them to depart without further pursuit. I had cause to regret that I had fired; for from the first discharge, poor Lugoma was in the greatest agony, for fear we were going to kill him, as well as the rest of the chiefs. All the explanations that Lay and Huzzy could make, and all their assurances of my friendship, could not quiet him. Several times he would have taken his son and jumped overboard, had we allowed him to do so. Whenever I went to the stern of the boat where he was sitting, he repeated to me again and again that he was my good friend, and that I must not kill him; my replying that I would not hurt him, that I was his friend, &c., had not the least effect; it only caused him again to repeat what he had before told me of, his being my friend, and that I must not kill him.

The numerous shoals of coral, with the violence of the wind, rendering it somewhat dangerous to run in the dark, I determined to come to for the night, as we were yet a long distance from the schooner. For this purpose, we stood in towards the place where, on the preceding night, we had met the exploring party. Lugoma no sooner found himself so near the shore, than he became more earnest than ever in his petition to be permitted to land with his son, although he was more than twenty miles from his home. I would have allowed him to leave us, had I not been apprehensive of the hostility of his countrymen; I knew not but by his aid in piloting them to our night's encampment, we might be surprised before morning, and my resolution to keep him was confirmed, when it was reported to me, by some men who had landed from the other boat, that one or more natives had been seen near us, skulking through the bushes. We also determined, not to trust ourselves on shore, but to lay in the boat, and make an awning of our sails, to screen us from the heavy showers that were frequently coming over, in the best manner we could.

When we finished our repast, we hauled off and anchored, but not to sleep. Our awning was but poorly calculated for shelter, and the showers that constantly succeeded each other, kept us too wet and cold for rest; besides this, I was frequently reminded of Lugoma's presence, who made me pay dearly for his detention. He would lay nowhere but alongside of me, and during the whole night, not more than ten minutes elapsed at any one time, that he did not move his hand over my face, and when he thought my attention was sufficiently awakened, call out to me, "Hitera," a word that signified he was my good friend, nor would he suffer me to rest a moment afterwards until I had replied to him "Hitera."

We were anchored but a short distance from the place where the chief mutineer of the **Globe** and his murderous companions had landed, where he had fallen by their hands, and where they, in their turn, had been killed by savages. It was a spot, calculated to revive, in the minds of Lay and Huzzy, the liveliest recollection of sorrows and sufferings, that no language could describe; and as we all wished to hear an account of the mutiny, and of the event that subsequently transpired, I desired Lay to favour us with the relation.¹

...
At the dawn of day, we prepared to depart for the schooner, and in getting up our anchor, which was a kedge, weighing upwards of a hundred pounds, we found that it was hooked to a bunch of coral at the bottom, from which all our efforts failed to move it. As soon as Lugoma saw our difficulty, he told his son to go down and clear the anchor. The little fellow jumped into the water, which was about three fathoms deep, and in a few moments came up, making motions for us to haul away. He had disengaged the kedge, and we had no further trouble in getting it up. It is a universal practice among the natives, whenever they wish to anchor, to take a line from the end of the canoe, and tie it to a tree of coral at the bottom.

1 Ed. note: Lay's narrative has already been reproduced in full (see Doc. 1824M).

The chief persisted in his desire to leave us, saying he was still afraid I would kill him; and as I had no object in taking him with me against his will, I consented to his departure, presenting him with some seeds, the culture of which I caused to be explained to him, as also the value of the fruit. Our return on board was welcomed by everybody. We had now accomplished the object of our visit, and the islands were altogether so void of interest, except for their novel formation, and the singular habits of the natives, that we were well content to leave them and return to some other place more congenial to the feelings of civilized men. Before we left, however, we wished to see the chiefs, and after representing the impropriety of their conduct toward the white men who had sought an asylum upon their islands, point out the course they must in future pursue towards such as might again visit them.

On the morning of December the first, none of the chiefs or people residing upon the islet abreast of us having returned, the mother of the high chief was directed to send for her son to come back, and bring with him the rest of the chiefs, without delay. I made a visit to the chief's village, where I found but few inhabitants, most of whom were women and children. It was situated on the side of the island opposite to us, and bordering upon the inland sea. It was not extensive, but a beautiful and romantic spot; the grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, through which were scattered the huts of the natives, ran about 100 yards back from the inland sea to a wild thicket that passes through the centre of the islet, in length 200 or 300 yards. Here I found the largest canoe that I had yet seen. It was large enough to carry 50 men, but being old, leaked so badly, that the high chief was compelled to leave it behind, in his flight, with all the rest.

Near the high chief's hut, we came to consecrated ground. It was the place of burial for the royal dead. It was but a small space, comprehended within the circumference of a few yards, and at the head of each grave stood a cocoa-nut tree, bound round with dry leaves—a mark that prohibited the use of the fruit. We were accompanied by a son of the high chief, a child about 12 years old, who desired us not to tread on the graves of his ancestors. Two graves were pointed out, as those of chiefs, who had been highly distinguished, beside which stood the aged trunks of cocoa-nut trees, that indicated the period of their demise to have been very distant. At one of the huts we saw a domestic fowl, which, when I expressed a wish to purchase, the chief's son, whose name was Ladro, immediately presented me. We afterwards saw a number of others running wild in the thickets. They were small, and looked like what is called the bantam. The natives never eat them, giving, as the reason for it, that they are not cleanly in their food. On our return, Lay took me to a place, where, after the massacre, he had buried a Spanish dollar. It was still there, and he took it with him as a memento of his captivity. We passed several springs of water, to which the women are banished at a certain period.

We met with a native, whom Lay knew, and who, assuming the native dress, went through the violent motions and gestures of a Mulgrave man, engaged in battle. It was an indescribable mixture of the frightful and ludicrous. I was apprehensive that it would offend the native; but he laughed with us at the representation, and said, it was very good.

On the following morning, December the third, the chiefs all presented themselves on the shore, near our anchorage. The captain, taking Lay and Huzzy with him, went on shore to meet them. They told him, by way of opening the interview, that they were in his power, and ready to obey all his commands. He required of them to restore a whale boat that belonged to the **Globe**, a swivel, they had taken from the white men, and Lay's musket, to all of which they cheerfully assented. He then gave them, as a proof of his friendship, some cotton handkerchiefs, axes, and a variety of other articles, of much more value to them than those he had taken. He told them, that white men would never come there to hurt them, and that they must always be kind and friendly to them, whenever ships should hereafter visit their island. That, if other white men should ever be similarly situated to those they had killed, they must take care of them, and at some future time they would be rewarded for it. They promised faithfully to do all that they were told, and regretted having killed our countrymen. We gave them a pair of pigs, male and female, which we told them to take great care of, and increase the number as much as possible, forbidding them, on pain of our displeasure, to kill any until we should again return, which might be at no very distant period, although it was uncertain when. The surgeon's grave was made a sacred spot by the high chief, and everything about it was to be held in the same reverence as the burial-place of his forefathers. The high chief was instructed, through the interpreters, in the manner of cultivating the fruits and vegetables, the seeds of which we had given him in great variety. Some we planted, and all was to be under his especial care. The use of the various kinds was explained to him, as well as their importance to ships, that might visit his islands, which would give him in return for them, axes, or whatever else was most valuable to him.

On the fourth of December, I obtained a boat, and set off on a visit to Lugoma, who, contrary to his promise, had not yet been on board. I took Huzzy with me, knowing that it would delight the chief to see him. We met with a variety of obstacles in our passage, through the inland sea, and did not arrive at the islet of the chief until the second day after our departure. We stood into his bay in the midst of a heavy shower, notwithstanding which, as soon as he saw us, himself and son ran down to the shore to meet us, and waded up to the middle in the water, extending their arms towards us, full of roasted fish, of which he had taken a large quantity on the preceding day. Both of them called to Huzzy, with repeated expressions of their happiness at seeing him, and, in a moment after we struck the shore, the whole tribe of old women welcomed us, with their joyful exclamations. As soon as we were out of the boat, each one in turn clung round Huzzy's neck, and embraced him in the kindest manner. In several different huts were large piles of fish, amounting to some thousands, which had been roasted to preserve them. Lugoma offered at once to accommodate us for the night, saying, he had an abundance of room in his huts for us to sleep, and plenty of fish for us to eat. The weather was squally and wet, which induced me to accept his offer. I wished, also, to witness the manner in which he caught fish in such quantities, and another opportunity might not offer before I left the islands.

As soon as the shower was over, which lasted for two or three hours, Lugoma went out, and employed himself busily collecting and breaking up dry wood, and arranging his ovens of stones, that all might be in readiness to cook the fish as soon they were taken out of the water. There was a considerable shoal extending out from the shore, opposite to his huts, upon which the fish, in their migrations along the islets came in great numbers. At the outer edge of this shoal he had sunk, a few feet below the surface of the water, a long line of cocoa-nut leaves, which were dry, and of a reddish colour. One end of the line of leaves was taken to the shore, and made fast, where there was a pen, built of stone. The line was then taken round upon the shoal semi-circularly, encompassing a considerable portion of it, and the space between the other end of the line and the shore left quite open. When a school of fish is seen, the natives intercept them, driving them through this open space, and, pressing forward, finally into the stone pen, from which they are taken with nets. After all the arrangements were made, Lugoma and another native, waded out beyond the line of leaves, to watch the schools of fish, but, unfortunately, he allowed them all to escape; and, as well as ourselves, seemed to be a good deal disappointed with his bad success. What appeared to be most remarkable about this method of catching fish, is that, after they are inclosed, they will not pass under the cocoa-nut leaves, although there is a depth of several feet water between them and the bottom. Lugoma took me to the place where he had planted the water-melon seeds, I gave him at the time of our parting. He had cleared and mellowed the ground with care, preparatory to planting the seeds, which were already up, and looked thrifty. I bestowed upon him a great deal of praise, and planted a variety of other seeds, of fruit and vegetables, of which he promised to have an abundant supply for me, when I should again return. When night came, and the hour of repose was at hand, I was perplexed with the difficulty of providing for our security against surprise or treachery, without giving Lugoma reason to suppose that we did not confide in his friendship, which I knew he would infer, from any particular watchfulness on our part. I did not believe that we had reason to apprehend danger from Lugoma or anyone else, but as we were exposed to it, and had the means of security, I was determined not to run any risk. Three of the men were sent to sleep in the boat, anchored off a short distance from the shore, and which Lugoma was told no-one must approach. The rest were directed to bring their arms on shore, and keep all lain down, except the man that was standing sentry. Lugoma saw him, and asked, if there was not room enough for him to lay down. We answered evasively several times, with a view to satisfy the uneasiness he expressed, lest he should be thought wanting in any respect in hospitality; but were at last obliged to tell him, that the man was keeping watch, to see that no-one came to hurt us. His mortification was evident, as he remarked, in reply, that no-one would come to his island to hurt us. We expressed our full confidence in his friendship, giving him the further information, that it was our custom always to have some one on the look-out. Lugoma arranged mats upon the floors of his huts for us all, and invited me to lay down on one side of him, having his wife and daughter on the other side. It blew and rained hard all night, but the morning was clear and pleasant. We set off on a visit

to an islet a few miles beyond that of Lugoma. He offered to go with us, and dive for a large shell-fish, found there; but as we could not take him, without incommoding ourselves, we declined his company. The islet was so uninteresting, as hardly to repay us for the trouble of going to it. It was covered with a thick growth of hard red wood, common to most of the low islands, and wild *bup*. We soon took our departure from it, and returned to Lugoma's islet, at an early hour of the day.

For the first time, at the Mulgraves', I observed, in one of Lugoma's huts, a drum, resembling those of Nooahoova, but of small dimensions. I supposed it was an instrument of music, and in compliance with my request, Lugoma readily consented to play on it. Calling his daughter to him, he bade her thump upon it with her hands, whilst he sung, in time with the music, a few short lines, throwing himself in a variety of attitudes, alternately extending one arm, with great vigour, and drawing the other to his breast. Upon inquiring what was the subject of his song, he told me, through Huzzy, that it was the massacre of the white men—a rudeness, I did not expect—even from the untutored Lugoma. I declined any further display of his musical powers. When we were preparing to return on board, Lugoma came to me several times, saying, that I might just as well cut his throat, as to take Huzzy away from him. "I have no-one," said he, with a distressed look, "that is equally capable of assisting me, to work my canoe, and now, he is going away with his musket, my enemies can come and kill me." Finding, at last, that he could not prevail upon us to leave Huzzy, he said, we must bring him back very soon. That, if we were long absent, we should not find him living. He said, that we must bring him clothes, like ours; guns and axes; and that we should share the government of his islet with him, promising to have an abundant supply for us, of all the fruits and vegetables we had planted.

When he and the old women had taken an affectionate leave of Huzzy, he requested me to take two or three females in my boat, with their baskets of fish, which were intended as a present to the high chief, and land them upon the islet where he lived. We consented to do so, and, after landing them, arrived on board late in the afternoon, the schooner having run down to the **Globe's** anchorage, where she was now lying.

On the following morning Lugoma made his appearance on the beach, with his little son, having landed with his canoe upon the opposite side of the narrow islet. A boat was sent to bring them off. The chief stared wildly round, astonished, and wondering at every thing he saw. He was very timid, and, notwithstanding our kind reception, appeared to feel extremely doubtful of his safety. His confidence was in a measure gained, however, when we gave him an axe, a piece of cotton handkerchief, and some other trifles; and he left us, reminding me of my promise to return. Not long after his departure we got under way, and ran back to the residence of the chiefs, where, at 10 a.m., we came to in our old anchorage.

The captain went on shore, and at 2 p.m., December 8th, returned on board with the high chief, and two others. They were shown everything about the deck, but without awakening much apparent curiosity. We then beat to quarters, and let them see what a formidable appearance we made, arrayed for battle—an appearance, truly ri-

diculous to one accustomed to the imposing effect of a fine ship of war, and calculated to excite our risibility, notwithstanding the seeming gravity we assumed for the occasion. The captain asked the high chief, if he did not wish to hear one of the cannon fired, to which he answered evasively, unwilling, I suppose, to acknowledge his fears, as he had been a great warrior in his time. The captain then told him, that he would have one of them fired, if he was not afraid, which brought the chief to a confession, that he dared not hear it. The chiefs brought a number of presents for the Tamon,¹ as they called the captain, consisting principally of mats.

When they became tired of remaining on board, and expressed a wish to be sent on shore, we gratified them, and got under way. The high chief's son, who had visited me a number of times before, and to whom I had made presents of trifling value, but important to him, came on board with his father, and expressed a wish to go with me. His father gave his consent, being perfectly willing that he should go; but as there was great probability an opportunity would never offer for him to return, I thought it would be cruel to take him from his native islands, where, in his father's inheritance, he would be so well provided for.

It was late in the evening when we got under way, at the Mulgraves, for the last time. We had surveyed all that part of the islands intervening between our first anchorage and the **Globe** landing, and now steered to eastward by the bearings we had previously taken. Squalls of wind and heavy rain coming on, we soon lost sight of the land. The loud roaring of the surf, off the extreme north-eastern point, as well as the heavy swell that set in immediately afterwards, apprised us that we had cleared the group. The land was in sight from the mast-head, in the morning, when we ran down for the eastern end of the island, where we had first anchored, and at a convenient distance run along upon the weather side, taking bearings at the end of every base of three or four miles. Near the centre of the windward part of the group we passed a wide opening into the inland sea, not far from which was a reef of considerable extent, where a very high surf was breaking. Within a short distance of the reef, we saw the bottom plainly in 10 fathoms water. There was no place on the weather side of the islands, where it was possible to land with any degree of safety. After passing the extreme northern point we steered off, with the trending of the land W. by S.; and, at sun-down, were up with the island, from whence I had taken Lay, having sailed nearly round the group. Here we hove to for the night.

[Description of Mili atoll]

The group of Mulgrave Islands, as they are called, form a circular chain of narrow strips of land, which are nowhere more than half a mile wide, inclosing within the circle an inland sea, 140 miles in circumference, filled with shoals and reefs of coral. It is everywhere bounded on the sea-side, by a bank of coral, that protects it from the violence of the ocean. This bank generally extends but a short distance from the shore, when it goes

1 Tamon, High Chief.

off into unfathomable water. As the chief's islet, where we buried the surgeon, it was wider than at any other place about the group, being upwards of a cable's length, which, for a low coral island, may be considered good anchorage. The whole circle is broken alternately into clumps, a few feet above the water, of level and low coral reefs, some of which are above high-water mark, and some sufficiently low to afford a passage for boats. The clumps vary in length, but none of them are more than two miles long, without an interruption of a dry or drowned reef. They are covered with a thick growth of bushes, and trees of small size, except where the cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees rear their tall heads, and wide-spreading branches. Wherever these grow, the underwood disappears, and the place has the appearance of an old forest, cleared for a pleasure ground, where a few trees have been left standing, for the advantage of their shade.

The bread-fruit tree is of two kinds. One is the same as that, which is found at the Society, Sandwich, and many other islands of the Pacific. This has no seed, and can only be produced by cuttings for the tree, or shoots, that spring up from the roots. The other kind is seminal, and very much superior to the first. It was not the bread-fruit season, when we were at the Mulgraves, and much to our regret, we could not obtain any of the seeds of this rare and valuable plant. This tree, in general, attains a size considerably larger than that of the common bread-fruit. The leaf of the bread-fruit tree strongly resembles that of the fig, and any one, who has seen the latter, would immediately recognize it, by the resemblance, and the fine rich foliage it bears, when growing luxuriantly. This is by far the most important production of the Mulgrave Islands. When the fruit is not blasted, as sometimes happens, there is a great plenty for the inhabitants. It lasts, however, only for a few weeks; and it is to be presumed, that the natives have no way of preserving it, in a dried or baked state, as is practised with many of the South Sea Islanders, none having been seen by us during our stay.

The cocoa-nut tree is next in value to the natives. Of this food there is an ample supply, unless the fruit is blasted. When the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut, both fail in the same year, the natives experience great distress, and are reduced to the necessity of living upon a fruit, they call *bup*. It is commonly used by the poorest people, and in small quantities by the chiefs at all times. It grows upon almost all the islands in the West Pacific; but, when wild, is much inferior to that growing on the trees which have a clear open space around them.

Lay lived upon the wild *bup* for a considerable time after the massacre, when residing with the poor old man, who saved his life, and before the high chief took compassion on him. It has a sweet taste, like the juice of a green corn-stalk. Bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and *bup*, is the only food of the inhabitants of the Mulgrave Islands, except at the season of the year, when great numbers of fish are taken. The industrious and enterprising have an abundant supply at that period; but it is only while the season lasts, as they are not in the practice of preserving them. The *bup* tree is the most remarkable of all the vegetable productions of the Mulgrave Islands. To shipwrecked seamen, it might be the means of sustaining life, when no other food could be found, and, as it is a never-failing resource, it ought to be generally known among those who

navigate the Pacific Ocean. The tree generally grows from 20 to 30 feet high, sometimes singly, but more frequently in small clusters. The diameter of the body rarely exceeds six inches. It has a hard thick bark, but the wood is spongy, like that of the cocoa-nut tree. It stands on from half a dozen to a dozen roots or prongs, by which it is propped up two or three feet from the ground. The fruit is an exact resemblance of a pine-apple. Its smell, when ripe, is at first agreeable, but, so powerful, that it soon becomes offensive. The taste of the ripe fruit has much the same effect—agreeable at first, like a mellow, sweet apple, but cloying and nauseous to the stomach, when taken in any quantity. The ripe fruit is never eaten by the natives of the Mulgraves. When green, it is not considered in a state to be eaten, until a beard, which grows out alongside of the stem, has acquired a length of four or five inches. It may then be taken from the tree, and eaten raw, or roasted between hot stones. The soft part of the seeds (if I may so call them) is alone palatable, the other part being hard and tough. The manner of eating it is, to twist the soft part off with the teeth, whereby the juice is expressed. There was but little about the islands that would excite the interest of either the botanist or naturalist. We saw but few flowers or plants. The islands were swarming with a species of small rat, that had a tuft of hair upon its tail. The natives spoke of them as being very troublesome. By throwing a small quantity of food upon the ground, near one of the huts, dozens of them could be collected together in a few moments.

[Marshallese customs]

When one of the natives is sick, the friends collect at the hut, where he is lying, and chant over him, to appease the offended spirit that has afflicted him. The same prescription is given for all diseases, which is a tea, made from an herb found upon the island. If death takes place, the friends of the deceased assemble, and mourn over the body, keeping it until it becomes very offensive. Frequently, in the midst of their most bitter mourning and lamentation, some of the mourners will intentionally say or do something calculated to excite mirth, when they all burst out into immoderate laughter, as if their mourning were the affectation of children, and as soon as the humorous excitement has passed over, again relapse into their mournful strain of howling and chanting. When the body can be kept no longer, and the day of interment arrives, the grave is dug, and the corpse taken upon sticks, and carried to it by the friends of the deceased, followed by a large concourse, who move along without order, and some one occasionally breaks in upon their solemnity by a humorous trick, which gives rise to others, and sets them all laughing. This is soon again succeeded by mourning. The body is lowered into the grave, and covered up, when a little canoe, with a sail to it, and laden with small pieces of cocoa-nut or other food, having been previously prepared, is taken to the seashore on the leeward part of the island, and sent off, with a fair wind, to bear far away from the island the spirit of the deceased, that it may not afterwards disturb the living. This ceremony is considered indispensably necessary, and is never neglected. At the head of the grave a cocoa-ut is planted, the tree that springs from which is held sacred and its fruits never eaten, in times of the greatest famine. Their burial places are usually

a short distance back of the houses, and the females are strictly prohibited from going to them.

Their marriages are conducted with but little ceremony. If a man fancies a female for his wife, he makes the proposal to her, which, if agreeable, he applies to her friends. They meet, and hold a consultation, as to the propriety of the match, and decide whether it shall take place. If the man's suit is denied, nothing more is said on the subject. When united, they are said to be very faithful, and jealous of each other's chastity. Lay or Huzzy related an occurrence, that took place during their residence on the islands, which shows how keely a sense of injury is felt by them, and that jealousy sometimes inspires them with the most ferocious and deadly revenge. A young man had taken a young woman as a wife, whom he supposed to be a virgin. In a very short time after she went to live with him, however, it was evident that she was pregnant, and before the period which nature has prescribed had elapsed, gave birth to a child. The indignant husband took the infant from its mother's arms, and in her presence dashed its head upon a stone in front of his hut. It was an act for which, under other circumstances, he would have suffered death, by a custom of the islands, forbidding the destroying of human life; and, as the female was of superior rank to the man, being the daughter of a chief, it was believed that he would be punished. Her friends were loud in their calls for justice upon the offender, until a council of the chiefs was called, and the matter brought before them.

After an investigation, the chiefs were satisfied, that the woman had grossly imposed upon her husband, whom they suffered to depart without censure. It is permitted to the men to have as many wives as they can get; but as food is very scarce, and they find it difficult to support one, there are few, even of the chiefs, who have more. The high chief was the only exception to this remark at the time of our visit. He had six, one of whom was particular favourite.

Latuano, the high chief of the Mulgraves, was called the greatest warrior that the islands had produced for a long time. He told us that in one of his wars he was driven from his islands, and remained (I think) fourteen days at sea in his canoe, most of the time out of sight of land. He steered for an island, which, according to the tradition of his countrymen, lay to the west [rather north] of the Mulgraves, and, after a great deal of suffering, arrived there in safety. The high chief of this isle (south Pedder's Island)¹ received him with kindness, and after he had visited thirteen different islands of the group,² sent him back to the Mulgraves with a fleet of canoes, and a great many men. He arrived there in safety, conquered his enemies, and at the time of our visit was tributary to the chief of Pedder's Island, who had given him a daughter or grand-daughter in marriage. They told us that every few years the chief of Pedder's Island, who is very powerful and very wise, sends a fleet of canoes to the Mulgraves, for tribute. Lay and Huzzy were to have been sent to him, as also the **Globe's** whale-boat and swivel. I was

1 Ed. note: Arno atoll.

2 Called the Reef Chain Tide Islands. Ed. comment: The Radak chain of Islands.

particularly struck with Latuano's strong resemblance to General Bolivar. His stature was about the same, and his face bore the same marks of care and serious thought, when his attention was not awakened to any particular thing; and, when animated by conversation, the same vivid expression beamed from his fine features, and sparkling black eyes.¹ I could not but think, when I was looking at him, that if he and General Bolivar could be placed near to each other, similarly dressed, it would be difficult to tell which was the Indian chief, and which the patriot hero.

The high chief is absolute in his authority, but, in the administration of justice, particularly where the life of an individual is concerned, he is influenced in passing judgment by the opinion of the chiefs of most consequence.² Like all other men, whether civilized or uncivilized, they have different grades of rank in their society, from the high chief down to the farthest remove of relationship to royalty. The different islets that are inhabited, are partitioned off to different chiefs, who acknowledge their subordination to the high chief, by sending him a part of whatever grows, or is taken within the limits of their government. They send him a portion of their cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and *bup*, and of the fish or birds, that may be caught by themselves or any of their people. The high chief requires this for the support of his numerous family. Besides his wives and children, he usually keeps a large number of men about him, who go in his canoe, and perform other essential duties in his service. Several of the principal chiefs are also in attendance, and live with him constantly. In his family, there is no ceremony, to remind the common people of their lowly condition. They all eat, drink, and sleep alike. In dress, there is nothing to distinguish the chiefs from the common people, except that the former sometimes wear a mat that comes down to the knee, of straw, and finely wrought. This, however, I believe, is only worn upon particular occasions.

[Mashallese clothing]

The men wear bunches of grass hanging down before and behind, such as I have described at our first anchorage, being about the size and appearance of a horse's tail. Those in most common use, were of a reddish colour; but a few of them were white. The bark of which they are made is taken from a long running vine. The boys go quite naked until they are ten or twelve years old, when a dress similar to that of the men is put on them. Their ornaments consist of shell bracelets and necklaces, and sometimes a string of them is put round the head; flowers, when they can be obtained, are often used instead of shells. Many of the men, and some of the women have large slits in their

1 Ed. note: Lieut. Paulding had met Bolivar in person in the mountains of Peru. Bolivar was a mulatto.

2 Lay witnessed the execution of a man during his residence at the Mulgraves. I do not remember the nature of his offence. He was not bound, or in any way confined; but, after it was determined that he should die, several men attacked him with spears and stones. He fought desperately to the last, although his situation was altogether hopeless, freely bestowing upon his enemies the epithets of cowards and murderers. Even when he could no longer resist, his spirit was unconquered—and he breathed his last, with expressions of scorn and hatred on his lips.

ears, through which they put rolls of leaves from one to two inches in diameter. The women wear beautiful white straw mats, of elegant workmanship, about two feet square, and sometimes larger, bordered round the edge, from one to two inches, with black diamond figures, worked in with coloured straw, died with the husk of the coconut. They usually wear two of these mats, one of which is behind and the other before, tied round the waist with a beautiful round cord of braided straw. The ornaments of the women are the same as those worn by the men.

[Marshallese religion]

They have no manner of worship. They acknowledge the existence of a Great Spirit whom they call **Kenneet** [rather Anit], and who they say, can make them sick and kill them; they look for nothing good from him, and, so far as I could learn, have no idea of rewards and punishments after death.

They have a sort of conjurers among them, for whose art they entertain great reverence, and in whom they place a strict reliance. To them they apply in all cases of great emergency. Their art consists in having a large bunch of straws, which they fold double and tie in a great many different ways; if, after the straws are thus folded, doubled, and tied, they can be drawn out without being in any manner entangled the one with the other, the omen is propitious; but otherwise, the contemplated undertaking is relinquished. On the following morning it is again resorted to, and so on until success is promised. It must never be tried but in the morning, and only once on the same day. The morning I took Lay from the natives, the chiefs had recourse to this art before they would allow him to speak to us; they were promised good fortune, otherwise he would have been concealed from us. He who cannot perform the mysteries of this art, is not allowed to drink from the same cup with him who can.

They had a great aversion to hearing us whistle, particularly in their houses, and would invariably run up to say of our people when they were whistling, and with a fearful look, beg them to stop; saying, it would bring spirits about the house that would make them sick and kill them. If one of them has wronged another who has died, or if they were enemies, he never eats without throwing away a portion of his good to appease the ghost of the departed.¹

At a meeting we had with the chiefs on shore, the captain remarked an old man in the circle, whose name and character he asked of Lay or Huzzy; being replied to, he said, in a stern manner that he did not like his face, meaning that he looked like a bad man. The old fellow, seeing himself the subject of conversation, asked the interpreter what the captain was saying about him. On being told, his countenance expressed the utmost dismay, and in a day or two afterwards, he died. There was not a native on the islands with whom Lay or Huzzy conversed, that did not believe the captain's dislike

¹ Lay frequently saw the people, who performed the execution I have mentioned in a former note, throw away portions of their food, as an offering to the spirit of him they had slain.

killed the old man. They seemed to entertain the most singular notions of the captain's supernatural powers.

For the purpose of ascertaining what idea the high chief entertained of a God, the captain asked him several questions, to which his answers were vague and unsatisfactory. He thought he had conceived the right one, when he asked the chief who he thought made it thunder. After a moment's hesitation, he looked at the captain and replied: "I suppose you can make it thunder." This was as satisfactory as any thing he could be made to express. Thunder he believed was produced by the agency of a being superior to himself, and the captain he conceived to be infinitely his superior.

Not long after the massacre of the white men, the natives were visited by a disease that caused their limbs to swell, and produced great distress among them; it was before unknown, and they ascribed it to Lay and Huzzy, who, they believed, had the power to afflict them in that manner, and had done it to be revenged for the death of their countrymen. They finally charged them with it, and threatened to kill them, which, in all probability they would have done, but for their superstitious fear of some greater evil.

[Marshallese houses]

Their huts are not, generally, more than ten by fifteen feet, and from ten to fifteen feet high. They are divided into two apartments, upper and lower; the lower is open all round, without any thatching; the floor is raised a little above the adjacent ground, and covered over with small pieces of the cleanest and whitest coral that can be found. The rafters and small sticks that are laid across them for the thatching, are secured by twine made from the outer husk of cocoa-nut, with which the thatching is also secured. The thatch is the leaves of palm or cocoa-nut. The ceiling of the lower room is generally so low, that one must bend almost double to get into it, and if you remain, it must be in a lying or sitting posture. The garret has a floor of sticks thickly interwoven with leaves; it is higher than the ground floor, and has an air of comfort. The natives keep their provisions in it, and all such things as they would preserve from the rats. They also sleep there in wet weather. In the floor, a hole is left just large enough for a person to crawl through, and so far from the sides that the rats cannot get to it.

[Marshallese canoes]

Their canoes display the greatest ingenuity, and I have no doubt, that in a civilized country, they would be ranked among the rarest specimens of human industry, unassisted but by the rudest implements. The model is most singular, and differs from all that I have ever seen in use, either in the European or American world. Its construction is so remarkable, and in many respects so inconvenient, that it seems improbable the model should have had its origin in any other cause than the want of suitable timber for a more perfect structure. The depth of a Mulgrave canoe, of common size, is four or five feet; its length from thirty to forty. It is so narrow that a man can scarcely stand in it; perfectly flat on one side, and round on the other. It is sharp at both ends. The

mast if from twelve to twenty-five feet long, and the sail (a straw mat) which is bent to a small yard, is very large in proportion to the canoe. They always sail on the flat side, and have the mast a little inclined forward. It is supported by shrouds and a guy at either end, which is used at pleasure to give the mast its proper inclination. In beating to windward, instead of tacking as we do, and presenting the other side of the boat to the wind, they bring the other end of the boat to it, making that the bow which was before the stern. Amidships there are several light spars extending about ten feet over the round side, and four over the other. Across these are smaller sticks, which are securely lashed above and below, and over them is made a platform. Upon that part of it which extends over the flat side, they have a small thatched cabin, in which they store whatever they wish to preserve from getting wet, or would conceal from observation. The other part of the platform is intended to keep the canoe from being upset; and when hard pressed with carrying sail, several men will sometimes get on it, to keep the canoe upright. They move through the water with astonishing velocity, and, in turning to windward, no boats can surpass them. Although the natives had no other tools to work with than what they made of shells, previous to the visit of the **Globe**, every article of their workmanship is neat, and as highly polished as though it had been wrought with steel. In the construction of their canoes, the keel-stern and sternpost are solid pieces of hard wood, upon which they are built up of small pieces laid one above the other, and closely seized on with the line of cocoa-husk. The seams are neither caulked or payed, and the canoe consequently leaks so much as to require one man to bail constantly. The steerage is very laborious; they have no rudder, and the only means by which they steer, is with a long flat paddle held in the hands of the helmsman. To steer a large canoe in blowing weather, requires the utmost strength of six or eight men. Upon the outriggers or platforms, and along the masts, they arrange their spears, which are always taken with them, even upon the most ordinary occasions. The canoes are also always balanced with a quantity of round stones, weighing about a pound each, which forms a material part of their armament.

Our carpenter was several days at work upon the canoe of the high chief, caulking and graving her. When he had completed his work, the high chief, after expressing his gratification, earnestly solicited the captain to leave him on the island; he said that he would always provide him an abundance to eat, and that no-one should ever hurt him. This, according to the high chief's standard, was the most ample reward that he could promise for useful services.

[Description of the Marshallese people]

The people of the Mulgraves are in general of moderate stature, and well made. Their complexion is not so dark as that of the natives of the Duke of Clarence and Byron's Islands, and their features more comely. They appeared to us like a different race of men. They have not the flat noses and thick lips of the low islanders, except that two or three persons we saw would come under that description. Their hair is long and invariably combed out with great neatness, and tied on the top of their heads. Their de-

portment is modest and manly, and after one becomes a little accustomed to their dress, they have always an air of gentility. They have a fine majestic walk, which one would hardly suppose, when it is considered that their way is everywhere paved with sharp coral.

After we had given them the pigs, it was amusing to see with what apparent pleasure they carried them about in their arms, nursing them with as much care and tenderness, as though they had been children, while the pigs, unused to such treatment, were kicking and scratching the naked bodies of the poor natives, and squealing away most lustily. We had to interfere to keep the pigs from being killed with kindness, and finally prevailed upon the chief to forbid their being petted in this style. It is not improbable that, in a few years, the whalers that may have occasion to cruise in the vicinity of these islands, will find an abundant supply. It is hoped, however, that until they become numerous, no navigator who may chance to touch there, will encourage the natives to diminish their number.

[Arno atoll]

At 4 a.m., on the 9th of December, we took our departure from the Mulgrave Islands, and stood to the westward [rather northward]. At daylight, we had lost sight of the group, and at 10 a.m. made South Pedder [Arno] Island. Having stood a little too far to the southward, we were all day beating up to weather the N.E. point, where, at sun-down, we hove to in the hope that on the following morning we should be able to effect a landing, and get a sight of the great chief, so celebrated among the people we had just left.

On the 11th of December, having passed all the early part of the day searching in vain for anchorage, we hove to, a little after meridian, opposite to a considerable bay, upon the shore of which was a native village, and large forests of cocoa-nut trees. The captain took Huzzy in the gig, and, followed by another boat, pulled in over a wide coral bank to the village. A few people were attracted to the shore by the appearance of our boats. They immediately conducted the captain to the chief, who was seated on a mat in the open air, in front of his hut. He seemed but little moved at the unexpected appearance of his visitors. He was a very old man, and had a long white beard that came down upon his breast. The natives stood round in respectful silence, as the old chief addressed the captain, whom he soon distinguished as the person of highest rank among the strangers. He spoke the same language as the inhabitants of the Mulgraves, and Huzzy was forbidden to let him know that he was understood, but to listen attentively to what he was saying to those around him. For a time his intercourse with the captain was carried on by signs, and Huzzy overheard him say to the natives, standing by: "Don't disturb them yet. Wait until tomorrow, and see what they are going to do. They will look round here to see what they can find, trade a little, and go on board of their vessel, to sleep, and tomorrow they will come again." When the captain told Huzzy to address some questions to the chief in his own language, it seemed to operate as quickly as an electric shock upon the natives, who stared wildly around at him, and at each

other, with looks of the utmost astonishment. The chief partially lost his gravity in the sensation it produced, being not less surprised than his subjects. He asked Huzzy, before answering the question put to him, where he had learned to speak the language of Pedder's Island. Huzzy replied, that he had learned it at the Mulgrave Islands, where he had been for two years. The old chief said, that he had been informed of two white men being there, and was then fitting out a fleet of canoes to send after them. He expressed a great deal of disappointment, that we had taken them away, saying, he would have had them brought to his own island, and treated them well. He asked, if Lay was also on board of the vessel.

The captain had taken on shore a present for the chief, and a number of trifles, that he thought might be acceptable to the natives. Our people endeavoured to obtain a quantity of cocoa-nuts and *bup*, of which there was the greatest abundance; but the natives parted with their fruit very reluctantly. When finally the captain addressed the chief, upon the subject of giving or selling us a supply, he said: "No! that his island was thickly inhabited, and produced no more food than was necessary for his people. That, if we were in want of cocoa-nuts and *bup*, there were other islands, not far to the westward [rather northward], where there was an abundance, and but few people, and he advised our going there as speedily as possible." Upon being asked, if he had ever seen white men before, he replied: "Yes; that a long time ago there came a large vessel, in which there were white men, who brought their forge on shore, where they remained for several days. This, he said, was the only instance."¹ The young women were all sent away, and concealed in the thickets, or upon a distant part of the island, where they remained during the whole day.

Among other presents made by the captain to the high chief, was a battle-axe—to him an article of the greatest value. He received it, however, with reluctance, expressing his regret, that he had it not in his power to make a suitable return for so valuable a consideration, accompanying his apology with a small present of mats, cocoa-nuts, and a preparation of the ripe *bup*, that had an agreeable sweet taste.

It was after dark when our party left the village, and went to the beach to embark. They had already left the shore a few yards, when some natives came running down, and called for them to return, saying, the chief had another mat for the captain. They landed, when they were told, that the mat was in the village, and that Huzzy must go for it. The captain, not choosing to send for the mat, put off again. In a few moments two or three other messengers came running to the beach, calling for the boat to return. When she had pulled in a few yards from the shore, they said that the chief wanted Huzzy to go up to the village for the mat, and that he did not wish to keep the axe, which he had sent back to the captain, unwilling, as we supposed, to lay himself under so great an obligation as its acceptance implied. The captain refused to take the axe, telling the messenger to say to his chief, that what we had given, we never took back, and, with this, left the shore and returned on board. The tide had risen considerably

1 Ed. note: A probable reference to Captain Kotzebue who brought a forge ashore at Wotje in 1817.

over the coral bank, and the party found the surf somewhat dangerous in returning, having their boats nearly filled with water.

The dress and general appearance of these people, as well as their language, was the same as that of the natives of the Mulgraves. Their canoes were also the same. We saw only three or four with sails, which were hauled upon the beach. The power of the great chief must, therefore, consist in his dominion over other islands to the northward and westward of him, where there is an almost connected chain for several hundred miles, and from which, when he undertakes an important enterprise, he must, in a great measure, draw his resources. It was probably with the object of collecting forces for the great chief, that Latuano visited so many islands during his exile from his own, and to which he was at last restored by foreign aid.

At 8 in the evening, we made sail to the northward and westward, with a fresh breeze from the eastward. The weather was clear, and we stood on under easy sail all night. Early in the morning land was discovered, bearing nearly west, and soon afterwards more land was seen to the north. The last [sic] was Ibbetson's Island, and appeared to be separate from that discovered first. It is not improbable, however, that they are connected by coral reefs, that were too distant from us to be observed.¹

The land was all low, and had the appearance of the Mulgraves and other coral islands. At meridian, we hove to, and put off in two boats. Having passed to leeward of the island, we crossed a drowned reef, that extended as far as the eye could reach to the N.W., when we found ourselves in an inland sea, which was extensive and quite smooth. That part of the island where we landed was about five miles long, and a quarter of a mile wide. Upon the margin of this inland sea, there were a number of huts, but when we landed, not an inhabitant could be seen. The huts had evidently been but recently occupied. The island was covered abundantly with cocoa-nut and *bup* trees, and a few of the bread-fruit were here and there to be seen. On the shore of the inland sea the water was smooth and unruffled, and the humble but neat dwellings of the natives, scattered about among the cocoa forests, presented a scene of quiet and repose, peculiarly soothing to the mind, contrasted with the eternal war of breakers on the ocean side. We had not been long on shore before we found a few old people, who had concealed themselves in the bushes, and, although they were at first afraid of us, they became less timid, and increased in number, when we had presented them with some pieces of iron, and a few old buttons. In return, they gave us mats, fishing-nets, cocoa-nuts, and *bup*, with the last of which they filled our boat. Their dress and language was the same as at the Mulgraves, and their habitations and canoes were also the same. Among all these islands, the natives ascend the cocoa-nut trees, in the way I have described at the Marquesas. Here we saw several very old people, some of whom had lost all their teeth—a circumstance we had not before remarked in any of these islands. There were also two of three cripples, who were not less remarkable, being the first we had seen. All the fe-

1 Ed. note: The first they saw was Aur, otherwise known as Ibbetson's (1788), and the last was Kaven, or Maloelap, otherwise known as Calverts (1788).

males were very old, and, upon inquiring the cause, they replied, that the young men had sent the young women away, for fear they would be given presents. Two of three large sail canoes came from a great distance over the inland sea, and approached us without fear. The natives told us that they had never seen white men before.

The captain landed upon a different island from myself, and the natives, having fled from their habitations as they did upon the island where I landed, he sent a few old people, that were found, commanding all the inhabitants to return to their homes, and, fearing his displeasure, in a few minutes their huts were occupied in the same manner as though the white-faced strangers had not appeared among them.

At 5 p.m., we returned to the schooner, with our boats laden with fruit, and soon afterwards made sail, shaping our course for the Sandwich Islands.

...

[Recent discoveries by U.S. whalers]

At meridian of December the 24th, we were, by our calculation, thirty miles from an island, said to have been discovered recently by a whaler, and which we made to bear from us E. by N. Our latitude observed was 25°57' N., longitude by chronometer, 186°27' W. We ran off to the eastward all the following day, and at meridian, December 25th, observed, in latitude 26° N., longitude 183°20' W., without having seen the slightest indications of land.

On Christmas Day, we gave the crew a dinner of turtle, which were still fat, and very delicious.¹ We had fed them occasionally upon *bup* and other vegetation, that was found upon the islands.

December the 27th, we came within the vicinity of another new discovery by a whaler, and at meridian, had it bearing, by our calculation, S.E. 10 miles. We ran for it until 6 p.m., December 28th, when no appearance of land being in sight, we hove about, and stood to the northward, for a newly-discovered reef, which, at meridian, bore from us, by calculation N. by E., distant 100 miles. Latitude observed, 26°10' N., longitude, by chronometer, 176°51' W. The reef for which we were now steering was called, by the discoverer, Clark's Reef. It was said to extend 60 miles, in a SW and NE direction, and we thought it impossible that it should escape our observation, if laid down anywhere near the given latitude and longitude.²

At 9 p.m., December the 30th, we were within 25 miles of the centre of the reef, by our calculation, and as it was blowing a gale, and we were scudding before it with an unusually high sea, we hove to for the night. At 8 a.m., we again made sail, and ran for the centre of the reef. At meridian, December the 31st, the centre of it was still 25 miles from us, bearing N.E. by N. From meridian to 1 p.m., we steered N. by E., and then bore up, and steered east all the rest of the 24 hours, without seeing the reef or any in-

1 Ed. note: Turtles they had brought all the way from the Galapagos Islands.

2 Ed. note: They were then south of Pearl and Hermes Reef, discovered in 1822.

dications of it. At meridian, observed, in latitude $26^{\circ}47'$ N., longitude, by chronometer, $172^{\circ}11'$ W.

We continued on to the eastward, with the hope of falling in with two islands and a reef, of another whaler's discovery.¹ Our confidence in their given latitude and longitude, however, was quite destroyed by frequent disappointments, and we now looked for their discoveries, as we would have sought for lands, known only in the tradition of the natives of some unfrequented island, with the hope of finding them, but with little expectation of success. It happened with these, as with all the rest of the new discoveries we had looked for. We passed within a few miles of the latitude, and ran down from one to two degrees of longitude, without observing any thing that indicated the vicinity of land.

On the second of January, 1826, we ran off to the southward of east for Ballard's Island. During the middle of the day, the sea, from being very heavy, became comparatively smooth, and continued so for 60 miles, when the heavy swell again set in from the westward, as before.

At three p.m., on the 4th of January, a rock was reported from the mast-head, 8 leagues from us. It proved to be Ballard's Island, as it is called. At 8 on the following morning, we passed within 200 yards of it. It is about 200 to 300 yards in circumference, and rises 200 feet from the sea. On one side it has a considerable inclination, where seals had crawled up, and several were basking in the sun, almost to the very top. Large flocks of birds were perched upon its ragged sides, or wending their flight around it. Not the least sign of vegetation was anywhere to be seen. Near its base, was a small rock, from 10 to 20 feet above the water level. Ballard's Rock rises in three equidistant peaks, the centre of which is the highest, and all of them, to the very base, are white with bird-lime. A high surf breaks all around it. Our observations placed it in north latitude, $25^{\circ}2'$, and west longitude $167^{\circ}50'$.²

...

The nearest of the Sandwich Group was Bird Island, for which we steered, and on the 9th of January, at 8 in the morning (having the preceding night been enveloped in fog) it was discovered close to us. We tacked and stood back close in with the SW side, where was a small sandy beach, 50 to 100 yards long.

The captain, taking the **Globe's** whale-boat, went in shore to fish, but seeing a few seals upon the sand beach, was induced to land. It soon afterwards became squally and blew with great violence. The surf upon the beach rose with the wind, and, when the captain, after a short examination of the island, attempted to return, he found it impossible to launch his boat through the surf, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the night upon the island. The captain and his boat's crew took shelter in a cavern upon the sea-shore, where they had not been long by a comfortable fire they had made,

1 Ed. note: They were close to one island (Laysan) and two reefs (Maro and Dowsett).

2 Ed. note: Brigham's Index gives it the name of Gardner Island, discovered by the U.S. whaler Maro on 2 June 1820. Starbuck (p. 228) mentions this voyage of the Maro of Nantucket, under Captain Joseph Allen, 1819-22.

when, by the rising of the tide the sea broke in upon them, and they with difficulty escaped to the side of the rocks, and thence upon the sand-beach. The island was high and almost perpendicular, and with the floods that fell and rushed down its steep sides, rocks of a large size were disengaged from their beds, and came tumbling down in every direction, to the great peril of the captain and his boat's crew, sufficiently uncomfortable from the torrents of water that were falling and driving upon the gale. After a little search, they found an asylum in a cave at the side of a mountain, where they passed the night...

Documents 1825D

The crews of a Spanish fleet mutinied at Guam

D1. The report of Governor Ganga Herrero

Source: PNA.

Government of the Marianas—Letter n° 128.

Most Illustrious Sir:

During the month of December last [1824] when all the English ships—that I talked about in my previous report that I sent aboard the ship **Mary**, Captain Edward David—had already left, the ship **Transit** arrived, and within a few days, the ship **Briton** also; both have left during January to pursue whale-fishing. Recently, the ships **Supply** and **Melantho** have arrived for the same purpose; they are anchored and I do not know when they will sail.

A Spanish naval expedition has arrived and anchored in the port of Umata. It consists of the ship **Asia**, the frigate **Caristo** and the brigs **Aquiles** and **Constante** under the general command of Colonel Roque Guruzeta whom, according to a letter and his verbal report, I understand left Cadiz with a commission from the King our Lord, Ferdinand VII, to visit all the states and ports of the Spanish kingdom to proclaim the absolute sovereignty of our Lord the said Monarch on the occasion of his having abolished the Constitution in Spain. He is on his way to that Capital and for this reason I forward the correspondence of this Government.

This is what I communicate to Your Lordship, for your information.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Agaña, 9 March 1825.

José Ganga Herrero.

[To the] Most Illustrious Captain General, and Superior Political Head of the Philippines.

D2. The narrative of General Andrés García Camba

Sources: His book entitled: "Los diez y seis de mando superior de Filipinas (Cadiz, 1839); quoted in Vol. 3 of Montero y Vidal's Historia general.

Notes: General Camba was defeated at the Battle of Ayacucho, Peru, on 9 December 1824, a battle which resulted in the loss of South America for Spain. On 1 January 1825, he and his army boarded the above-mentioned squadron and headed for Manila, but the crews mutinied at Guam and landed Camba

and his officers, who pursued their voyage aboard English whaling ships. Governor General Ricafort appointed him Major General of the Army. He later became Governor General.

Original text in Spanish.

...
Por escasez, particularmente de agua, fondeamos en la rada de Umatac, en las islas Marianas, y al levar el ancla en la noche del 10 al 11 de Marzo, se perdieron estos buques à causa de la más inesperada rebelión.¹ Corrí la suerte de los oficiales de marina, después de haber contribuido eficazísimamente à contener los atroces demasías que algunos de los amotinados se proponían, y con ellos fuí desembarcado en la isla de Guajan, y en buques ingleses balleneros llegamos todos el 4 de Abril à Manila, donde hallamos favorable acogida y la mayor hospitalidad en los habitantes de todas clases.

Translation.

...
 Because of shortages, specially of water, we dropped anchor in the roads of Umatac in the Mariana Islands, but upon weighing the anchor during the night of 10th to 11th March, these ships were lost on account of the unexpected revolt.² I suffered the same fate as the navy officers, but not until I had succeeded very efficiently to contain the extreme atrocities that some of the mutineers had planned to carry out. With them I was landed [by force] at the Island of Guam, and, aboard [two] English whaling ships we all arrived at Manila on 4 April. There we were received favorably and with the best possible hospitality by the inhabitants of all classes.

Editor's notes—List of personnel on board.

Source: MN 2260, Doc. 39, fol. 91-96.

Note: More documents about this mutiny can be found at the Spanish Naval Archives in Viso del Marqués (ref. Vigón's Guía del Archivo Museo 'D. Alvaro de Bazan.').

-
- 1 Note by Montero y Vidal: "Los sublevados izaron el pabellón de las Repúblicas insurgentes de América, à cuyas costas volvieron."
 - 2 Note by Montero y Vidal: "The mutineers raised the flag of the insurgent republics of America, to whose coasts they returned."

Document 1825E

The Spanish ship Flor de Mar suspected of being an insurgent ship

Source: PNA.

Letter from Governor Ganga, dated Agaña 23 July 1825

Year of 1825—Letter of the Governor of the Marianas which deals with the arrival at that island of the Spanish frigate named **Flor de Mar** under the command of her owner, Captain Manuel Coll—Letter N° 140.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In a letter dated 30 May, the Mayor of the Town of Umata reported to me the following:

“Dear Governor, Sir: I inform You that today between 7 and 8 p.m. there anchored the Spanish frigate that had been seen from the Town, and I enclose a piece of paper. May God keep You for many years. Umata, 30 May 1825. Domingo Quinagra(?)”

As said report does not state what it should and the paper note (attached) is nothing more than a note without a date, signature, nor a statement to the effect that it was on the way to Manila, or to any other parts, or whether it needed anything, etc., I became persuaded that it was an insurgent ship, and I answered that she should be kept under observation and reports made to me, hoping that if it was truly Mr. Manuel Coll, he would send a letter to my attention as is done even by the most ordinary English captain who anchors in the ports of this island. However, I did not receive this satisfaction. Rather, the next day, a young man from Umata arrived and when I asked him what he brought, the first thing he did was take out 5 pesos from a handkerchief, saying: *“Here I bring this money from the Captain of the ship. He told me to ask you to sell him some biscuits, sugar and potatoes(?), and I have to return quickly because he will leave as soon as I get back.”*

I put to Your consideration the said impolite conduct for not having written me a formal letter and the young man with the five pesos, as it was my main motive for not offering myself to such a Captain, or entrust letters to him for that Superior Government. If it is true that said Coll was the owner of the ship, and hoped to be appreciated as such during his stay of 2 or 3 days that it took her to take on water, I inform and

remit said note so that the true owner can be confronted, and You may have this done to make justice to the case.

I was unable to find out for sure what was his destination, and the only thing they told me after his departure, is that he said that he was expecting me in Umata, and that the sailors were saying that they were on their way to Manila.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Agaña, 23 July 1825.

José Ganga Herrero.

[To the] Most Illustrious Captain General, Military and Political Governor of the Philippines.

[Endorsement:] The Spanish frigate **Flor del Mar** [sic], belonging to the Manila trade, her Captain and owner Don Manuel Coll, with 53 days of navigation from the coasts of New Spain.¹

1 Ed. note: There is no information about this ship, or owner, in Blair & Robertson's *The Philippine Islands*.

Notes 1825F

The French whaler Triton, Captain Upham, may have visited Micronesia

Introductory notes.

Source: Philippe Lucas' Master's Degree thesis entitled: "Mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire. Les trois premières campagnes du baleinier 'Le Triton' de l'armement Dobrée de Nantes (1822-1828)." Research work carried out under the supervision of Mr. Fiéran of the University of Nantes, from 1972 to 1974.

First voyage, 1822-24(?)

Not to Micronesia. Her officers at the beginning of the cruise were:

- John Upham, 1st Captain, 40 years old, born at Nantucket;
- J. Le Guen, 2nd Captain, 28 years old, born at Bréhat;
- E. Hughes, 1st Mate, 25 years old, born at Greenwich;
- P. Guyomard, Surgeon, 24 years old, born at Guimamp.

Second voyage, 1824-1826.

Possibly crossed Micronesia.

- John Upham, 1st Captain, residing at Paimboeuf;
- J. M. Allys, 2nd Captain, residing at Lorient;
- W. MacBean, 1st Mate, residing at Inverness;
- L. J. Gauthier, Surgeon, residing at Nantes.

This Gauthier was then 48 years old, and quite possibly the oldest man aboard the Triton. He left a logbook (see below).

Third voyage, 1826(?)–1828.¹

- John Upham, 1st Captain, 44 years old, residing at Paimboeuf;
- ... Lateste, 2nd Captain, 39 years old, residing at Roscoff;
- J. Rateau, 1st Mate, 24 years old, residing at Bréhat;
- W. Williams, 2nd Mate, 24 years old, residing at London;
- L. J. Gauthier, Surgeon, 49 years old, residing at Nantes.

¹ Ed. note: However, Jones' Ships (p. 82, last line) states that this ship arrived back at Bordeaux from the South Seas on 21 April 1827 (not 1828); this is the only reference to this whaler in Jones.

Reference—Logbook kept by L. J. Gauthier, surgeon.

Source: L. J. Gauthier, manuscript logbook entitled: "Livre de bord de Gauthier, chirurgien," in Carton 0016 Dobrée Papers, in Bibliothèque Municipale (Médiathèque) de Nantes.

Editor's note: This library was closed when I visited Nantes in July 1990. Therefore, I could not check this logbook.

Document 1825G

Guam port fees, dated 19 July 1825

Source: Governor de la Corte's Memoria descriptiva é histórica, page 256.

Port fees of 19 July 1825.

Duties, in silver reals, to be charged for the anchorage, cleaning of the port, and port captaincy services, to all vessels, large or small, either Spanish or of other nationalities, that anchor in the port of Apra in the Island of Guam, in accordance with the decision of H.M. dated 7 July 1801 for all port captaincies, by the addition of Article 172, Title 5, of the General Ordinances of the Royal Navy.

[For Spanish vessels:]

Capacity of vessel, in thousand quintals:	15 to 20	10 to 15	5 to 10	2.5 to 5	1 to 2.5	0.5 to 1	0.2 to .5	Less than .2
Anchorage	24	20	15	12	8	6	4	2
Cleaning of port	20	15	10	8	6	4	3	2
Port captaincy	24	20	16	13	10	6	4	2

NOTICE.

Foreign merchant vessels that enter the bay and anchor in any points mentioned in the present article must pay twice the sum established for Spanish vessels, for every type of duties, i.e. anchorage, cleaning, and port captaincy, as is the practice in the ports of Spain.

FEES FOR ISSUANCE OF CERTIFICATES.

For each certificate of arrival and departure requested by Captains of Spanish merchant vessels, they are to pay 24 silver reals to the port captain.

The office of the port captain of Cavite and Manila, 19 July 1825.

Domingo Siñeriz.

Note 1825H

Whalers reported by ship Ontario in 1825-26

Source: Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. A. 464.1: Log of ship Ontario, 1824-27. Captain Alexander D. Bunker's Voyage to the South Seas.

Note: The whaling ship Ontario left Nantucket on 1 September 1824 and visited Peru and the off shore grounds on the Equator, then to Hawaii, the Japan Grounds, the NW Coast of America, the Galapagos, Marquesas, Hawaii, again on Japan, Hawaii, Tahiti and back home in January 1827.

Ships spoken to in the Pacific Ocean.

Month	Name of ship	Name of Captain
—March 1825	Recovery of London,	Capt. Brooks;
—March 1825	Swift of New Bedford,	Capt. Allen;
—April 1825	Swift [of Nantucket],	Capt. Arthur;
—June 1825	Melantho of London,	Capt. Noah Folger;
—August 1825	Foxhound of London,	Capt. Emmet;
—August 1825	Stanton of Fairhaven,	Capt. Howland; ¹
—December 1825	Offley of London,	Capt. Stavers;
—December 1825	Phenix of New Bedford,	Capt. Stetson;
—January 1826	Alliance of Newport,	Capt. Swain;
—January 1826	Mercury of New Bedford,	Capt. Austin; ²
—January 1826	Roscoe of New Bedford,	Capt. Worth;
—February 1826	North America of Nantucket,	Capt. Ramsdell [sic]; ³
—March 1826	Weymouth of Nantucket,	Capt. Harris;
—May 1826	Commodore Perry of New London,	Capt. Smith;
—June 1826	John Adams of Nantucket,	Capt. Folger;
—December 1826	Pacific of New Bedford,	Capt. Potter;
—January 1827	Brig Persia of Salem,	Capt. Lovett.

1 Ed. note: See Log Inv. by Sherman, et al., Entry #4454. See Doc. 1826E.

2 Ed. note: Idem, #3220.

3 Ed. note: Left Nantucket under Capt. Franklin Chase who died on the outward passage (ref. Starbuck, pp. 250- 251).

Document 1826A

Ships that visited Guam, August-December 1826

Source: PNA.

List of ship arrivals and departures, Guam, between 2 August and this date [i.e. 31 December 1826], by Governor Medinilla.

Note. The report was submitted by the port captain of the Port of San Luis de Apra, Nicolás de León Guerrero, and approved by Governor José de Medinilla y Pineda. See next page.

Arr./Dep.	Ship name	Captain	From/to	Tons	Men	Guns	Remarks
2 Aug/2 Aug	Princess Mary ¹	John Smith	London/London	250	27	2	Did not anchor.
18 Aug/30 Aug	Lyra ²	John Renneck	London/whaling	250	22	2	Stopped for wood and water.
26 Aug/7 Sept	Lady Amherst ³	William Lisle	London/whaling	450	31	2	Stopped for wood and water.
8 Sept/10 Oct	Bolivar ⁴	Charles Merrick	New York/Manila	150	13	8	Stopped to await monsoon.
6 Oct/2 Nov	Sir Ch. Price ⁵	John Butler	London/whaling	300	27	2	Idem + for wood and water.
6 Oct/18 Oct	Rambler ⁶	William Worth	Nantucket/whaling	360	30	2	Idem + for wood and water.
7 Oct/15 Nov	Indispensable ⁷	John Fenton	London/whaling	380	31	4	Idem + for maintenance.
11 Oct/14 Oct	Amelia Wilson ⁸	Michael Underwood	London/whaling	360	32	4	Did not anchor.
20 Oct/3 Nov	Harvest ⁹	Richard Macy	Nantucket/whaling	360	27	2	For water and fresh provisions.
20 Oct/4 Nov	Atlantic	John J. Gardner	Nantucket/whaling	270	22	2	Idem.
22 Oct/6 Nov	Hope ¹⁰	N. Harris	London/whaling	227	27	2	Idem.
22 Oct/10 Dec	Dawn ¹¹	John Butler [sic]	New York/whaling	360	27	2	Idem.
24 Oct/27 Dec	Prudent ¹²	William Gulliver	London/whaling	227	29	2	Idem.

1 Ed. note: Reported "clean" March 1826. Left Guam & reached Thames in January 1827 (ref. Jones' Ships, pp. 79, 82).

2 Ed. note: Left London at beginning Nov. 1824; reported at Mauritius homeward bound Dec. 1826 (id. pp. 76, 62).

3 Ed. note: Left London at beginning Dec. 1824; returned end March 1827 (id., pp. 76, 79, 82).

4 Ed. note: A small, but well armed, Yankee brig whose name did not please the authorities at Guam.

5 Ed. note: Left England mid-Nov. 1825 with Capt. May. No record of return date (id., pp. 79, 80, 85).

6 Ed. note: The 1825-28 voyage of the Rambler is listed in Starbuck's History of the American Whale Fishery.

7 Ed. note: Left England mid-July 1824, reported off Peru January 1825, returned England Sept. 1827 (Jones, pp. 74, 78, 84).

8 Ed. note: Left Thames River 30 Nov. 1824. At Guam Nov. 1825 also. Timor FMarch 1827, off Cape Verde July 1827 (id., pp. 76, 79, 84).

9 Ed. note: The 1825-28 voyages of ships Harvest and Atlantic are listed in Starbuck. Harvest discovered Namoluk in 1827.

10 Ed. note: Left Thames 3 Sept. 1825 and returned on 7 July 1828 (id. pp. 79, 85).

11 Ed. note: 1825-28 voyage listed in Starbuck, but with a Captain Gardner reportedly in command. Butler is listed twice here, by mistake.

12 Ed. note: Left England end Nov. 1824, reported between Tahiti & N.Z. Dec. 1825, and back home mid-Nov. 1827 (id., pp. 76, 84).

Documents 1826B

Official record book for Governor Medinilla's second term of office, 1826-1831

*Source; LC Mss. Division, Spanish Colonial Government, Item 17; cited in B&R 53: 379; 53 leaves.
Note: See Safford, pp. 117 & 119: The day when Medinilla replaced Ganga-Herrero.*

Letter book of Governor Medinilla containing documents dated from Manila, 20 April 1826 to 7 March 1831

[Title: "Government book in which is inscribed the title and royal provision with which Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Captain of the Third Veteran Infantry Battalion of the Line of the army of Manila, was appointed to the posts of Governor and senior judge of these Mariana Islands. This book is to be used also to record the titles, despatches or appointments that this person will make during his term of office."]

Some appointments made by Governor Medinilla during his second term.

- Blas Larriva Lopez became Adjutant 2nd class on 1 September 1826;
- Vidal Valenzuela became Administrator of Inarajan and of the Ranch of San José of Dandan;
- Sergeant 2nd class José Flores was named Administrator of Umata and Merizo;
- Manuel Tiburcio Garrido was named Interim Administrator of the College of San Juan de Letran;
- Nicolas de Borja became Second-Lieutenant of the First Company;
- Ciriaco Lajo became headman of Pago;
- Antonio Guerrero became Captain in charge of Public Works on 1 January 1827;
- Antonio Amungui became headman of Agat;
- Juan Charguani became headman of Sinajaña;
- Andrés Charguani became headman of Merizo;
- Second-Lieutenant Damaso de San Nicolas became Administrator of the District of Agat;
- John Johnson was re-appointed Master Carpenter;
- Agustin Songsong became Mayor of Rota;
- José Charguilla became headman of Pago;

- Luis Atoygui headman of Sinajaña;
- Sergeant 1st class Luis Arceo was promoted to Second-Lieutenant in the Coast Guard and Administrative Mayor of Tinian and Saipan on 8 April 1828;
- Angel Tayquinini was confirmed as Mayor of Rota;
- John Anderson was confirmed as official interpreter, translator, coastal Pilot and Second-Lieutenant in the Coast Guard, for the Island of Guam;
- Angel Tayquinini was appointed Second-Lieutenant in the Coast Guard, for the Islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan;
- Vidal Valenzuela became Administrative Mayor of Umata and Merizo;
- Fermin Tanoña became Administrator of Inarajan and of Dandan on 1 July 1828;
- Manuel Topasña became headman of Merizo;
- Sergeant Ignacio Taytano was promoted Second-Lieutenant;
- José Quichuchu became headman of Pago in March 1829;
- Sergeant Angel de Castro became Administrative Mayor of Tinian and Saipan;
- Second-Lieutenant Luis Arceo became interim Mayor of Rota;
- Vidal Valenzuela was promoted to Second-Lieutenant;
- Demetrio de Castro was named Captain of the Militia;
- Juan de Rivera took over the administration of Inarajan and Dandan, in July 1829;
- Juan Gogo became headman of Sinajaña;
- Reymundo Babauña [not Babauta] became headman of Agat;
- Captain Justo de la Cruz was given back his rank of Captain on 5 January 1830;
- Manuel Taytigan became headman of Mongmong;
- Raymundo Montufar became Mayor of Merizo in August 1830;
- Second-Lieutenant Ignacio Taytano (ret'd) took over the administration of Inarajan that same month, his assistant being Cipriano Naputi;
- Ciriano Lajo became headman of Pago.

B1. Ship Indispensable, Captain Fenton, left one man in Guam

Original text in Spanish.

*Certificacion dada á Juan Guillermo [John Williams] marinero de la Fragata Yndispensable.—Yo Don José de Medinilla y Pineda Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho como Juan Guillermo marinero de la Fragata de nacion Ynglesa nombrada **ela Yndispensable** quedó en tierra, no por voluntad propia sí porque su Capitan Fenton le envio á la Ciudad en solicitud de un Fragua ó Levita de su uso, con mas para el Servicio del Buque el pido á este Gobierno de tres libras de Tachielas, y que habiendo pasado al Puerto de San Luis de Apra al siguiente dia donde se hallava anclado el expresado Buque, se halló con la novedad de haver este dado la Vela, y por decontado quedando en tierra, y con el fin de exijir sus devengados á solicitado esta Certificacion,*

la cual doy en San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de dichas yslas á veinte y cinco de Diciembre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued to John Williams, seaman from the whaling ship Indispensable.—

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal way possible that John Williams, seaman from the English whaling ship named **Indispensable** remained ashore, not voluntarily, but because Captain Fenton sent him to the City to look for a forge or frock coat of his, as well as other things for the ship; he requested from this Government three pounds of tacks. The next day, having arrived at the Port of San Luis of Apra where said ship was anchored, he found out that it had already sailed. Therefore, given that he was left ashore, and for the purpose of claiming his dues, he has requested this certificate which I give at San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on 25 December 1826.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B2. Ship Harvest, Captain Macy

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno al Capitan de la Fragata Americana nombrada Harvest Don Ricardo Macy.

*Yo Don José de Medinilla y Pineda Gobernador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho como de resultar de haver atentado Mateo Nelson contra la vida de su Capitan y Gefe de la Fragata **Harvest** Don Ricardo Macy, fue puesto con un Grillete y Cadena en uno de los Calavozas de este Cuartel, y al tiempo de hirle, á entregar su equipaje con la formalidad de Ymventario Duplicado se escusó con palabras las mas indecorosas, de cuyas resultas haviendole dado parte el Oficial que estava de Guardia al que suscrive y este bajado á el indicado Cuartel, y reflexionadole al precitado Mateo Nelson dijese los motivos que tenia para una tal escusa, y que si tenia que alegar alguna falta, ó faltas contra el indicado Capitan lo podria verificar luego que se presentase ante el Tribunal que le corespondia donde seria oido y atendido en justicia; y como sus contestaciones huviesen sido las mas atrevidas é insolentes se vio precisado á mandar sufriese la pena de cincuenta azotes, y que sin perdida de instante sele trasladase á la Fragata con el fin de que el expresado Capitan con las seguridades que tubiese por conveniente lo condujese y presentase al Juez, ó Consul que hallase estar mas inmediato, con mas la Sumaria informacion formada por el anterior caso lo que lleva Orijinal para el intento; Tambien Certifico como de la indicada Fragata quedan en tierra dos indios naturales de las Yslas de San Duwich los cuales por no acomodarles seguir viaje havian desertado, y en su remplazo haverse embarcado dos Yngleses, y un Americano acavados de llegar de las*

Yslas del norte. Y para que conste donde y por cuanto haya lugar en derecho doy la presente en San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las citadas Yslas à quince de Marzo de mil ochocientos veinte y siete.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Richard Macy, captain of the U.S. whaling ship named Harvest.

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal way possible that as a result of the attempt made by Matthew Nelson upon the life of his Captain and commander of the whaler **Harvest**, Mr. Richard Macy, he was placed in irons in one of the jail cells in the Barracks, and at the time of departure, when he was being given back his personal effects, by means of the formal procedure involving an inventory in two copies, he apologized [sic] with the most undecorous language; as a result, the officer in charge of the guard reported this incident to the undersigned, who went down and asked said Matthew Nelson to think well and tell him what were the motives that gave rise to such language and that if he had any fault, or faults, to allege against the Captain in question, he could present himself later before the proper Tribunal and he would be heard and justice be done. However, as his answers were the most daring and insolent possible, it became necessary to order him to be punished to receive fifty lashes. Without any waste of time, he was transferred to the whaling ship, so that his Captain, by taking the security measures he thought fit, might take him to the nearest Judge, or Consul, where he could present this, as well as the report of the summary investigation in the previous case, an original copy of which he was given for said purpose. In addition, I certify that two Indians from the Sandwich Islands have remained ashore, as they saw fit not to pursue the voyage, and had deserted ship, and that they have been replaced by two Englishmen, and one American, who had just arrived from the northern islands. And, in order for same to be taken into account wherever it may serve a legal purpose, I give the present in San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on 15 March 1827.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B3. The Timor, Captain Ebenezer Ford

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno á Ebenezer Foord [sic], Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera Ynglesa nombrada Timor.

*Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Governador Politico, y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho, como habiendo arribado al Puerto de San Luis de Apra la Fragata de nacion Ynglesa nombrada **Timor**, su Capitan Ebenezer Foord, le hizo entender havia el espacio de tres meses que el Carpintero, Tonelero, y otros tres individuos de su bordo sele havian sublevado, y conspir-*

ado contra su persona, y negadose en el tiempo indicado á ejecutar ninguna especie de trabajo á que eran obligados y que havian ocurrido, asi como el que deseava fuesen en clase de Presos trasladados á tierra, puestos en seguridad, lo que se verificó sin la menor dilacion, y habiendoles oido en juicio, no tubieron los indicados marineros motivos que expresar de queja contra el referido Capitan, á no ser el que los havia administrado la mantequilla que les correspondia, y que en todo lo demas havian sido asistidos conforme y como conociese este Gobierno que su queja fuese de las mas frivolas, y que el caso era de la mayor atencion por estar iniciados en el delito de conspiracion, accedio el que suscribe á la suplica del expresado Capitan y fué el que por ningun caso los queria llevar abordo por considerar su vida, y Buque aventurados, y que le podria resultar cuanto se deja entender se accedia hacer admisibles dichos hombres; por lo que determiné quedasen en Prision hasta tanto que en la primera ocasion que se presentase fuesen remitidos á disposicion del Exmo. Sor. Governador, y Capitan General, con el fin de que dicho Señor se sirva mandarlos bajo de buena custodia al departamento que correspondan.

*San Ygnacio de Agaña veinte y seis de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte y siete.
José de Medinilla, y Pineda.*

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Ebenezer Ford, Captain of the English whaling ship named Timor.

José de Medinilla y Pineda, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal way possible that, upon the arrival at the Port of San Luis of Apra of the English whaling ship named **Timor**, her Captain, Ebenezer Ford, made it known that three months earlier the Carpenter, Cooper, and three other individuals of his crew had mutinied, and conspired against his person, and since that time they had refused to do any work, which they were obliged to do and which had been required; consequently, he wished they were arrested, taken ashore, and put in jail. This was immediately carried out, without the least delay. As they were being heard in court, said seamen had no motives to express, and no complaint to make against said Captain, because it was not he who distributed to them their ration of butter, and they had been assisted properly in any other instance. Given that this Government recognized that their complaint was of the most frivolous nature, but that the case was serious as they had been involved in the crime of conspiracy, the undersigned acceded to the request of said Captain to the effect that he did not want them back on board his ship under any pretence, as he considered his person and his ship in peril, if he admitted said men on board again; that is why I decided to have them stay in jail until such time as the first opportunity presented itself to send them to His Excellency the Governor and Captain General, for the purpose of having said gentleman deliver them, under escort, to whom it may concern.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 26 June 1827.
José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B4. George Rutledge, surgeon aboard the Timor

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno a favor de Mr. Jorge Rutledge, Cirujano de la Fragata de nacion Ynglesa nombrada Timor.

*En la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña á veinte y cuatro dias del mes de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y siete: Yo Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico, y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho, como Mr. Jorge Rutledge, Cirujano de la Fragata de nacion Ynglesa nombrada **Timor**, su Capitan Mr. Foord, quedó en esta con conocimiento de dicho Capitan, y no por voluntad propia sí por haverle ocurrido intempesivamente un accidente mortal, del cual pudo livertarse, á expensas de los auxilios que sele administraron. Y para que conste doy la presente en dicha Ciudad, dia, mes, y año referido.*

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Mr. George Rutledge, Surgeon aboard the English whaling ship named Timor.

In the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on 25 October 1827, I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Senior Justice, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal manner possible, that Mr. George Rutledge, Surgeon of the English whaling ship named **Timor**, her Captain being Mr. Ford, has remained here with the knowledge of said Captain, and not voluntarily, because a fatal accident had occurred to him, though he had survived it, thanks to the care he had received. And, for the record, I give the present in said City, on said date.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B5. The Fawn, Captain Dale

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno A favor de Mr. Carlos Dale Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacion Ynglesa nombrada Fawn.

*Yo D. José de Medinilla y Pineda, Capitan de Ynfanteria Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho; como en el dia 19 del mes de Abril del presente año de 1828, Mr. Carlos Dale, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacion Ynglesa nombrada **Fawn**, me dió parte de haversele conspirado en el Puerto de la Villa de Umata, quince individuos de su Tripulacion, sin otro motivo mas que el de querer les permitirse hir à tierra à pasar varios dias, à lo que no accedio dicho Capitan por haverle en el citado Puerto desertado dos Marineros, y de conocer que si tal permitia podria quedar sin gente con que*

continuar su Expedicion, de que resultó pedir auxilio al Capitan Mr. Andres Bliss, para que su Tripulacion levase el Ancla, como en realidad lo verificaron, y pasó la indicada Fragata à anclar al Puerto de San Luis de Apra, de donde por disposicion de este Gobierno con un Ayudante y la Escolta necesaria fueron trasladados à tierra de los quince citados solo diez, y oidos en juicio, parecio ser Reo del movimiento ó conspiracion el Carpintero de dicho Buque llamado Santiago Diey [sic], el mismo que para que no volviese à reincidir en un delito tan grave, y que causase algun trastorno à la expedicion, queda en un Calavoso de este Cuartel con un par de Grillos, y Cadena, en espera de que haya Buque para remitirlo à disposiion del Exmo. Sor. Gobernador, y Capitan General del Reyno, y este tenga la bondad de embiarle con la seguridad debida al departamento que corresponda para que sufra el castigo à que se à hecho acreedor. Y para que en todo tiempo conste doy la presente à el referido Capitan, en la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las expresadas Yslas, à beinte dias del expresado mes y año indicado.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Mr. Charles Dale, Captain of the English whaling ship named Fawn.

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Infantry Captain, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal manner that, on the 19th of April of the present year of 1828, Mr. Charles Dale, Captain of the English whaling ship named **Fawn**, reported to me that fifteen individuals from his crew had mutinied in the Port of the Town of Umatac, for no other reason than wishing permission to go ashore and visit there for a few days, to which said Captain did not accede, because two of his seamen had deserted in said port, and for knowing that if he gave such permission, he would be left without a crew to pursue his voyage; the result of this was that he had to ask Captain Andrew Bliss¹ for help in weighing the anchor. And so they did, and said ship came to anchor in the Port of San Luis of Apra, where, as arranged by this Government, one Adjutant with the necessary escort took only 10 of the 15 individuals in question, ashore. They were heard in court; it appeared that the Carpenter of said ship, named James Diey [sic = Dewey?], was the ring-leader of the uprising or conspiracy. To prevent this man from repeating such a serious crime, and to prevent any problem with the pursuit of the voyage, he was placed in a jail cell in the Barracks, with a pair of leg irons, and a chain, there to await a ship that might take him to be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom, and then sent to whom it may concern to receive the punishment which he deserves. And for the record, I give the present to said Captain, at the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on the 20th of said month and year.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

¹ Ed. note: Captain of the whaler Warrens.

B6. The Cape Packet, Captain Duncan

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno a favor de Mr. Juan Dunquen [sic] Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera nombrade Cape Packet.

*Yo D. José de Medinilla, y Pineda, Capitan de Ynfanteria Justicia mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Certifico en la mas bastante forma que haya lugar en derecho como Mr. Juan Dunquen, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera nombrada **Cape Packet**, me hizo presente tener à su bordo à Santiago Furlong, Carpintero del mismo Buque, y hombre de los mas atrevidos que podian conocerse, pues havia tenido la arrogancia de amenazar à toda la Oficialidad, y algunos de la Tripulacion diciendoles havia de asesinar a quien tenia pensado de ellos, pues no le hera nuevo cometer un delito tal à causa de que ya havia en el Tinayro [i.e. Rio de Janeiro] verificado un otro asesinato, manifestando al mismo tiempo en la Camisa que tenia puesta las manchas de la Sangre del difunto, la cual con mas diligencias que havia echo no lo havia podido quitar, y que en vista de ser como llevaba dicho, un hombre de semejantes circunstancias, y capaz à fomentarle alguna conspiracion me suplicava lo hiciese con tropa trasladar à tierra y poner con la seguridad debida, lo que sin la menor dilacion, tubo efecto, y oy se halla con Grillete y Cadena al servicio de una de las Administraciones de este Real Presidio. Y para que conste doy la presente en San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las indicadas Yslas en beinte, y siete dias del mes de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y ocho años.*

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Mr. John Duncan, Captain of the whaling ship named Cape Packet.

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Infantry Captain, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do certify in the best legal manner possible that Mr. John Duncan, Captain of the whaling ship named **Cape Packet**, has reported to me that he held on board her James Furlong, Carpenter of said ship, and one of the most daring men around; indeed, he had pushed arrogance as far as threatening all the officers, and a few of the crew, telling them that he would assassinate any of them he saw fit. That, he said, was not a new crime for him, as he had already killed someone in [Rio de] Janeiro, and he was showing at the same time a blood-stained shirt he had on, Said captain had tried many times, but failed, to get possession of this shirt. That is why, in view of the above report about a man with such antecedents, able to foment some conspiracy, he was begging me to have him taken ashore by some soldiers, and to keep him under arrest, which was carried out without any delay. He is now being held in irons and chain in one of the Ranches belonging to this Royal Garrison. And, for the record, I give the present at San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 27th day of the month of April of 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B7. The Columbian schooner *Serpiente de Mar* visited Guam

Original text in Spanish.

Licencia de D. Silvestre Palomo.

[Yo] *Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Capitan del Batallon Veterano Ynfanteria tercero de Linea del Ejercito de Manila, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas: Por la presente concedo Licencia à Don Silvestre Palomo, para que en clase de Pasajero pueda embarcarse en la Goleta Colombiana **Serpiente del Mar** que está pronta à dar la Vela, para las Yslas Filipinas, y pido y encargo à las Justicias de los Puertos, en que si por algun accidente le fuere preciso arriivar dicha Goleta, no le pongan impedimento, ni embaraso alguno en su biaje al citado Palomo, antes sí le facilite cualesquiera clase de auxilios que pueda necesitar, y pidiere, pagandolos à los precios correspondientes. Dado en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de dichas Yslas à beinte y nueve de Abril de mil ochocientos beinte y ocho años.*

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Licence issued to Mr. Silvestre Palomo.

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Captain of the Third Battalion of Infantry Veterans of the Army of Manila, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: Do by the present grant a Licence to Mr. Silvestre Palomo to embark as passenger aboard the Columbian schooner named **Serpiente de Mar** [Sea Serpent] which is ready to sail for the Philippine Islands, and I beg and request the Justices of the Ports where said schooner might arrive as a result of some accident not to place any impediment nor any obstruction preventing said Palomo from pursuing his voyage; rather, they should provide whatever type of help he might need, or request, by making him pay correspondent prices. Given at San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on the 29th of April 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B8. The ship *Reynard*, Captain Grey

Original text in Spanish.

Certificacion dada por este Gobierno a favor de Mr. Grey, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de Nacion Ynglesa nombrada la Renard.

Yo D. José de Medinilla, y Pineda, Capitan de Ynfanteria, Justicia Mayor, Governador Politico y Militar de [las] Yslas Marianas, su termino y jurisdiccion: Certifico como el dia nueve del presente mes Mr. Grey, Capitan de la Fragata Ballenera de nacion Yn-

glesa nombrada la Renard hizo entender à este Gobierno que habiendoles dado Licencia à varios Marineros de la dotacion de dicho Buque por el termino de tres dias para que se pacesen, y hallado al quinto, estar en tierra à Timoteo Esmítí, Juan Esmítí, Marcos Johnson, Samuel Simpson, Juan Dempsey, y Jorge Wetherington, y preguntado que motivo tenian para no haver pasado abordo, le respondieron que estavan decididos à no seguir viaje, perdiendo con gusto el valor à que podia ascender sus trabajos devengados, y que habiendoles buelto à preguntar lo espuciesen la causa que les asistia para tal procedimiento, sus contestaciones fueron decirle que ninguno otro mas que el deseo de quedar en tierra, y que se hivan à ocultar mientras que la Fragata permaneciese en el Puerto, en paraje donde ni el que Governava las Yslas pudiese dar con ellos, lo que dió motivo à que sin perdida de instante lo hiciese entender à dicho Señor Governador con el fin de que se sirviese determinar el arresto ó Prision de dichos Marineros; y habiendo nombrado dos partidas de tropa en su solicitud se logró verificar dicho arresto eni el dia de ayer; y habiendolos hecho comparecer ante el precitado Capitan, y preguntados por medio del Ynterprete D. Juan Anderson, espuciesen las quejas que les ocurriesen tener, su contestacion fué decir que ninguna razon les asistia para tal, pues no tenian la menor queja, y si como le havian manifestado solo deseos de no seguir viaje, ni pasar à Londres; y en vista de semejante procedimiento habiendo precedido la mas fuerte reprehension y hecholes ver quedaria cada uno con una Cadena à racion y sin sueldo, destinados à ejercer los trabajos que ocurriesen de policia, se decidieron à embarcar. Y para que conste doy la presente en San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de las Yslas Marianas en trece dias del mes de Octubre de mil ochocientos beinte y ocho.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Mr. Grey, Captain of the English whaling ship named Reynard.

I, José de Medinilla y Pineda, Infantry Captain, Senior Judge, Political and Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, their limits and jurisdiction: Do certify that, on the 9th of the present month, Mr. Grey, Captain of the English whaling ship named **Reynard** let it be known to this Government that, after he had given permission to various sailors belonging to the crew of said ship, to spend three days ashore and relax, and having found that on the fifth day, Timothy Smith, John Smith, Mark Johnson, Samuel Simpson, John Dempsey, and George Wetherington were still ashore, he asked them what reason they had for not having gone back on board, they told him that they had decided not to pursue the voyage, and would gladly lose the money that might have been due them. Once again he asked them to explain to him the cause that led them to take such a decision, but they repeated that it was nothing more than the desire to stay on land, and that they intended to hide while the ship was in port, in a place where not even the Governor of the Islands could find them. That is why he had lost no time in letting His Lordship the Governor know about it, for him to be pleased to order said sailors arrested or imprisoned. Consequently, two parties of soldiers were despatched

to effect said arrest yesterday, and, when they appeared in court in the presence of said Captain, and were asked through the Interpreter, John Anderson, to expose the complaints they might have, they answered that they had no reason at all to act that way, since they had not the least complaint, other than the wish not to pursue the voyage or return to London. In view of such a situation, after having strongly criticized their behavior and made each of them understand that they would be placed in irons and receive no wages while they would be assigned to public works, they decided to embark. And, for the record, I give the present in San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, on the 13th of October 1828.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B9. After two months in Guam, Second-Lieutenant Fox returned to Manila aboard the prize ship *Infatigable*

Original text in Spanish.

Certifico dado por este Gobierno á favor del Subteniente graduado Francisco Fox.

*Don José de Medinilla y Pineda Teniente Coronel de los Reales Ejercitos Gobernador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas, su termino y jurisciccion y Cavallero de las reales y distinguidas Ordenes Militares de San Hermenegildo, y San Luis Rey de Francia: Certifico que Don Francisco Fox, Subteniente graduado de la Segunda Compañia Batallon Veterano Ynfanteria primero de Linea del Ejercito de Filipinas, ha estado á mis ordenes desde el dia tres del ultimo mes de Septiembre hasta la fecha y habiendo observado su buena conducta exacto desempeño en las funciones de su empleo, demostrando los mejores conocimientos en la instruccion que a dado á los oficiales y demas individuos de que se compone la Compañia de Dotacion de esta Ysla en el corto tiempo de dos meses que se encargo de ella un adelantamiento increible en el manejo del Arma, suplemento y marchas, y mediante á que esta dispuesto para pasar lo mas pronto posible á Manila por comicion por el mejor servicio de S.M. en clase de Capitan en el Bergantin presa nombrado el **Infatigable** á su solicitud libro la presente, para que en union con los servicios que tiene contrahidos pueda acreditarlo siempre y cuando le convenga en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de dichas Yslas á diez y ocho de febrero de mil ochocientos y treinta.*

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Translation.

Certificate issued by this Government to Second-Lieutenant Francisco Fox.

José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands, their limits and jurisdiction, and officer of the royal and distinguished military orders of San Hermenegildo, and St. Louis of France: Do certify that Francisco Fox, Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank of the Second Company of the Battalion of Veteran Infantry, first of the line, of the Army of

the Philippines, has been at my orders from the 3rd day of September last until this date and his good conduct has been noted, as well as the precise manner with which he carried out the functions assigned to him. Indeed, he has shown the best knowledge in giving instruction to the officers and men of the Standing Company of this Island in the short period of two months of training in which they made much progress in the handling of weapons, and drill exercises, and now that he is ready to go to Manila as promptly as possible to fulfil a commission for the royal service, as Master of the prize brig named **Infatigable**, I give the present, at his request, so that the services that he has performed here can forever be credited to him at any time. In this City of San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of said Islands, on the 18th day of February 1830.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

B10. The Infatigable, Captain Ramirez

Original text in Spanish.

Pasaporte.

*Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Teniente Coronel de los Reales Ejercitos Governador Politico y Militar de estas Yslas Marianas, su termino y jurisciccion y Cavallero de las Reales y distinguidas Ordenes Militares de San Hermenegildo, y San Luis Rey de Francia: Concedo licencia á Don Calletano Ramires Capitan y Piloto del Bergantin nombrado el **Ynfatigable** correspondiente al Rey N. S. (que Dios guarde) para que libremente pasar á la Bahía de Manila con dicho Buque la oficialidad y tripulacion que expresa la lista que á buelta se incluye, presentandose antes todos los individuos de la expresada tripulacion que expresa la lista al Capitan del Puerto. Por tanto suplico á los Gefes Corregidores, y Alcaldes mayores de las jurisdicciones, correspondientes al Gobierno del Reyno Filipino, y á los que no lo fueren y encargo que si el referido Ramirez arrivase con dicho Buque á los Puertos de su mando por mal tiempo, ú otras causas no le embarasen la continuacion de su biaje impartiendo antes bien los auxilios que pueda necesitar pagandoles de contado á precios corrientes. Dada en San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas, firmada de mi mano, y refrendada por el infra-scripto Secretario á primero de Marzo de mil ochocientos y treinta años.*

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Joaquin de Leon Guerrero, Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Lista de la oficialidad y tripulacion del Bergantin nombrado el Ynfatigable.

Capitan y Piloto Don Cayetano Ramirez agregado para en caso de muerte el Subteniente graduado Don Francisco Fox, su madama, y dos niños.

Timoneles y oficiales de mar.

Contramaestre: Manuel Fernanbuco.

Timonel: Jorge Arday [sic] Yngles.

Carpintero: Juan Campbell.

Otro: Ygnacio Quicias

Marineros.

Mateo Mohantan.
Diego de Leon.

Grumetes.

Eduardo de los Santos.
Dionicio Gonzales.
Santiago Rodriguez.
Mariano Torres.
Manuel Sanchez.
José de Leon.
José Aguon.

Cosinero.

Guillermo Alvaro.

Paje.

Antonio Mangalindon.
José Hurtado.
San Ygnacio de Agaña y Marzo primero de mil ochocientos y treinta.
Rubricado por el Secretario.

Translation.**Passport.**

José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Armies, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands, their limits and jurisdiction, and officer of the royal and distinguished military orders of San Hermenegildo, and St. Louis of France: Do grant a licence to Cayetano Ramirez, Captain and pilot of the brig named **Infatigable** belonging to the King our Lord (may God save him), for him to go on to the Bay of Manila with said ship, the officers and the crew whose names appear on the list on reverse, said list to be presented to the Port Captain as well as the individuals in question. Consequently, I beg the Town Magistrates, and Provincial Mayors of the jurisdictions coming under the Government of the Kingdom of the Philippines, and to those who do not, and I request them, should said Ramirez arrive with said ship at their ports, on account of bad weather, or other causes, not to obstruct the pursuance of their voyage; rather, they are to provide them with the help they might need, they paying for same in cash at current prices. Given at San Ignacio of Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, signed by me, and countersigned by the undersigned Secretary, on the 1st day of March 1830.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Joaquín de León Guerrero, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

List of the officers and men of the crew of the brig named *Infatigable*.

Captain and Pilot: Cayetano Ramirez, and, in case of his death, Second-Lieutenant of substantive rank Francisco Fox, his lady, and two children.

Helmsmen and sea officers.

Boatswain: Manuel Fernambuco.

Helmsman: George Arday [sic], Englishman.

Carpenter: John Campbell.

Carpenter's mate: Ignacio Quicias.

Seamen.

Mateo Mohantan.

Diego de León.

Ship's boys.

Eduardo de los Santos.

Dionisio Gonzalez.

Santiago Rodriguez.

Mariano Torres.

Manuel Sanchez.

José dfe León.

José Aguon.

Cook.

Guillermo Alvaro.

Pages.

Antonio Mangalindon.¹

José Hurtado.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 March 1830.

Original signed by the Secretary.

¹ Ed. note: Written thus in the manuscript; could be a transcription error for Pangalinan.

Document 1826C

The beginning of reform in the government of the Marianas**Letter from the Secretary of the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 27 October 1826**

Sources: AHN 5853, exp. 2; copy in AGI Ultramar 604.

Original text in Spanish.

Al Yntendente general de Real Hacienda y de Exercito de esas Yslas digo con esta fecha lo siguiente.

Por el resultado del testimonio que acompañó el Contador mayor del tribunal de Cuentas de esas Yslas a su Carta de veintitres de Abril de mil ochocientos veinte cinco sobre calificación de la Cuenta general respectiva a los diez años y meses que fue Gobernador de las Marianas Don Jose de Medinilla y Pineda, remitidose Orden del Rey Nuestro Señor a Consulta del Consejo, se enteró este Supremo tribunal de la necesidad de poner para en adelante el remedio oportuno a que no se repitan los abusos a que esta sugeto el metodo hasta aqui tolerado, y alejar toda ocasion de fraudes y monopolios, y habiendolo hecho presente a Su Magestad en siete de Agosto ultimo al mismo tiempo que manifestó su dictamen acerca de la principal de la citada cuenta general, (a que es referente la Real Cedula que se expide y dirige a VSia con esta fecha), ha tenido a bien resolver se reencargue a VSia la observancia de la Real orden de diez y siete de Marzo de ochocientos veinte dos que viene testimoniada, y prohíbe los monopolios usados por los Gobernadores de las Yslas Marianas, advirtiéndole que si las circunstancias particulares de las mismas influyesen en que todavia se haya de disimular algo en punto a la compra de articulos en los Almacenes de dichos Gobernadores, haya en esto un termino prudente, nivelado a la penuria ó necesidad erigente, por los abusos a que está expuesto. Que si el Gobernador de Marianas y los demas interesados necesitasen algun habilitado en Manila (pues en quanto a Megico ya no hay caso) con los poderes y autorizacion correspondientes para agitar el cobro de sus haberes, y percibirlos sea de cuenta de los mismos abonarle aquello en que se conviniesen, y de ninguna manera de la Real Hacienda: Que tampoco permita VSia al Escrivano llevar derechos en los Expedientes relativos a los abusos pagos y servicios para las Yslas Marianas, despachandolos de ofi-

cio, aunque no los promueba la Real Hacienda: Que quando hayan de darse por inútiles qualesquiera efecto ó artículos, cuide VSia de que responda de ellos el encargado, presentandolos en el estado que tubieren, o dando razon de su paradero y destino con los recados de justificacion correspondientes sean de poco ó de mucho momento sus valores.

Publicada en el Consejo esta Real Resolucion ha acordado la comunique a VSia, como lo hago, afin de que disponga lo conveniente a su puntual observancia en lo sucesivo, entendido de que con esta fecha la traslado tambien al Contador mayor y al Superintendente general de Real Hacienda de esas Yslas para su respectivo gobierno y efectos conducentes.

De acuerdo de dicho Supremo tribunal lo transcribo a VSia al fin expresado, y espero me dará aviso del recivo.

Dios guarde a VSia muchos años.

Madrid veinte siete de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y seis.

Silvestre Collar.

[A] Señor Superintendente General de Real Hacienda de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

To the Intendant General of the Royal Treasury and the Army of those Islands, I declare the following on this date:

On account of the result of the proposal made by the Senior Accountant of those Islands in his letter dated 23 April 1825 regarding the observations made by the General Accounting Department about the 10 years and some months that Don José de Medinilla y Pineda was Governor of the Marianas, the King our Lord, following a consultation of the Council, had issued an Order to this Supreme Tribunal, urging them to consider the need to find a suitable remedy, to prevent a repetition of the abuses that result from the present method, thus far tolerated, and to remove any opportunity for frauds and monopolies. As His Majesty was appraised on 7 August last, at the same time as he expressed his decision regarding the above-mentioned main letter from General Accounting (to which the Royal Decree of this date addressed to Your Lordship refers) he had also decided that Your Lordship should be reminded of the observance of the Royal Order dated 17 March 1822, that has already been acknowledged, that prohibits the monopolies used by the Governors of the Mariana Islands, with the warning that, if the special circumstances of the case are still shown by the purchase of articles from the warehouses of said Governors, a prudent stop to this practice should take place, taking into account the existing shortage or need, because of the abuses to which it is exposed. That if the Governor of the Marianas and the other interested parties need some agent in Manila (given that one can no longer rely on Mexico City) with the appropriate power-of-attorney and authorization to claim the moneys due them, and to recover them, this should be done on their behalf, through such agents, and in no way involving the Royal Treasury. That Your Lordship should allow the Clerk either to impose duties on the cases relative to the abusive payments and services for the Ma-

riana Islands, and he is to despatch them as part of his official duties, although the Royal Treasury is not the instigator. That whenever any effect or article is to be abandoned as useless, Your Lordship must take care to have the person in charge of them make a report, or give just reason as to its whereabouts and destination, with the appropriate justification, whether their values are important or not.

Once the Council took note of this Royal decision, it decided to request me to forward it to Your Lordship, as I do now, for you to take the appropriate measures to have it carried out in the future, with the understanding that, as of this date also, I have also advised the Senior Accountant and the Superintendent General of the Royal Treasury of those Islands for their respective direction and conducive effects.

With the agreement of said Supreme Council, I copy same to Your Lordship for the purpose intended, and I hope that you will send me an acknowledgment of its receipt.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Madrid, 27 October 1826.

Silvestre Collar.

[To] His Lordship the Superintendent General of the Royal Treasury of the Philippine Islands.

Document 1826D

The French ship *Péruvien* of Bordeaux, Captain Saliz, visited Micronesia

Source: Captain P. Saliz' article in Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, vol. XXXII, tome 12 (1827), 2ième partie, pp. 394-412.

Extract of his narrative of a voyage around the world, via Oroluk

(N° 52.) Voyage around the world, performed in 27 months and 5 days, from 7 June 1825 to 27 February 1827, aboard the ship *Péruvien* of Bordeaux, owned by Messrs. Pelletreau & Sons, under the command of Mr. P. Saliz.

We departed the river of Bordeaux on 7 June 1825...

On 19 September, we saw Cape Horn, bearing N. distant about 10 leagues, and we received a blast from SW...

After I had disposed of part of my cargo at Valparaiso, Santiago, Coquimbo, Arequipa and Lima, I left from the road of Chorillos for the west coast of Mexico, on 24 January 1826, the day when the Spanish flag was replaced on the fort of Callao by the Peruvian flag; this was the last time that a Spanish flag was seen in the whole of the continent of America. In accordance with information that I had received at Lima, I directed my course to pass at 100 leagues from the Galapagos Islands...

[He passed by Socorro Island, the Tres Mariás, and anchored at Mazatlán on 4 March 1826.]

From Mazatlán, we passed to the port of San Blas, where we stayed until 30 April in order to land the rest of my cargo that I sold at Tepic, a town distant 20 leagues from the port. Many traders of this country told me that they were surprised that no French warship had yet appeared, whereas the English did not fail to send at least one a year, that brought from England large sums of money, in cash and in metals. I am persuaded that our warships would benefit as much by doing the same trade, specially because the pesos, and above all, the metals, would bring a larger profit to France than to England,

and that France provides, since the end of Spanish control on trade, most of the usual consumer goods in these countries.

The coasts of America did not seem favorable to my return voyage; besides, the season did not permit me to return by the same route, except at a considerable loss of time. I decided to go to Manila to get a return cargo. Consequently, I would go to Bourbon [i.e. Réunion] Island, by way of the Sandwich Islands and Java. I sailed from San Blas on 30 April 1826 and headed due west.

The prevailing winds from NW first led me to pass south of the Socorro Islands, I then steered to regain the parallel of the Sandwich Islands. Pushed by the NE and ENE tradewinds, we reached those islands on 21 May with a clear weather above our heads, but so obscure was the horizon that we did not sight any part of Mowee [Maui], in spite of its height, until we reached its breakers; we were then only 2 leagues from the island. After we remained tacking during the night, along Morotai, the next morning, the 22nd, we passed between this island and Woahou [Oahu], and very close to the East point of the latter, which the whalers call Cogger Head. At 11 a.m., we anchored in the road of Annarourah [Honolulu], at 3 to 4 cable-lengths from the reefs that form that port. In this road, we found the English corvette **Blossom**, Captain Beechey, who, after having explored some of the southern archipelagos, was about to go to the coast of America, and up as far as Kotzebue Sound, beyond Behring Strait, to meet with Captain Parry and deliver food supplies to Captain Franklin, who was on his way there overland.

Our chronometers were found to be accurate with the position given to Annarourah by Vancouver. Captain Beechey told me that he had found a slight difference to W. at this position.

I found these islands very far from the idea that I had formed of their progress, based on frequent contacts with Europeans. Woahu seems very fertile and susceptible to any type of agriculture, but it can hardly provide food supplies to the whaling ships that visit it regularly. In fact, it can hardly grow enough yams and taro for its own 20,000 miserable inhabitants.

The American missionaries who have settled on this island have converted to Christianity almost all of the natives and they exercise the greatest of influence on the chiefs. Their bishops are busy at the present time with the education of the young king Kaykiamoury, son of Tameamea and brother of King Rhio Rhio, who died at London. The present king is about 14 or 15 years old, and shows much intelligence. I found the First Minister, Kazaimoku, to whom was given the name Pitt, very sick with dropsy that will soon take him to the grave. He had been the right-hand man of Tameamea, for whom he had conquered the whole archipelago.

The other Europeans residing in the island accuse the missionaries of stopping the progress of the culture and civilization, by keeping the Indians busy with religious practices, and inculcating in them a dislike for all whites who do not agree with those practices. Nevertheless, two persons who have created commercial houses there have told me that the greatest difficulty comes from the idle character of the natives themselves. One of these persons is the English Captain Wilkinson who moved from the West In-

dies a few years ago and who has already created some beautiful sugarcane plantations. The other is Don Francisco,¹ a sailor from Andalusia, who has been residing here for a long time and is involved with various crops. He has some vineyards that give him two harvests per year and produce a passable wine, although he does not know any of the good processes and lacks the right utensils.

Sea captains who intend to stop at Woahou should bring garden seeds to sell to him, and make this good man very happy indeed; this would be a good way to compensate him for the kind welcome that he gives to all foreigners.

Moreover, I realized myself too late that Woahou did not have enough resources and would recommend this stop only to those ships that have an absolute need for water and a few fresh food supplies. If the port of Annarourah is excellent, the road is rather bad, because it is everywhere full of shallows and sunken reefs. I was anchored with a chain, and thought I was safe from damage, but, after we raised our anchor, we found that its two legs had remained at the bottom.

On 20 May in the evening, having finished to take on water and a few fresh food supplies, and inspected our rigging, we left Woahou. We headed SW1/2W, corrected bearing, for three days, then W1/4SW, in order to pass between the islands and the banks that were supposedly discovered recently by whalers. We did not see anything, although we kept a good lookout, and that we sailed close enough to the reported positions of these islands and banks.

On 3 June 1826, we crossed the meridian of Paris in 14°30' latitude N. We advanced the date by one day to make sure that we would be on India time when we got there. Over the next few days, we headed westward, slightly southward, with a beautiful breeze from E. Such breezes decreased gradually and the weather became squally.

On the 9th., in 13° N. and 166° E., we entered the wide gap between the islands of Gaspar Rico, Cornwallis, and [San] Bartalomé on the north side,² and the Mulgraves on the south side.

The breeze was fresher in the direction of this channel and the sea choppy. Since we were in mid-channel, we sighted no land, and very few birds.

During the night from 12 to 13 June, we passed 12 leagues from Brown's Range [i.e. Eniwetok], according to Norie and Horsburgh. My first idea had been to make a stop at the Mariana Islands, if the NE winds had taken me near those islands, and then head for the Dampier and Gilolo Straits, but, seeing that the wind blew weaker as I went west, I feared to find some SW winds, contrary winds, near the Marianas. So, I gave up this idea and decided to go southward, near the equator, to look for the SE monsoon, that prevails there at that time of year. Consequently, on 13 June in the morning, being in 11°50' N. and 157°30' E., I steered to SW1/4S and SW by the compass, with slight breezes from E and some rain squalls.

1 Ed. note: Last name Marin, but known locally as Manini.

2 Ed. note: They all correspond to Taongi.

On the 14th, we passed on top of the positions of many Caroline Islands, as laid out on the 1817 chart by Norie, without seeing anything.

On the 15th, we were in 9°45' N. and 154°30' E., on the spot where these charts put the largest number of those islands.¹ The weather was superb and we could see nothing from the yards, though we could see as far as 10 to 12 leagues in all directions. Very few birds could be seen; nevertheless, the sea being as flat as inside a port and the variability of the winds made us suspect that we were not far from some land.

On the 16th, we steered WSW for a while with some variable breezes from SW to S.

On the 17th, we received a few fresh squalls from S with much rain, strong showers and the western sky overcast, but the sea as smooth as in a basin. We made various maneuvers to gain some southing, not wishing to go too far westward, because I knew that such a direction would lead me to some islands and reefs that had been seen in 1824 by Captain John Hall, aboard the **Lady Blackwood** of Calcutta, in a passage to Mexico.² On the 17th, we were in 9°20' N. and 153°45' E., having made very little headway over the last two days. In the evening, the weather cleared and we then experienced some slight breezes from SW to NE, while the sea was superb and the weather very clear. We sighted nothing. I had the course changed to SW by the compass, in order to make some southing. Since we had passed Brown's Range, we were sailing without bonnets at night, always ready to tack to one side or another, anchors ready to be dropped, and keeping a good lookout above and below. The moon, which had passed first quarter on the 12th, was in our favor.

[Oroluk Island sighted]

On 18 June, at noon, we were in 8°10' N. and 153°5' E., by chronometers and distances. At 5 p.m., we saw a flock of birds flying from SW to NE; a short time later, having made a run of 24 miles to S30°W., corrected, since noon, we sighted from the deck, on the horizon, the trees of a small isolated island, dead ahead. We steered WSW to pass on its north side. A little before nightfall, we were 8 miles north of it. We found no bottom at 100 fathoms and, from the tops, with an excellent telescope, we saw no changes in the water, and no appearance of shoals near the island. It is true that the sea was so beautiful that we could see it hardly break upon the shore. The shape of the south part, more pointed than the rest, made me believe that the least depth of water must be near that point. A magnificent moon allowed us to see this island very well after nightfall and, by a series of measurements taken every 20 minutes since the time we had first sighted it, we saw that we were 7 miles distant from it at 8 p.m., and had been 12 miles distant at 5:15, when we had seen the top of the trees on the horizon.

This island seemed to be from 1 to 2 miles in length, and from 60 to 80 feet high, but it is flat, even, and wooded. Its coast is a series of very steep cliffs, specially on the west side, and its color is reddish. I regretted very much that the time of day was not appro-

1 On the 1824 Norie chart, which I have had the opportunity to see after I wrote this entry in my journal, he has removed most of the islands that appeared there on his earlier charts.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1824J.

priate, and that the pretty breeze from NE urged me to continue my voyage whose purpose was entirely commercial; otherwise, I could have examined this island more closely, and found out if it is inhabited, although its small size and isolation made me think that it probably was not. Although I think this island is clean, it could be dangerous at night, in dark weather, because a ship would be upon it before seeing it.

The measurements, and our noon position carried over as latitude observed, and the longitude given by the chronometers and distances, place this island in 7°39' N. and 152°45' E. of Paris. None of the charts that I had on board had an island near that position, except for the Spanish chart, by Espinosa (London, 1811), who places it in 7°20' N. and 160°17' E. of Cadiz, i.e. 151°40' E. of Paris, as an island discovered by Monteverde in 1806. It could be the same island; however, as the positions given by Monteverde have been recognized recently to be too far west by more than 1°, that is, in the opposite direction to ours, and that there is a difference in latitude of 19' with ours, this island could be new, in which case, I would name it **Bordelaise Island**.

At 10 p.m., being abreast of the island bearing E., we resumed our SSW heading and made a run of 30 miles until daybreak. The weather and the horizon were then very clear, and we saw nothing from the tops.

On 20 June, we had variable winds with rain squalls. We passed at 15 leagues from the islands seen by the ship **Young William** in 1795, without seeing a single bird.

On the 21st, we were in 5° N. and 149°40' E., having definitely left the whole Caroline archipelago behind us.

Our track since the 13rd had been almost parallel to that of Captain John Hall, aboard the ship **Lady Blackwood**, in a passage from Mexico to Bengal in 1823, but I had always kept about 30 leagues west of his track; he saw nothing. Since we both kept good lookouts, having equally the moon in our favor, I believe that I can affirm as free of dangers the space between our two tracks, that is, from 12° N., between 157°30' and 159° E., down to 5° N., between 150° and 153° E. I think that it is a good route to follow to cut southward and seek the favorable SE winds in that season. Nevertheless, I think that it would be advisable to cut through a little east of our track, not only to find fresher winds but also to avoid the small island that we saw on the 18th. Moreover, until these neighborhoods are better known, it will always be indispensable to keep a good lookout, and to be ready to change course abruptly at night, in case of unforeseen dangers.

...

[By mid-July, as the **Péruvien** was nearing New Guinea, she sailed in company with the English ship **Thames**, Captain Fraser, going from Port Jackson to Batavia. On the 18th, they anchored at Pigeon Island, next to the ship **Good Success** of Bombay, coming from China. Astronomical observations revealed that one of the chronometers had gained 5' too far west, and the other 11' too far west, since the departure from San Blas. They went through Pitt's Passage, passed between Ceram and Buru, and anchored at Samarang, Java, on 31 July 1826. Saliz then visited Batavia, before entering the Indian Ocean by the Sunda Strait, on 8 September, in company with another French ship, the

Rose, of Bordeaux, Captain Beck, coming from Manila, and Cochin-China, and going to Bengal; this ship had left Bordeaux a few days after the **Péruvien**. They reached Mauritius on 29 September, and Bourbon [i.e. Réunion] on 4 October. They went back to Mauritius to load rice, sugar and coffee, before returning to France, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, Ascension, Terceira, arriving back at Bordeaux on 27 February 1827.]

Documents 1826E

The whaler Stanton, Captain Josiah Howland**E1. The logbook kept by anonymous**

Source: Ms. logbook in the Baker Library, Harvard U.; PMB 728.

Journal of a Voyage From Fair Haven To the Pacific Ocean in the Ship Stanton Commencing August 18th 1824 and ending Sept. 1828

...

Longitude From 165°30 E to the Ladrone

...

Sunday April 2nd

These 24 hours Fresh Breezes and Fair Weather at 4 PM Saw the Land Bearing West Distance 15 Miles Steared For the Fore Part of it Latter Part at 9 Stood into the Bay and Sent a Boat on Shore ... the Anchoring Place So Ends. Boat on Shore Latt Obs 15°02.

Ladrone Islands

Monday April 3rd

At 3 P.M. Came too in 10 fathoms Water in the Island of Tinian at 8 AM Sent a Raft of Cask on shore So Ends. Fresh Winds from E.N.E.

Tuesday April 4th

Commences With Fresh Breezes from ENE and Pleasant Weather at 3 PM got a Raft of Water from Shore and Sent another on Shore So Ends. Stowing Water.

Wednesday April 5th

These 24 hours Strong Breezes from ENE and Fair Weather all hands Employed Getting Water From Shore.

Thursday April 6th

Commences With Pleasant Weather Light Winds from WNE finished Getting off Water So End Wooding.

Friday April 7th

Commences With Fresh Winds from ENE and Pleasant Weather all hands Employed Getting Wood.

Saturday April 8th

These 24 hours Fresh Winds from ENE all hands Employed Getting Wood.

Sunday April 9th

Fair Weather all these 24 hours Finished Wooding Fore Part Latter Crew on Shore on Liberty.

Monday April 10th

All these 24 hours Pleasant Weather half the Ships Company on Shore on Liberty.

Tuesday April 11th

Commences With Pleasant Weather Wind from ENE two Crews on Shore on Liberty.

Wednesday April 12th

All these 24 hours Moderate Breezes from ENE and Pleasant Crew on Shore on Liberty.

Thursday April 13th

These 24 hours Strong Winds from ENE at 10 P.M. took our anchor and stood out to Sea. So End. Steering SW.

Friday April 14th

These 24 hours Strong Breezes and Fair Weather at 10 A.M. Saw the Island of Guam Bearing South Distance 12 Miles and Steered For it So End.

Saturday April 15th

Commences With Fresh Breezes and Fair Weather at Meridian Passed the North Point of Guam and at 2 Sent a Boat on Shore With Letter for the Govener [sic] and a Bill of Ladin[g] of Goods from the Island of Tinean and Also a Passger [sic = Passenger]

Sunday April 16th

Commences With Fresh Wind from ENE all hands Employed Sending our Freight on Shore So End.

Monday April 17th

Fair Weather and Fresh Wind from ENE Ship Laying off and on the Shore the Capt on Shore.

Tuesday April 18th

Fore Part Standing off and on at 5 P.M. the Boat Came on Board and Stood to Sea[.]
at 8 PM unbent the Cables and Stowed the anchor So End. Stearing N by W.

Latt. Obs. 14°30.

...

E2. The narrative of Reuben Delano

Source: Reuben Delano. Wanderings and Adventures of Reuben Delano, Being a Narrative of Twelve Years Life in a Whale Ship! (Boston, Redding, 1846).

Chapter VI. ...Another cruise—New discovery—A wreck—King's mill island—Great success—Man overboard—Loss of a boat's crew.

...

The ship **Thomas** of Nantucket, arrived [at Oahu] while we were in port, in a leaky and disabled state, and was condemned. The crew employed getting wood and ... Captain of the **Thomas** made to Capt Howland, what we considered a liberal offer, to take his oil to any port of the U. States for the equivalent of two fifths of the whole. Our Captain, not esteeming it as such declined the offer, much to the disadvantage of himself and the ship's company, as the reader will perceive; for our rigging and spars were not in a fit condition for another cruise.

Selfish honor still swayed our officers, and as we had been laying off and on for some time, we braced forward our main top-sail, "gave her the whole rag," and shaped our course again for the off shore ground, leaving behind two of our crew, who had deserted, and taking on board two of the natives in their stead, who were to receive ten dollars per month at the expiration of the cruise.

The reader will remember that we had, on leaving the Japan coast, one thousand and fifty barrels. We were again under weigh, with a bright lookout aloft, running days, and shortening sail at night. Whales were scarce, and our stay was short on the off shore ground, having taken but one hundred and fifty barrels.

We next made our way for the King's Mill Group. (islands.) We met with no success on the passage, taking only a few black fish. Our reckoning being run out, and no land in sight, it became very essential to keep a bright look out at night, and orders were given to this effect.

We were now running with a five knot breeze. Our Captain, feeling a little uneasy, came on deck at nine in the evening, and gave orders to haul up the head course, hard down jib, and back the main top-sail; which order was presently executed.

I shall never forget the singular aspect which the ocean presented on this night. There was no moon, and the stars shone forth bright. The whole surface of the deep, as far as the eye could reach, seemed to be one continued blaze of living light. Our Captain judged from appearances that we were near some unknown shoal, and as we had lost our reckoning, he ordered the deep-sea lead to be taken forward; which being cast, we run sixty-five fathom and no soundings. Our Captain's fears were dispelled, and he went

below, leaving orders to fill away at four in the morning. At eight o'clock on the following morning, land was discovered from the mast head dead ahead. It was a "marone" [sic] island, and bore a horrid aspect, with an iron bound coast, over which the waves broke fifty feet in height. Our Captain discovered, through his glass, a wreck upon the beach of this island, passing the north point of it, and the first officer's boat was lowered away for the purpose of finding a convenient spot to land. We had as much wind as we could carry our top gallant sails under, with a smooth sea; and running a little to leeward of the island, we hauled the ship sharp on the wind. The current set so strong here, that we found we could not hold our own by three knots an hour [sic]. Signals were made, and the boat came along side, having found no place of safety to land. At four, P.M., it was perfectly calm. Our Captain could not find this island laid down in his chart, and again we kept a sharp lookout during the night. At day-light we were again on our way with a light breeze; and on the third day from our first discovery, the cheering cry of "land-ho" was heard from the mast head, and on our near approach, it assumed the appearance of a fertile land, inhabited, and covered with cocoa nut trees. We were satisfied that this was one of the King's Mill group. It was not the design of the Captain to land, as he suspected the hostility of the natives, though we were so close to the land that we could see the savages running to and fro upon the beach.

And now, the cry of "there she blows," rings from the mast head. The breeze was very light, and the whale was easily perceived from the deck, and the boats being lowered away, we succeeded this afternoon, in killing nine whales, and securing seven, which we brought along side at half past ten that night. The whole being fluke roped made quite a stringy mess across our forecastle.

An accident took place during the night, which I shall never forget. The whales outside were surrounded by an innumerable number of that terror to the sailor, the shark, and in every variety, the land shark excepted. It was perfectly calm. Our topsails lay on the caps with the rigging hauled out, and our ship drifting with the current at the rate of four or five knots an hour. The morning watch coming upon deck, called the cook. There was a slight mist in the atmosphere, through which the stars gleamed dimly, and as we had had a long and tedious pull, one man was thought sufficient to stand watch on that night. This man after being on deck a few moments, came into the steerage to light his pipe; and as he did so, thought that he heard a groan. As quick as thought, he ran upon deck, and it occurred to him that he would look into the forecastle. He put his hand into the cook's birth, and realizing his fears by finding it empty, he sprung upon deck, with the startling cry, "a man overboard!"

None but such as have actually witnessed it, can judge of the excitement which such a cry produces on board a ship. There was no stop[p]ing now for ceremony; clothes were unheeded, the waist boat was cleared away, and her crew were over the side, in search of our cook in a moment. We had pulled about five boats length from the ship's starboard quarter, when, as far as we could see abeam, we descried a hat upon the surface of the water. We were alongside of the hat in an instant, and the man at the bow, on reaching for the hat, found a head under it. The poor fellow was taken into the boat

apparently lifeless, and brought on board. He was then rolled on a barrel, and it was astonishing to see the quantity of water which ran from his stomach and lungs. Under this operation, he soon revived and was carried below unhurt.

This was an unfortunate day for some others also. The ship **George and Susan** of New Bedford at that time met with a more serious accident, in the loss of a boat's crew, which was cut off by the savages of the island. They were taken on shore, and I never heard more from them. In all probability, they were massacred.

Upon the recovery of our shipmate, he gave an account of the manner in which he had fallen overboard. On being called, he came on deck, and in the attempt to draw a bucket of water from over the bows, his feet being on the fluke rope, by the surge of the whale he was precipitated into the ocean. Not knowing how to swim, he must have been lost, but for the timely assistance rendered by our boat.

Chapter VII. Under the Equator—Porpoises and dolphins—Coast of Peru—Ladrone islands—Guam—Wild cattle—Spanish dexterity.

...

We spent several weeks after this, off the coast of Peru, but with no success, and then shaped our course for the Ladrone Islands, which lie in the China sea [sic] in Latitude 14° N. and E. L. 140. They are eleven in number, and Guam is the capital. Here was a long race for us, and in the condition that our ship was then, it caused much dissatisfaction among the crew. Howsoever, we hoped for the best, and did our duty with the same alacrity as usual. We lowered for whales thirteen times on the passage, but succeeded in getting but three along side.

On the morning we made the islands, three ships were in sight from the mast head, standing out from the land. The **Indispensable**, **Tuscan** and **Elisabeth** all English ships bound on a cruise.

On approaching the island we found by our soundings a fine sandy bottom. A boats crew of Spaniards was soon along side, that had discovered us some hours before. They brought with them a fine junk of fresh beef which they presented to the Captain, and offered to pilot his ship into the harbor, which he gladly accepted, as there was a ledge of rocks to pass before coming to our anchorage.

The gentleman who performed this duty proved to be the Governor of Guam. He had arrived from the seat of government that morning with forty-five Spanish convicts with him for the purpose of killing beef for the Spanish government.¹ Some months previous he had visited this island and had erected three buildings for the purpose of shelter for himself and company while engaged in this business.

On his arrival this morning he had found an English sailor and a "Marquesas" girl who had been left by Capt. Brooks of the **Indispensable**.² One of his buildings also had been burnt down, and on enquiry he found that it had been done by the English in

1 Ed. note: It becomes clear that they had stopped at Tinian (confirmed in E1 above).

2 Ed. note: According to other records, the captain of this ship was named Fenton.

a drunken row the night previous. Spanish blood ran high and his Excellency swore that "England should make restitution." He was a tall noble looking man of about thirty-five years, and it would be no flattery to say he was handsome.

This island abounds with all the fruits of tropical climates; there are also wild cattle in abundance, and it requires Spanish dexterity to handle them, as the reader will perceive. They have no horses and the Spanish "lasso" was not in use among them. The musket is the weapon most in use for taking them. Sometimes when wounded these animals show the greatest ferocity and rage, and oftentimes turn upon their pursuers. In such encounters the Spainard [sic] throws down his gun, seizes the animal by the horn and generally casts him with as much ease as we would a common sized dog. The long knife is soon applied to his throat, and the life-blood flows profusely. The hide is then taken off and the beef cut from the bone; it is then salted in large vats, after which it is dried and is ready for exportation.

Chapter VIII. The Spanish dwarf—"Toddy"—Cruising on shore—The Governor's lady—The Japan Coast again—Good company—A Captain in limbo—Desertion—Savage morality—A great Chief—California—Spanish customs—Wild cattle.

The Spanish Governor had an interpreter with him which made conversation easy between himself and our Captain. He had also a dwarf who was an adept at music, and so small that a pair of large sized silk stockings would have made him a whole suit.

Civilities were constantly exchanged between our Captain and the Governor, sometimes our Captain dining on shore, and at other times the Governor would come on board bringing the fair Marquesas; and on these occasions the interpreter and little gentleman attended. It was astonishing to witness the display of vocal power on the part of this dwarf; the flute, clarionet and bagpipe were almost a load for him, on the latter he was equal to the wandering piper, but he was perfectly familiar with them all, besides being a great singer.

The bamboo grows abundantly on this island, and is put to a great variety of useful purposes, being converted into vessels for various uses, and for the masts of boats, for which it is admirably adapted as it is both light and strong. "Toddy" is to be had here in abundance and I seldom went on shore without being invited to drink by my little friend, the dwarf, who had it served up in a bamboo which held a quart and which he took from the tree from which it exuded the night before. In taste it resembles new cider just from the press; by distillating this juice yields a spiritous liquor nearly as strong as brandy.

We remained at this island two weeks, during which time we took in a fresh supply of excellent water, fruits in great abundance, and fresh provisions of good quality.

The Spaniard had in the mean time captured a large number of bullocks, and had many hampers of beef ready for exportation; a quantity of these we took on board, and

weighed anchor for Guam, taking the Governor on board as a pilot until without the reef, when we parted company.

On our arrival at this island the beef was put into the boats to be landed, and the Captain and his boats crew went on shore. My brother who was one of the number, taking with him some of the Western island baskets and some nice stockings, which he had brought from America, for the purpose of trading a little on his own account. The first place at which he stopped was at the house of the governor. On knocking at the door he gained admittance and obtained an interview with the governor's lady, who inquired of him where he was from? He informed her that he was from the island of Tinian. The answer led her to inquire after her husband. It appeared that she had got some knowledge of the landing of the pretty Marquesas girl, and she questioned my brother closely upon the subject. His reluctance to tell of the intimacy existing between them, had only a greater effect to arouse the jealousy of madam, and with a flushed countenance and eyes flashing fire she seized his arm and declared he should not leave the house until he had told her the whole truth. This he was obliged to do, and then the rage of madam knew no bounds. She raved, and swore that "it should be a dead set for her husband if ever he came to her arms again." After this violent explosion of rage, madam cooled down a little and invited him to be seated, set food before him, and purchased all the articles which he had for sale, and bid him good by.

Our Captain had shipped the sailor who had been left by the English on Tinian, and he was on shore with us this day. He was a great reprobate, and without exception the worst character that I ever fell in with. These islands may well be called the Ladrone islands, (the definition of which in Spanish is thief.) and our new hand experienced a taste of this propensity, for, while indulging in a drunken reverie on shore, he was robbed of part of his apparel, even to his hat and shoes.

We laid off and on for two days longer, and then once more took our departure for the Japan coast, our old luck attending us till. On the passage we spoke on the coast several vessels, American and English; one I remember in particular. She was called the **John Palmer**, of London, commanded by Capt. Clark. He was a Captain of the old School. She was a ship of about 500 tons, and had 10 apprentice boys on board, according to a regulation of service, which makes it imperative for every ship to take an apprentice for every 59 tons measurement. The ship was nearly full, and her veteran commander calculated to return to England at the close of the season. The two Captains concluded to cruise in company; occasionally the Captains would visit each other; this is called "gamming" by the sailors. By means of our visitors we found a good market for our tobacco; all that we had to dispose of we exchanged to good advantage for clothing, of which we were nearly destitute. The Captain of the English ship had a school on board in which the youngsters became well versed in navigation, one excepted, whom the old man allowed, was doomed to bail the boat for a living, as he was fit for nothing else. We cruised some time together. Whales were often raised, but the English ship

had them all in her favor, and obtained 500 barrels, while we were getting but 150. This filled his ship and he bid us good bye, bound for old England with all sail set.¹

A few days afterwards we spoke the English ship **Perseverance**, comanded by Capt. Mott. On going on board we found the mate in command, and the Captain confined in the coal hole; having been put there for drunkenness, to which he was much addicted.²

...

[They next met with the **Roscoe** of New Bedford, the **Aurora** of Nantucket, the **Almira** of Oldtown]

...

We now shaped our course for Owyhee...

[However, they first made for the coast of California and visited the town of San José del Cabo, where they found a beautiful French ship at anchor... Then they sailed home by way of the Galapagos, Lima, Chile, etc. The author took part in other sea voyages up to 1834, but they were not to the Pacific].

1 Ed. note: She reached the Thames River in early July 1826 (Jones' Ships, p. 81).

2 Ed. note: This ship reached the Thames in May 1827 (Jones, p. 83).

Note 1826F

The ship Spartan, Captain Mooers, sighted Kapingamarangi and Nauru

Sources: Article from Nantucket correspondent in the New England Palladium & Commercial Advertiser, Boston, Mar. 9, 1827; quoted in Ward's American Activities.

Note: The whaler Spartan of Nantucket, Captain Prince B. Mooers, left that port on 22 November 1824 and returned on 14 January 1827 (ref. Starbuck, p. 250).

The following discoveries [sic] in the Pacific, made by Capt. Mooers, of the **Spartan** of this port, are not contained in the lists heretofore published.

Spartan Island—1°10' N., 159°30' E., low land.

Mooers Island—0°30' S., 166°35' E., high land, inhabited.¹

¹ Ed. note: Of course, they were not new discoveries.

Note 1826G

Ship *Atlantic* visited Faraulep and Guam

Sources: Boston Courier May 7, 1828; Ward's American Activities, under Faraulep 1.

New Islands

Captain John Gardner, of the ship *Atlantic* of this place,¹ on his last whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean made the following discoveries of islands not laid down on his charts. The first was in lat. 8°28' N., long. 144°35' E, etc.

...

Editor's comments.

His so-called discoveries were already known, although they may not have appeared on the charts he had on board. The whaler *Atlantic* of Nantucket was a 321-ton ship which departed in June 1825 and returned in March 1828.

1 Ed. note: The news item is copied from a Nantucket newspaper, because that was her home port.

Document 1826H

The ship Independence II, Captain William Plaskett

Sources: Ms. log in the Dukes County Historical Society, Edgartown, Mass.; PMB 674; Log Inv. 2393.

Extract from the log, kept by Henry Colt

...

Remarks on Monday June 12 [1826]

Commences with strong trades and cloudy weather steering on a wind head up NW by N course NNW[.] at 4 PM got a Lunar Obs. Long. of which 152°30 East[.] Brown Range [i.e. Eniwetok] bearing N by W but about 80 miles [away.] at daylight made the South Eastern part of them bearing N by W dist 3 leagues. at 10 AM the nearest was about 3 miles dist and close to the shore with the Boat but did not land[.] there were nothing on them excepting some low bushes then one reef extending from one to the other. The run North & South, we caught several small fish of which they appear to be aplenty but was hindered by the shortness which we Numerous we saw some shells about the reefs[.] regret deal of Coral rock[.] then no inhabitants then as we could perceive[.] So ends.

Latt in 11°21 [N] Long 162°30 East. So ends.

Remarks on Tuesday June 13

Commences with brisk trades and fair weather. at 3 PM the South westernmost Island bore NE dist about 4 miles stood away NW all drawing sail set...

At Mer. obs Latt 13°08 North Long by account 160°30 East.

...

Remarks on Friday June 28

This day begins with fine strong breeze from the North & Eastward steering W by S all sail set[.] Employed in breaking out & fitting cask for watering. Mid part some rain[.] took in all flying kites. Latter part fine pleasant weather. at Mer. Obs Latt 14°59 North Long 147°30 East.

Saturday June 24

Commences with fine breezes from N. Eastward steering W by S[.] at 4 PM saw 4 whales[,] put off[,] struck 1 killed one[,] at 9 took him alongside[,] began to cut[,] at 1/2 Midnight finished cutting[,] at daylight began boi[ing.] at 6 AM made Tinian bearing West dist about 40 miles[,] so ends in boiling & sending Mizzen Royal yards.

Sunday June 25

This day begins with fine pleasant breezes from the ENE steering in West for the land[.] Employed in boiling[,] at 5 PM finished and came to in 17 fathoms water with the best bower[,] Boat on shore[,] Employed on board in send[ing] down Royal mast & clearing up decks &c Latter employed in filling water & cutting wood[,] so ends.

Monday June 26

This day employed in wooding & watering[,] fine strong trades & pleasant[,] so ends.

Tuesday June 27

Begins with fine pleasant weather very warm[,] employed in getting wood & water & stowing it down, one of our men absconded of ability [sic = off duty] while on shore cutting wood run away.

Wednesday June 28

This day throughout fine pleasant weather and from the Northward & Eastward[,] at 6 PM finished getting wood[,] M R [=Meridian, i.e. noon] got all our water & stowed it down. cleared the decks & washed off boats[,] {went on shore with all hands off}¹ times[,] so ends.

{Wednesday June 29th}²

{Commences with light airs from the North[,] employed in send[ing] down studding sails boom & lashing them up[,] unbending studding sails & getting ready for sea[,] at 4 PM got under way with a fine breeze from the Northward and Eastward steered NW by N till 9 o'clock then N by W[,] Middle part brisk winds[,] passed within 8-10 miles of Sa[i]pan[,] at daylight several Islands in sight. }

Thursday June 30 1826

Commences with pleasant weather calm[,] all hands on shore after limes[,] at 4 PM came on board with several barrels of them[,] at 5 PM got underway [from Tinian] with a fine little breeze from the NE[,] at 6 brisk breeze from the Eastward steered N by W. Latter part moderate breezes course N by E[,] at daylight saw Bird [i.e. Farallon de Medinilla] Island bearing NE dist 50 miles[,] employed in unbend[ing] the cables & stowing the [blank.]

1 Ed. note: This sentence crossed out.

2 Ed. note: The whole entry of June 29th crossed out.

Latt at Mer 15°54 North Long 145°31

...

Sunday July 2

... 3 or 4 Islands in sight...

Latt by account 17°10 North Long by obs 146.

...

Thursday July 6

... several Islands in sight[.] at 9 AM passed by Agrigan dist about 30 miles[.] at Noon Obs Lat 19°26 North[.] came up with a small Island called Volcano Grande [i.e. Asunción,] passed within 1 mile of it.

Latt 19°26. Long 146°50 East.

...

[Back to the Equator. This part of the logbook affected by water damage.]

...

Sunday April 15th [1827]

... at 5 PM saw a small Island on the weather bow bearing NE by E... At daylight the Island bore NE by E[.] at Noon dist from the Island 8 miles.

Obs. Latt 1°51 South. Long by account 175[.] No current.

...

Monday April 16th

... Standing in for Lyncons [rather Lincoln, i.e. Onotoa] Islands lately discovered by the **Japan** of Nantucket Whaleship S. Chase Master who named it after his Mate. At 3 PM a number of canoes off with coconuts & mats[.] at sunset part of the Island bore E by S. filled away and steered NE by E and ESE. Latter part wind to the South thick rainy weather[.] at 10 AM Drummonds [= Tabiteuea] Islands bearing E by N ship heading for it[.] so ends.

No Obs Latt by account 1°15 South Long 175.

Tuesday April 17th

This day begins with brisk breezes at SSE steering for Drummonds Island[.] at 5 PM came within 5 miles of the shore[.] tack[ed] ship headed off ham yard aback[.] several canoes came off[.] At 6 NW of the Island bore ENE steered SW wind SSE. Mid part moderate breezes & rain. at 3 AM brisk breezes at SW course S by E. Latter part wind at SSW[.] Drummond Island in sight E by W[.] so ends this day.

Obs Latt 1°25 South. Long 175°50

...

[Back to Lincoln Island, where "several canoes came off with a number of white shells and a few coconuts." Since they were later drying yams and potatoes, they must have gotten those as well. Then they saw and chased whales for many days, cut and boiled them, etc.]

...

Saturday June 9th

Commences with smart breezes at Eastward to the Northward[.] at 7 PM spoke the Ship **Sisters** of London three months from Port Jackson Capt Born [sic] on a whale Voyage[.] Mid part pleasant weather Capt on board the Sisters[.] Latter part light breezes heading to the NE. So ends.

Obs Latt 00°24 Long 173°00 East.

Sunday June 10th

... Capt Duke on board.¹

...

Tuesday June 12

Begins with pleasant weather and calm[.] at 3 PM saw Dundas [=Abemama] Island bearing E by S 30(?) miles dist... Trying to get to Simpsons [= Abemama also] Island...

Wednesday June 13th

... in company with the B. **Sisters** London...

Thursday June 14th 1827

Begins with moderate breezes at NE by E course SE steering for Parkers [=?] Island...
Obs Latt 43 miles S.

Friday June 15th

... at 9 AM got a distance of the Sun and Moon Long of which 173°43 East. Obs Latt. 42 [miles] South...

Saturday June 16th

... toward Simpsons Island and Dundas...

Sunday June 17th

... Simpsons still bearing NW dist about 8 miles... from Brinds [=?] and Dundas[,] Simpsons 12 miles...

[And so on until the ship left Micronesian waters in July 1827.]

1 Ed. note: Captain Duke was the owner of this whaler. Left London for Sydney in 1823, then went whaling with his ship, although the command may have been under many other different men, e.g. Wright, or Riley, is one name badly transcribed by Jones (see his Index, p. 39) Captain Born, or Dorn, may have been another.

Appendix 1

The Duperrey Papers

List of the contents of the Duperrey Papers, or Archives, offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1993 (ref. their Cat. N° 1105, item n° 41).

Folder N° 1: Canal project to join the two oceans through the isthmus of Nicaragua, dated 2 February 1855, by Aug. Myioun & Despuy.

Folder N° 2: Final ms. of the historical part of the voyage of the *Coquille*, by Mr. Duperrey. Real title of the book was, of course: “Voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824 et 1825. Partie historique.” Begins with: “Chapitre premier—Objet du voyage; préparatifs de départ...” The ms. has 282 pages, ending with the following text: “[février 1823, in margin]... la vivante empreinte de la pensée des hommes libres. Tous les habitants ont déclaré solennellement...”, ending abruptly thus, on the 4th line of p. 282.

Folder N° 3: Funeral of Mr. Beautemps-Beaupré. This is a printed speech made by Mr. Duperrey at the Institut de France’s Academy of Sciences on Saturday 18 March 1854 (4 copies of same).

Folder N° 4: Discussion regarding the increase in the membership of the Geography and Navigation Section. This is a 16-page report printed in 1863 proposing to allow the same number of members to that section as for all the other sections of the Academy. Also there a few more printed papers on the same topic.

Folder N° 5: Service orders issued to Duperrey by Navy Capt. Brouard, commander of the Ciotat Naval Station, 1813-14.

Folder N° 6: Service orders issued to Mr. Iberville, Naval Prefect, 1813-14.

Folder N° 7: Elections within the Geography and Navigation Section, 1867.
[Note about his former associates whose names are still linked with Micronesia: (1) Mr. Givry was then a retired hydrographer, (2) Mr. Tardy de Montravel was a Navy

Editor's comments: This paper contains astronomical observations (original copy) made at a point whose latitude was 13° 27' 43" N. Also it gives the set of positions measured along the route followed by the ship *Uranie* as of 17 March 1819 from Umatac, Guam, at position 13° 29' Lat. N. & 12° 59" Long. E. [of Agaña], until 28 March when the ship was anchored near Orote Point at Lat. 13° 17' more or less & 6 to 8 minutes W. of Agaña, etc. with a list of positions on 5, 6 & 7 June when the geography of Guam was given special study, with all coastal points around Guam I. being given their positions, the longitudes given relative to Agaña. There is also **a list of place names recorded around the Island of Guam in 1819** (French sounds, of course), as follows:¹

“Agaña, Aloupan, Toumone, Gogna, Deux Amants, Illanne, Tanguisson, Apoutan, Guyalaconne, Niigo, Aatchay, Rétilla, Inapsen, Taragay, Patay, Laffac, Aunan, Matay, Anom, Pagate, Sassayane, Goaé, Fatigane, Togane, Pago, Illig, Tachia, Hypanne, Mahilongue, Tolofoto, Hypanne [again?], Astiga, Inarahanne, Agfayanne, Aayanne, Tchiaoude, Manello, Cloutan, Laty, Mérizo, Ile aux Cocos, Umatac, Fouha, Facpi, Anaye [I.], Aloupan [I.], Raugue, Allatty, Agad, Apsuka, Dady, Neye [I.], Opatan, Orotté, St. Yago [fort], St. Louis [fort], Sta. Cruz [fort], Soumaye, Illik, Apra, Oloomia, Atinggiou(?), Tchiougo, Gaa, Aguada, Alléguase, Sasa, I. aux chèvres [i.e. Cabras], Luminau, Ledjeau, Calalan [bank], Tuikio (a mountain peak), Pacpak (a peak), Massou (a river), Topongat (a point), Acahy-fanihy (a point) [i.e. Asan Point], Gapan (a rock).

Then follows a 2-page “general description of Guam Island.”

c) A 14-page ms. called, in translation, an analysis of the astronomical and trigonometric operations made in order to draw the general chart of the Mariana Island Archipelago—Visual description of the islands and altitudes of some of their points. It includes remarks on Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, Saipan, etc.

d) Another 9-page ms. which is a set of astronomical readings & positions in the Mariana Islands taken in June 1819.

e) Idem for Danger Is., dated 31 August 1819.

f) Meteorological observations made at Van Diemen's Land [Tasmania], at New Holland [Australia], and in New Zealand.

g) 1-page description of the anchorage at the port of Kayrai (Kayekakoa) [New Zealand].

h) 1 sketch of an unnamed peak, or sugar-loaf hill near a walled compound by the sea.

i) 1 drawing of an unnamed European-type church upon a truncated pyramidal structure.

j) a sketch of an irrigation canal system, unidentified.

k) a table of sightings made by the officers of the *Uranie* at Danger Is.

1 Ed. note: From Agaña clockwise. See Doc. 1819N for details published in Vol. 8 of Freycinet's Voyage.

l) an offprint (appears to have come from the *Annales des Voyages*, a French nautical magazine of the period), pp. 173-180, dealing with the voyages of Captain Beechey; idem, pp. 19-20, entitled (in French): "Last notes about Danger Islands."

m) Letter to Captain Freycinet regarding the longitude of the Mariana Islands and Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands (16 small-size pages).

n) A sheet from the newspaper "Le Constitutionnel", dated Saturday 24 July 1820.

o) Supplement to the "Moniteur Universel", dated Tuesday 29 May 1821.

p) "Moniteur Universel", dated 21 December 1820.

Folder N° 11: Notes taken during a voyage to Naples in 1816.

Folder N° 12: Voyage of the schooner **Rose** to Greece in 1815. The file includes (1) a beautiful sketch, rather a panoramic view, of the island of Pylos, seen from the harbor at Navarin [sic]; (2) charts of the harbor of Navarin; (3) 12 other sketches, one of which is that of the hull of the schooner **Rose**.

Folder N° 13: Another file on Duperrey's appointments and details of his naval career.

Folder N° 14: File on a hydrographic mission to Mount-Argental in Tuscany [Italy] in 1811.

Folder N° 15:

General correspondence file concerning the voyage of the **Coquille**. About 50 letters dated 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824.

Folder N° 16: Sanitary instructions issued to officers entrusted with health matters for the expedition commanded by Lieutenant Duperrey in 1822. This is a 32-page ms. signed by the Inspector General of the Navy's Health Division, Mr. Kérandéen, at Paris on 8 June 1822.

Folder N° 17: Chapter XI: Some details regarding the political history of Chile [published?]

Folder N° 18:

Voyage of the **Coquille**—Table of geographic positions—Final copy for the printer.

Folder N° 19:

Same voyage: Tables of the routes taken by the royal corvette **Coquille** and of the meteorological observations, 1822-25.

Folder N° 20: 2 reports, published by Freycinet(?):

- 1) Partie botanique, par Mr. Mirbel, 1827;
- 2) Rapport fait à l'Académie, 23 avril 1821.

Folder N° 21:

Voyage of the *Coquille*.

A ms. document containing observations made on the diurnal variations of the magnetized needle, of the thermometer and the barometer, made at 5 stations along the voyage.

Folder N° 22:

More instructions and administrative papers regarding the voyage of the corvette *Coquille*. Inter alia, there are letters from the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, e.g. Letter from the Ministry of the Navy & Colonies, dated Paris 19 June 1822, from which I copied the interesting quote (translated):

"... The main purpose of this mission is to determine precisely the positions of the islands comprising the Caroline Archipelago, and, if circumstances permit it, to collect the same data regarding New Guinea, and for the two northernmost islands of the Mariana Islands."

Enclosed is a sub-folder which originally contained many papers officially annexed to the Instructions issued to Lieutenant Duperrey, Commander of the corvette *Coquille*. The items originally included were as follows:

- 1) Memorandum written by Mr. de Rosily and Mr. de Rossel: a) a planned itinerary for the voyage; b) a note on Campbell and Duke of Clarence Islands.
- 2) Notes from the Academy of Sciences with observations requested.
- 3) Sanitary instructions [see above].
- 4) Inventory list of the instruments, books and charts issued to Mr. Duperrey.
- 5) 2 letters from the English Government to the Commander of the Navy & Colonies.
- 6) 1 passport sent by the King of the Low Countries.
- 7) 1 letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain.

Appendix 2

Governor Medinilla's 30-year service record

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

Note: In view of the contents of previous Doc. 1818G, Medinilla expected some reward.

Reports submitted by Governor Medinilla, dated 18 December 1818

Original text in Spanish.

M. Y.S.

En vista de la Superior Orden de V.S. de fha 10 del ultimo mes de Julio, por la qual tuvo à vien el prevenirme de que Don José Navarrete me auxiliaria, con los quintales de Polvora que pudiese, lo hà verificado mandandome entregar dos Quintales, una Arrova y diez, y ocho libras, como àsi mismo para Ayuda del velamen que me ès preciso mandar hacer à la Goleta que tengo puesta en construccion para las Expediciones de las Yslas del Norte ochenta varas de Manta de Ylocos, y quarenta de Loneta gruesa, lo que comunico à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor guarde Y.L. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Diciembre 18 de 1818.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

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

[Petition]

M. Y.S.

Don José de Medinilla, y Pineda, Teniente del Regimiento de linea, El Ynfante Don Carlos, y actual Gobernador Politico, Militar, y Capitan General de las Yslas Marianas, ànte V.S. con el mayor respeto se presenta, y dice: Que haviendose inclinado desde sus tiernos años al honrrroso servicio de las Armas à imitacion de sus Ascendientes, y noticioso de hallarse en Lima el Excellentísimo Señor Marques de Campo Santo, y Conde de Villa Pineda, su Tio, de Ynspector General Cavo Principal de las Armas y Gobernador del Callao, de la Ciudad de Lima; tuvo à vien el dirigirse desde Sevilla su Patria hasta dha Ciudad, en donde à su llegada se encontró con la novedad de haver cesado este Gefe en sus Empleos, y proximo à regresar à España, y àunque este suceso

*puñera haver hecho bariar de idea por faltarle la inmediatecion, y arrimo del enunciado su Tio, no obstante su inclinacion à tan brillante curso, y la confianza en la Soverana piedad de S.M. le hizo solicitar los cordones de Cadete en el indicado Regimiento, en donde permanecio desde el 24 de Abril de 1788, hasta el 15 de Noviembre de 1803. En cuyo tiempo contrajo barios servicios extraordinarios, siendo uno de ellos que à los nueve meses de su Carrera fue nombrado por el Excelentísimo Señor Don Teodoro de la Croix en clase de Ayudante para la Expedicion que hizò en àquellas Mares el Navio que se nombro **San Pablo**, en prosecucion de los Yngleses que se inferia estuviesen Establecidos en las Yslas de San Felix en donde diariamente hera comisionado por su Comandante Don Carlos Moncayo, para explorar, y reconocer con Embarcaciones menores, todas las Radas, Calas, y Puertos de las Costas del Peru, Chile, y las Yslas de àquel Mar, donde sufrió considerables trabajos, hallandose muchas ocasiones en àrriesgados peligros, pues el Navio se enmarava muchas leguas de distancia, siendo muchas veces preciso de Navegar en el Bote tres dias sin àvistarle, llevando siempre la Escolta necesaria tanto de Tropa, como de Tripulacion, de todo lo que resulto el quebranto del Naufragio que experimentó el citado Buque en el Bajo llamado Punta de Galera, entre Chiloe, y Baldivia, habiendo por Divina providencia livertado la vida, àunque con perdida de todo su Equipaje. Siete meses, y .?. dias duro en àquella Expedicion, y despues de haverse concluido fué nombrado por el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Don Frey Francisco Gil de Lemus de Yngeniero Voluntario donde sele confiaron infinitas Comisiones de la mayor consideracion que siempre desempeñò à satisfaccion de sus Gefes, habiendo permanecido en el citado Cuerpo mas de ocho años hasta 13 de Octubre de 97 que pasó à servir en clase de Subteniente de Dragones en el Esquadron de la Reyna Maria Luisa en donde à mas del servicio diario fué eligido para plantear, situar, y formar el Campamento Volante que en el año de 1798 en la Hacienda ò Chacara [sic] de Rios, quedando despues Campado mas de dos meses, y continuado sus servicios en dicho Esquadron hasta 23 de Diciembre de 99 que por Orden de S.M. fué extinguido, y de Orden del Excelentísimo Señor Marques de Osorno è incorporado en su antiguo Regimiento hasta el 13 de Noviembre de 1803 que el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marques de la Concordia, hecho cargo de las circunstancias en que pasava à encargarse del mando de ese Reyno el Señor Don Manuel Gonzales, por especial Orden tuvo à vien nombrarle para que le àcompañase en Clase de su Ayudante, y en dos años que permanecio à su lado desempeñò con la mayor exâctitud, quantos cargos tuvo à vien poner à su cuidado hasta el 14 de Octubre de 1811, que le nombrò para servir el Gobierno de estas Yslas, del qual tomò posecion el 20 de Julio de 1812, y en los seis años, y cinco meses que lleva de servirlo, tiene la satisfacion de haver contraido algunos otros servicios de la mayor importancia, como ha sido el que habiendo recibido Oficio de esa Superioridad con fha 24 de Septiembre de 1814, y adjunto Testimonio de las diligencias practicadas, de resultas de que se havian extablecido en clase de Pobladores en la Ysla de Agrigan, penultima de las de esta Cordillera, cinquenta Yngleses, otros tantos Yndios, y como sesenta Yndios naturales de las Yslas de San Duwich [sic], procediese à inquirir, y examinar el àsumpto advitrando, àquello que conceptuase mas justo,*

y arreglado, y como huviese conocido los graves perjuicios que con el tiempo podrian resultar del tal extablecimiento à las Yslas de Saypan, Tinian, y esta, no teniendo Buque el Presidio se descidio à berificar la despoblacion de dha Ysla de Agrigan, sin el mas leve quito de este Presidio ni del Real Haver, y si en el todo à sus expensas con el Bergantin de su propiedad, y para el intento lo hizo Peltrechar en Guerra, y con sesenta hombres de todas Armas, al Cargo del primer Piloto, y Alfez de Fragata de la Real Armada Don Josè Tirado, dio la vela para la indicada Ysla à fines de Abril del expresado año catorce [sic] habiendo verificado su buelta con las quarenta, y ocho personas de ambos sexos que solo havia, las quales despues de haverse reconciliado con la Yglesia los Yngleses, y à los Yndios, è Yndias logrado Catequizar, Casaron con las Mugerres que àntes tenian, y se hallan en el dia extablecidos en esta.

[Carolinian immigrants in the Marianas]

En oficio de 29 de Mayo de 1815, hizo presente à esa Superioridad que desde el primer año de su ingreso en este, y luego que llegaron los Carolinos del Sur, les havia conocido la mayor docilidad, y quan facil podria ser su reduccion, motivos que le ànmaron à mandar hacer una Espedicion à sus Yslas, con barios obsequios para el Rey, y otros Principales, de que resultò huviesen buelto al año siguiente àcompañando à los embiados, en diez, y ocho Bancas, siento beinte, y ocho Yndios, y que le embiase à decir el Rey llamado Yequitip, que estava pronto à benirse con los suyos à extablecer à estas Yslas, si sele mandava Buque capaz para trasladar con alguna comodidad las Mugerres, è Hijos, lo que le diò motivo à ofrecer à dicha Superioridad para su traslacion sin el menor interes el expresado Bergantin con mas todos los auxilios de viveres que huvieran sido de necesidad, para las Expediciones que huvieran òcurrido ser preciso hacer, habiendose exímido solo por falta de proporcion (lo que lo fuè bastante sencible) al pago de Pilotos, y Tripulacion.

En el mes de Marzo del año proximo anterior [i.e. 1817] habiendo visto que estos Reales Almacenes se hallavan exáustos de todo recurso para la asistencia del crecido numero de Raciones que hà señalado desde el principio de su Gobierno, y que se distribuyen de diario à los Oficiales, Tropa, Viudas de estos, y otros àgraciados, y que esta Ysla no la podia prestar ningun recurso para el cuidado del citado Alfez de Fragata Don Josè Tirado, mandò el ènunciado Bergantin de su propiedad à las Yslas de Saypan y Tinian de donde logrò bolviere à los treinta, y siete dias con un cargamento capaz para sostener los Consumos de àlimento del Presidio por seis meses.

Con fha 26 del ultimo mes de Mayo hizo presente à ese Superior Gobierno con Testimonio de las diligencias que practicò, que no habiendole sido facil, poderse desentender de un àsumpto tan preciso, y relevante, al servicio de àmbas Magestades, havia mandado hacer à sus expensas, una otra Expedicion à las citadas Yslas Carolinas, y que havia resultado, que el indicado Rey Yequitip, le huviese mandado à su segundo, nombrado Cantao, en Clase de Embajador, con sus Capitanes ò Tamones, y noventa, y ocho de sus Subditos, en solicitud de que le señalase Tierras para benirse à establecer à ellas luego que sele mandase Buque para trasladar las sus Mil, y mas personas que

àvitavan las Yslas de su Juridiccion, haviendole dado al dicho Cantao, para que en su nombre lo presentase, con el fin de que no dudase de su seguridad, à una Sobrina suya con su Esposa, cinco Hijos, y quatro Yndios mas, suplicandoles los mandase hir à establecer à la Ysla de Saypan, por ser à la que todos se inclinavan, los que mando en consorcio de todos, y en nombre del Rey (que Dios guarde) tomaron Posecion, y quedaron establecidos, como asimismo hizo dejar en su Casa à un Sobrino de Cantao yà Cristiano, y à un Muchacho su Criado; Lo que le bolvió à prestar ocasion para bolver à ofrecer para su traslacion à dicho Superior Gobierno el referido Bergantin con los auxilios de viveres, que huvieran sido preciso, y el pago de Pilotos, y Tripulacion, siempre que el M.Y.S. Governador huviese tenido à vien en virtud de las facultades que S.M. le tiene conferidas, mandar librar su importe de las Reales Caxas, con cargo de reintegro con los Situados que à su favor tiene vencidos à la fecha en el Reyno de N. E., y por separado, y bajo las mismas circunstancias dos Mil pesos mas, para que huviesen benido empleados de Manila en Efectos àdequados para hir vistiendo las familias conforme fuesen llegando de sus Yslas.

*En este estado, y teniendo à su favor las dos Reales Ordenes de S.M. que en copia certificada con la debida solemnidad presenta, como asi mismo la Oja que àcredita sus servicios Militares, dada la primera en San Lorenzo en 13 de Octubre de 789, en que previene sele àviendo en la primera Vacante de Subteniente con preferencia à otros que por sus servicios, y calidades no tengan tan justas recomendaciones, y la segunda expedida en Madrid à 3 de Abril de 1816, en virtud de haver hecho presente la Junta de Gobierno de la Real Compañia de Filipinas la distinguida conducta que observó el Suplicante con motivo de haver encallado en una restinga cerca de esta Ysla en Febrero de 814 la Fragata de la Compañia que se nombró **Santiago**, manifestando que à los auxilios que prestò movido de su ardiente celo por el bien publico y por el mejor servicio de S.M. à su actividad, y desinterés se deve en gran parte el haverse salvado la Tripulacion, y cargamento del Buque, y que condesciendo S.M. con los deseos de la Junta de Gobierno de la expresada Compañia. se hà servido declarar que la conducta que observe el exponente, con motivo de la perdida de la incinuada Fragata, hà merecido su Soberana àprovacion, y aprecio, mandando sele den las gracias en su Real nombre, y se tengasen consideracion el merito que hà contraido para los àdelantos en su Carrera como asi mismo el que à la presente cuenta cumplidos treinta años, siete meses, y beinte, y ocho dias de constante activo, y particulares servicios, al Rey, y à la Patria, con mas la recomendacion de los que pueda haver contraido su expresado Tio. Espera que la Justificacion de V.S. se digne proponerlo à S.M. para que su Real piedad le conceda el Gobierno de la Provincia de Huarochirí en el Reyno del Peru, con la graduacion que sea de su Real agrado, en atencion à los repetidos àgravios que en su Regimiento le hare inferido sin otro merito mas que el de haver pasado à servir este destino sin haverlo pretendido, y se nombradolo esa Capitanía General por el mejor servicio del Rey, de cuya Real beneficencia deve esperar que oy da el dictamen de V.S. sele conceda la gracia que solicita.*

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, en las Yslas Marianas, y Diciembre 18 de 1818.

M. Y. S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Regimiento de linea del Infante D. Carlos.

El Teniente Don Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda, su edad quarenta y ocho años, su calidad ..., su Pais Sevilla, su salud buena, sus servicios y circunstancias los que se expresan.

<i>Tiempo en que empezo à servir en los Empleos</i>		<i>Tiempo que àqui sirvio, y quanto en cada Empleo.</i>	
<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Dias Meses Años</i>	<i>Empleos</i>	<i>Años Meses Dias</i>
<i>Cadete</i>	<i>24 Abril 1788</i>	<i>De Cadete</i>	<i>9 5 19</i>
<i>Alfz. del Esquadron de Maria Luisa</i>	<i>13 Octre. 1797</i>	<i>De Alfz. de Dragones</i>	<i>2 2 10</i>
<i>Yncorporado en este Cuerpo por despacho</i>	<i>23 Dizre. 1799</i>	<i>De Subte. agregado</i>	<i>4 2 23</i>
<i>Reformado en Yd.</i>	<i>14 Marzo 1804</i>	<i>Yd. de Reformado</i>	<i>3 4 9</i>
<i>Reemplazado por S.M.</i>	<i>23 Julio 1807</i>	<i>De Subte. Efectivo</i>	<i>5 2 8</i>
<i>Teniente</i>	<i>1º Sept. 1812</i>	<i>De Teniente</i>	<i>3 3 18</i>
		<i>Total hasta 18 de Diciembre de 1818</i>	<i>30 7 28</i>

Regimiento donde hà servido. En este, y en Dragones de Maria Luisa hasta que bolvió al Cuerpo. Campañas, y acciones de Guerra en que se hà hallado, y otros Servicios.

Hà estado à Corso en el Navio San Pablo contra los Yngleses desde 6 de Julio de 89, hasta 28 de Febrero de 90.

Obtuvo Real Orden para Oficial en 13 de Octubre de 89.

Estuvo de Yngeniero Voluntario ocho años, y meses hasta que salio à Oficial de Dragones en 97, y en 99, fue extinguido el Esquadron, è incorporado en su àntiguo Regimiento hasta 13 de Noviembre de 803, que el Excelentísimo Señor Marques de la Concordia, le nombrò de Ayudante del Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas, cuyo Empleo desempeñò hasta el 14 de Octubre de 811, que fuè electo Gobernador de Yslas Marianas...

[MCF faulty: 8 blurred lines.]

En 814, mando hacer una Expedicion à su Costa à las Yslas Carolinas, y en 815 dió parte al citado Superior Gobierno haver reducido al Rey à que se viniese con los suyos à Establecer à esta, y para el efecto de su traslacion con todos los auxilios necesarios ofreció el Bergantin de su propiedad.

Obtuvo Real Orden con fecha 3 de Abril de 815 en que previene S.M. que la conducta que observó con motivo de la perdida de la Fragata de la Real Compañia que se

*nombró **Santiago** hà merecido s Soverana àprovacion y àprecio mandando sele den las gracias en su Real nombre, y se tenga en consideracion el merito que à contraido para los àdelantos en su carrera.*

En 816, habiendo visto que en esta Ysla, y Reales Almacenes no tenia arbitrio para el sosten de las Raciones, mando sin costo del Real Haver, el citado Bergantin à las Yslas del Norte de las que bolvió con un cargamento capaz para la subsistencia de seis meses.

En Mayo del presente año ofrecio de nuevo al enunciado Superior Gobierno, el indicado Bergantin para la traslacion de los citados Yndios Carolinos, por haverle mandado el Rey, à su Segundo en solicitud de que sele señalasen Tierras en la Ysla de Saypan, para venirse à ella, con sus subditos y para que no dudase de su seguridad le mando a una sobrina suya, con su esposo, cinco hijos, y cuatro Indios mas, los que se hayan establecidos en dicha isla.

San Ignacio de Agaña en las Islas Marianas y Dic. 18 de 1818.

...

Translation.

Illustrious Sir.

In view of the Superior Order of Y.L. dated 10 July last, by which you arranged for Mr. José Navarrete to help me, with as many quintals of gunpowder as he could, he did so, and ordered that I be given 2 quintals, 1 arroba and 18 pounds of it. In addition, I received from him 80 yards of Ilocos canvas and 40 yards of heavy canvas, to help me with the equipping of the schooner that I am now building to make expeditions to the northern Islands. I report same to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 December 1818.

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

[Petition]

Illustrious Sir.

I, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant of the regular Infante Don Carlos [i.e. Prince Charles] Regiment, and present Political and Military Governor of the Mariana Islands and their Captain General, appear before Y.L. with all due respects, and do declare: That, having dedicated myself since my tender years to the honorable service of the Arms, as my Ancestors did, and having heard that His Excellency the Marquis of Campo Santo and Count of Villa Pineda, my uncle, was Inspector General and Senior Officer in charge of the Arms, and Governor of Callao [port] of the City of Lima, I decided to leave Seville, my hometown, and go to said city, where upon my arrival I learned that this Officer had quit his jobs and was about to return to Spain. In spite of this turn of events, that could have made me desist, on account of the lack of material and moral support of the above-said my uncle, I nevertheless decided to trust in the

sovereign mercy of H.M. and to pursue my career goals, by soliciting the cordons of Cadet Officer in the said Regiment, in which I served from 24 April 1788¹ until 15 November 1803. During this interval, I contracted various extraordinary services, for instance, one of them came only nine months from the beginning of my career, when His Excellency Teodoro de la Croix appointed me Adjudant in the Expedition that he made in those seas aboard the ship named **San Pablo** to go in search of the Englishmen who were presumed to be settled in the Islands of San Felix, during which my Commander, Don Carlos Moncayo, assigned me almost every day to explore and reconnoiter with small boats all of the roads, coves and ports along the coasts of Peru, Chile and the islands of that sea, where I suffered considerable hardships, as I found myself many times in the midst of dangers. Indeed, the ship would drift many leagues away, and it was necessary many times to sail in the boat for up to three days without sighting it, although I always had the proper escort with me, soldiers as well as a boat crew. The outcome of said expedition was the disastrous shipwreck that occurred to said ship upon the shoals called Punta de Galera, between Chiloe and Baldivia. I came out alive, thank God, but I lost all my gear. That expedition lasted 7 months and .?. days. After it was over, I was appointed Engineering Volunteer by His Excellency Viceroy Fray Francisco Gil de Lemus. Out of this came an infinite number of commissions of great importance that I always fulfilled to the satisfaction of my superiors. All in all, I had served a total of 8 years in that Corps, until 13 October 1797, when I was transferred to the Maria Luisa Squadron to serve as Sub-Lieutenant of Dragoons. There, in addition to the daily service, I was selected to plan, organize, and create the Flying Camp which in 1798 was encamped in the Hacienda or Chacra² of Rios, where I remained for more than two months. My services with said Squadron lasted until 23 December 1799 when, by order of H.M., it was abolished. Then, by order from His Excellency the Marquis of Osorno, I was incorporated back into my old Regiment until 13 November 1803, when His Excellency the Viceroy Marquis of Concordia, having been appraised of the circumstances under which Don Manuel Gonzalez was passing to that Kingdom to take over its government,³ he issued a special order appointing me as his Aide-de-camp. I remained by his side for two years, carrying out as many tasks as he assigned me as best I could, until 14 October 1811, when he appointed me Governor of these Islands, a post that I assumed on 20 July 1812. During the 6 years and 5 months that I have served so far, I have had the satisfaction of having contracted many other services of great importance. For example, when I received an official letter from that Superior Government dated 24 September 1814 [rather 1813], enclosing a Record of proceedings to the effect that 50 Englishmen, with as many Indians, as well as 60 Indians natives of the Sandwich Islands, had settled on Agrigan Island, the penultimate of this island chain,

1 Ed. note: He must have been only 14 years old when he became a cadet officer, because he was 48 years old when he wrote this petition (see below).

2 Ed. note: *Chacra* is a Quetchua word (from the Indian language of Peru) meaning rural estate, or farm.

3 Ed. note: Manuel Gonzalez was Governor of the Philippines from 1810 to 1812.

I began to inquire and examine the matter, to determine what would be more just and possible. Given that such a settlement could eventually cause grave prejudices to the Islands of Saipan, Tinian, and this one, it was decided to depopulate said Island of Agrihan. However, the Garrison did not have a ship to carry this out. Without the least charge against the Royal treasury, and entirely at my own expenses, I made ready my own brigantine¹ and equipped her with weapons, and 60 men belonging to all Arms. I despatched them under the command of Navy Chief Pilot and Sub-Lieutenant José Tirado.² He set sail for said Island at the end of April of said year of 1814. He did return with 48 persons of both sexes, the only ones who had lived there. After the Englishmen had been reconciled with the Church, and the Indian men and women been catechized, they were married with the wives whom they had had before, and until today they reside here.

[Carolinian immigrants in the Marianas]

In a letter dated 29 May 1815, I reported to that Superior Government that, as of the first year of my arrival here, I came to know Carolinians from the South, found them to be very docile, and realized that their reduction could be effected, reasons for which I ordered an expedition to be made to their Islands, with various presents for the King, and other Chiefs. The result was that, the following year, those sent overthere returned with 18 canoes, carrying 28 Indians. and a message from the King, named Yequitip, to the effect that, if I were to send him a ship able to transport comfortably the women and children, he would be willing to move with his people and settle in these Islands. This circumstance led me to make a proposal to said Superior Government for their transport, without the least cost, offering my brigantine and all of the assistance by way of food supplies that might be needed, for as many voyages as required, the only exception (which could not be avoided) being the salary of the pilots and crew.

During the month of March of last year [i.e. 1817], it was realized that the Royal Warehouses here were found empty of everything necessary for assistance, through the distribution of daily rations to the officers, soldiers, their widows, and to other beneficiaries. The number of such rations had increased since the beginning of my term and I could not give any support to the above-named Midshipman José Tirado. I therefore despatched my brigantine to the Islands of Saipan and Tinian whence they successfully returned within 37 days with a load able to provide food supplies for the Garrison for six months.³

I sent another report to that Superior Government, dated 26 May last, enclosing a Record of proceedings which I instigated, to the effect that I could not abandon a mat-

1 Ed. note: His own Guam-based schooner was named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** whose pilot was a young Englishman named Robert Wilson.

2 Ed. note: Navy Lieutenant had arrived at Guam in charge of the RPC ship **Santiago** that was shipwrecked on Calalan Reef at the entrance of Apra Harbor in February 1814.

3 Ed. note: March 1817 was therefore the earlier date at which a permanent settlement was made at Tinian, unless the brigantine made another trip at the end of those six months, i.e. end of 1817, or very early in 1818 (see Doc. 1818A).

ter that was so necessary and relevant to the service of both Majesties, and had despatched another expedition at my expense to said Caroline Islands, the result of which had been that said King Yeguitip had sent his lieutenant, named Cantao, as an Ambassador, with his Captains or Tamons, and 98 of his subjects, and asking for lands to be assigned them, so that he could come and settle on them, once a ship could be sent him to transport the one thousand or so persons who lived in the islands under his jurisdiction. So that I would not doubt his sincerity, he had entrusted said Cantao to present to me on his behalf, one of his nieces, along with her husband, their five children, and 4 other Indians, and a request that they be settled in the Island of Saipan, on account of their common choice. Consequently, I ordered them all to be transported to said Island, which they took possession of in the name of the King (whom may God save), and where they remain settled.¹ In addition, I decided to keep with me in my house a nephew of Cantao who was already a Christian, and one boy, his servant. This was another occasion for me to offer my brigantine, as well as the necessary food supplies, to said Superior Government, plus the salaries for the pilots and crew, provided that Your Illustrious Lordship the Governor would see fit to apply the powers granted you by H.M. and order the deliverance of the amount of said expenses from the Royal treasury, to be deducted from the Subsidies that were due me at the time in the Kingdom of New Spain, plus 2,000 pesos, under the same circumstances, to be employed in Manila for the purchase of goods suitable for clothing the families, upon their arrival from their islands.²

In this statement, and thanks to the Royal orders from H.M. of which I present certified copies with due solemnity, and also the sheet that substantiate my military services, given at San Lorenzo on 13 October 1789, in which I was earmarked for the first vacant post of Sub-Lieutenant, in preference to others who might not have as good recommendations based on previous services and qualifications; plus the other sheet issued in Madrid on 3 April 1816, as a result of the Royal Philippine Company having submitted to the Government-in-Council a report praising my conduct after the frigate of said Company, named **Santiago**, was shipwrecked near this Island on a reef in February 1814, when I provided assistance...

[MCF faulty]

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- 1 Ed. note: The re-settlement of Saipan, therefore, took place between March 1717 and May 1818. It appears that the brigantine **Dolores** did indeed make a special trip to Tinian and Saipan at the end of 1717, or beginning of 1818. However, the trip to the Carolines with the brigantine did not take place, because the funding simply was not available, the source of funds in Mexico having dried up.
 - 2 Ed. note: Oral tradition says that those were the islands of Lamotrek. Perhaps the neighboring groups of Olimarao and Elato were also implicated at that time. If only the logbooks of the brigantine were available!

...[HM] has been pleased to declare that my conduct, respecting said frigate, has merited his Sovereign approval, and appreciation, ordering that I be thanked on his Royal behalf, and that the merit that I have gained be taken into consideration toward future promotions during my career, as well as my length of continuous service (30 years, 7 months and 28 days so far), and the special service to King and Country, along with the recommendation that those of my uncle be taken into account. I hope that Y.L. will deign to provide to H.M. the justification so that his Royal mercy can grant me the Government of the Province of Huarochiri in the Kingdom of Peru,¹ with the promotion that may be of his Royal pleasure, in consideration of the many wrongs that my absence from my Regiment may have caused me, with no other reason that I went on to serve in this post, without even having requested it, but by appointment of that Captaincy General for the better service of the King, from whose beneficence I must expect that the decision of Y.L. will get me the favor that I solicit.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 December 1818.

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Infante Don Carlos Regiment of the Line.

Lieutenant José de Medinilla y Pineda, his age 48 years, his rank [substantive?], his hometown Seville, his health good, his services and circumstances being as follows:

Date as of which I served in said posts		Time served in each post.	
Posts	Day/month/year	Posts	Yrs-mths-days
Cadet Officer	24 April 1788	As Cadet Officer	9-5-19
Subaltern Officer in the			
Maria Luisa Sqdn.	13 Oct. 1797	As a subaltern officer of Dragoons	2-2-10
Received in this Corps			
by official despatch	23 Dec. 1799	As Acting Sub-Lieutenant	4-2-23
Inactive list	14 March 1804	As a retired Sub-Lieut.	3-4-9
Retired by H.M.	23 July 1807	As a substantive Sub-Lieut.	5-2-8
Lieutenant	1 Sept. 1812	As a Lieutenant	3-3-18
		Total as of 18 Dec. 1818	30-7-28

¹ Ed. note: After consulting ancient maps in my collection for that period, I found one on the Intendencia of Lima, drawn by Andrés de Baleato in 1792. It shows that the Province of Huarochiri was located east of Lima, beginning before Matucana and ending at La Oroya, and not extending as far as Tarma. The tiny locality of Huarochiri was located near Quinti, NW of present-day Huancayo, Province of Jauja.

Regiment in which I served. In the above, and in the Dragoons of Maria Luisa until I returned to the Corps. Campaigns and war actions in which I was, and other services.

I was on a cruise aboard the ship **San Pablo** against the English from 6 July 1789 until 28 February 1790.

I obtained a royal commission as an officer on 13 October 1789.

I was an Engineering Volunteer for 8 years and some months until I became an officer with the Dragoons in 1797, but in 1799, when the Squadron was abolished, I rejoined my old Regiment, until 13 November 1803 when His Excellency the Marquis of Concordia appointed me Aide-de-camp to the Captain General of the Philippine Islands, in which post I served until 14 October 1811, when I become Governor-elect of the Mariana Islands.

[MCF faulty: 8 lines blurry]

In 1814, I financed an expedition to the Caroline Islands, and in 1815 I reported to the Superior Government that I had convinced the King to come with his people and settle in this island, and to that effect I proposed to provide all of the necessary assistance for their transportation aboard my own brigantine.

I received a Royal order dated 3 April 1815, in which H.M. stated that my conduct following the loss of the Royal Philippine Company frigate named **Santiago** had merited me his sovereign approbation and appreciation, ordering that I be thanked on his Royal behalf, and that such merit be taken in consideration for future promotions during my career.

In 1816, having seen that in this Island, and in the Royal Warehouses, there was no sufficient means to sustain the rations, I sent, at no cost to the Royal treasury, said brigantine to the northern islands, whence it returned with a load sufficient for six months of subsistence.

In May of this year, I again offered said brigantine to the Superior Government for the transport of said Caroline Indians, on account of a request made by their King, through his Lieutenant, to have lands assigned to them in the Island of Saipan, so that he could move there, with his subjects, and as a proof of his sincerity, he had sent a niece of his, with her husband, their five children, and four other Indians, who are now settled in said Island.

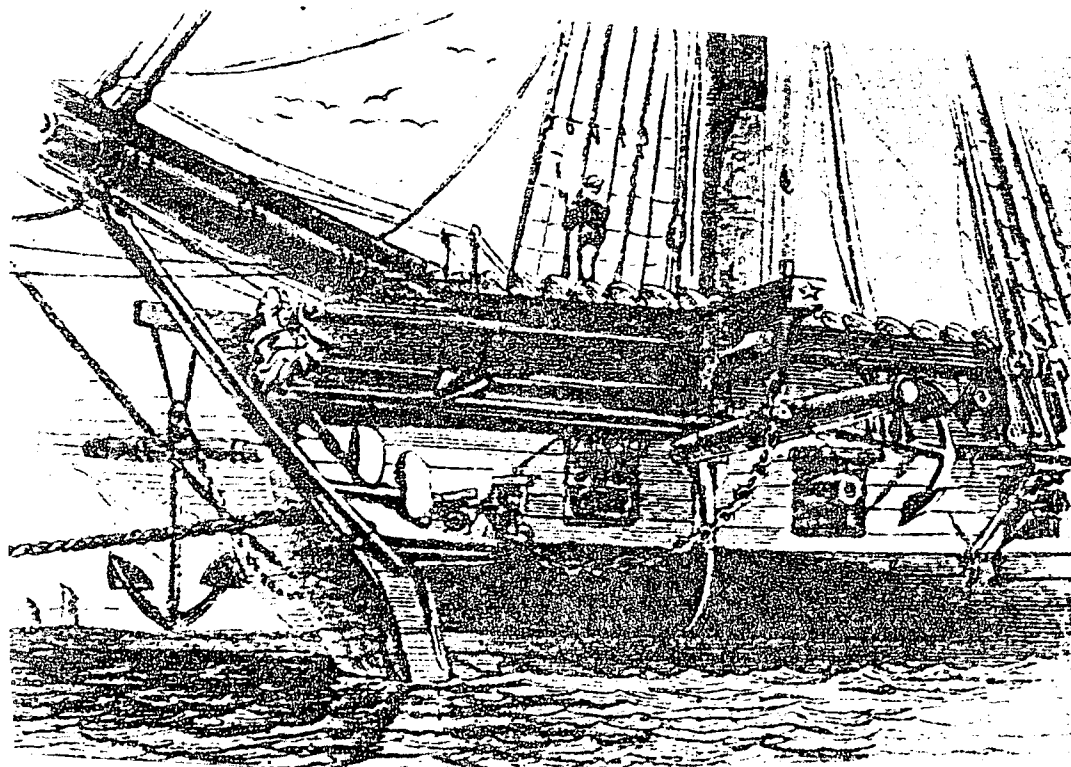
San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 December 1818.

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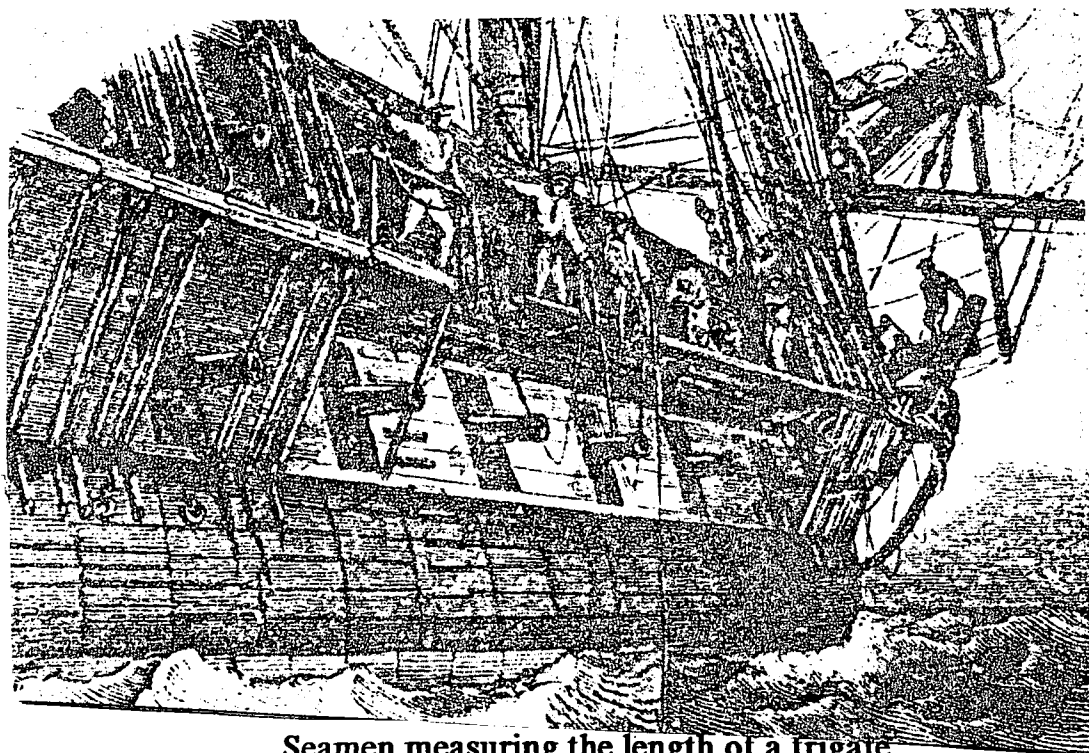
Appendix 3

Life aboard European ships, circa 1840

Some illustrations (following pages)



Bow of a frigate while in port.



Seamen measuring the length of a frigate.

ter that was so necessary and relevant to the service of both Majesties, and had despatched another expedition at my expense to said Caroline Islands, the result of which had been that said King Yeguitip had sent his lieutenant, named Cantao, as an Ambassador, with his Captains or Tamons, and 98 of his subjects, and asking for lands to be assigned them, so that he could come and settle on them, once a ship could be sent him to transport the one thousand or so persons who lived in the islands under his jurisdiction. So that I would not doubt his sincerity, he had entrusted said Cantao to present to me on his behalf, one of his nieces, along with her husband, their five children, and 4 other Indians, and a request that they be settled in the Island of Saipan, on account of their common choice. Consequently, I ordered them all to be transported to said Island, which they took possession of in the name of the King (whom may God save), and where they remain settled.¹ In addition, I decided to keep with me in my house a nephew of Cantao who was already a Christian, and one boy, his servant. This was another occasion for me to offer my brigantine, as well as the necessary food supplies, to said Superior Government, plus the salaries for the pilots and crew, provided that Your Illustrious Lordship the Governor would see fit to apply the powers granted you by H.M. and order the deliverance of the amount of said expenses from the Royal treasury, to be deducted from the Subsidies that were due me at the time in the Kingdom of New Spain, plus 2,000 pesos, under the same circumstances, to be employed in Manila for the purchase of goods suitable for clothing the families, upon their arrival from their islands.²

In this statement, and thanks to the Royal orders from H.M. of which I present certified copies with due solemnity, and also the sheet that substantiate my military services, given at San Lorenzo on 13 October 1789, in which I was earmarked for the first vacant post of Sub-Lieutenant, in preference to others who might not have as good recommendations based on previous services and qualifications; plus the other sheet issued in Madrid on 3 April 1816, as a result of the Royal Philippine Company having submitted to the Government-in-Council a report praising my conduct after the frigate of said Company, named **Santiago**, was shipwrecked near this Island on a reef in February 1814, when I provided assistance...

[MCF faulty]

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- 1 Ed. note: The re-settlement of Saipan, therefore, took place between March 1717 and May 1818. It appears that the brigantine **Dolores** did indeed make a special trip to Tinian and Saipan at the end of 1717, or beginning of 1818. However, the trip to the Carolines with the brigantine did not take place, because the funding simply was not available, the source of funds in Mexico having dried up.
 - 2 Ed. note: Oral tradition says that those were the islands of Lamotrek. Perhaps the neighboring groups of Olimarao and Elato were also implicated at that time. If only the logbooks of the brigantine were available!

...[HM] has been pleased to declare that my conduct, respecting said frigate, has merited his Sovereign approval, and appreciation, ordering that I be thanked on his Royal behalf, and that the merit that I have gained be taken into consideration toward future promotions during my career, as well as my length of continuous service (30 years, 7 months and 28 days so far), and the special service to King and Country, along with the recommendation that those of my uncle be taken into account. I hope that Y.L. will deign to provide to H.M. the justification so that his Royal mercy can grant me the Government of the Province of Huarochiri in the Kingdom of Peru,¹ with the promotion that may be of his Royal pleasure, in consideration of the many wrongs that my absence from my Regiment may have caused me, with no other reason that I went on to serve in this post, without even having requested it, but by appointment of that Captaincy General for the better service of the King, from whose beneficence I must expect that the decision of Y.L. will get me the favor that I solicit.

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

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 18 December 1818.

Illustrious Sir.

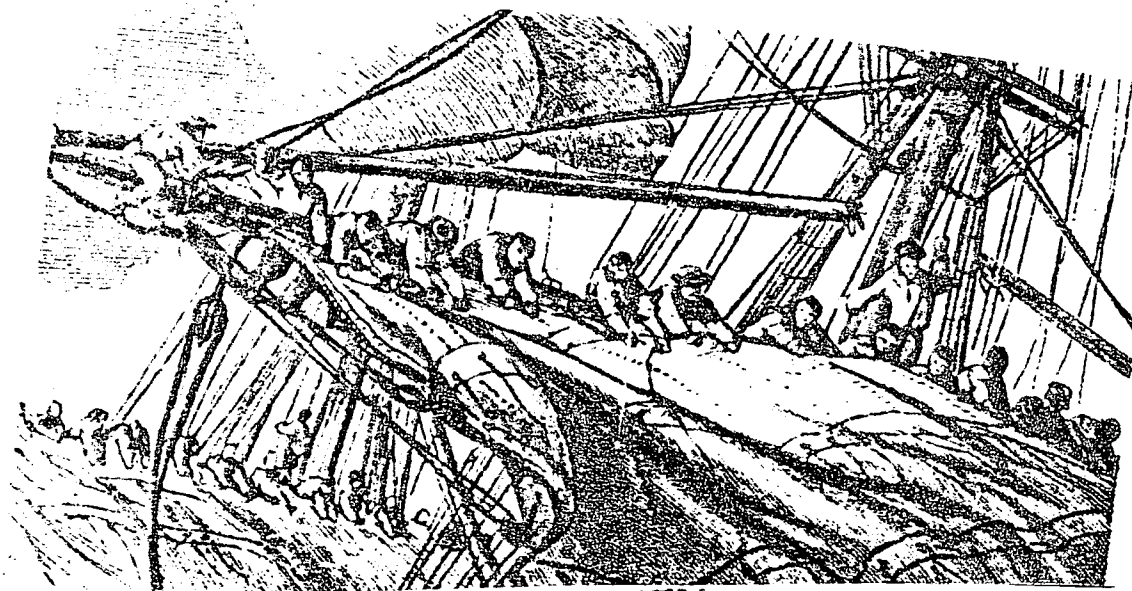
José de Medinilla y Pineda

Infante Don Carlos Regiment of the Line.

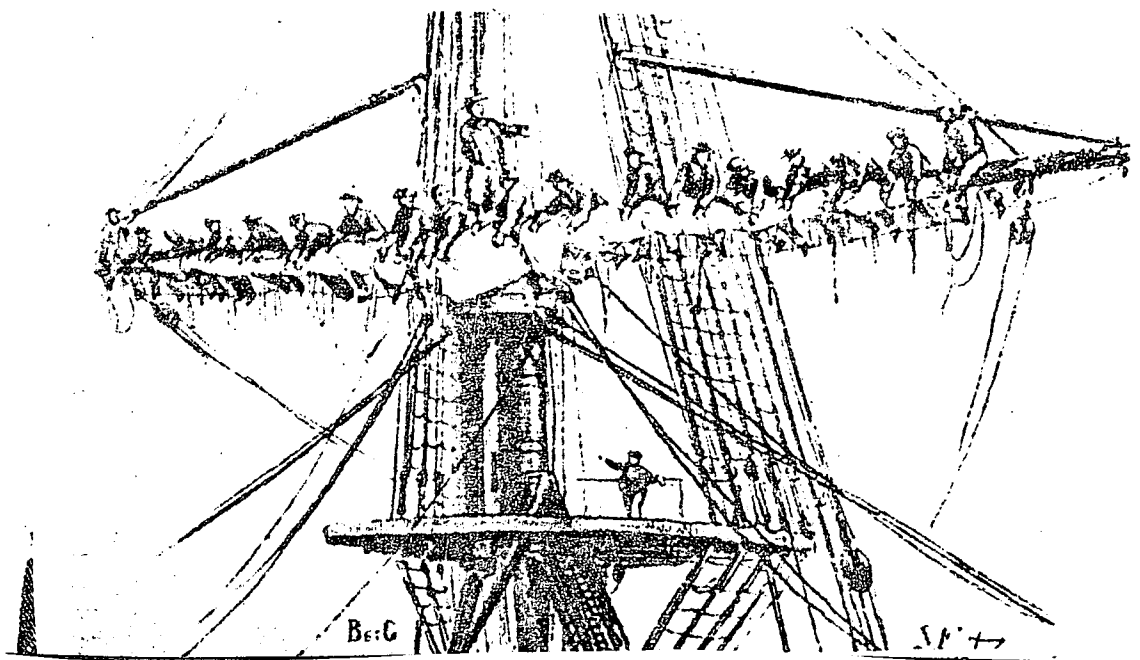
Lieutenant José de Medinilla y Pineda, his age 48 years, his rank [substantive?], his hometown Seville, his health good, his services and circumstances being as follows:

Date as of which I served in said posts		Time served in each post.	
Posts	Day/month/year	Posts	Yrs-mths-days
Cadet Officer	24 April 1788	As Cadet Officer	9-5-19
Subaltern Officer in the Maria Luisa Sqdn.	13 Oct. 1797	As a subaltern officer of Dragoons	2-2-10
Received in this Corps by official despatch	23 Dec. 1799	As Acting Sub-Lieutenant	4-2-23
Inactive list	14 March 1804	As a retired Sub-Lieut.	3-4-9
Retired by H.M.	23 July 1807	As a substantive Sub-Lieut.	5-2-8
Lieutenant	1 Sept. 1812	As a Lieutenant	3-3-18
Total as of 18 Dec. 1818			30-7-28

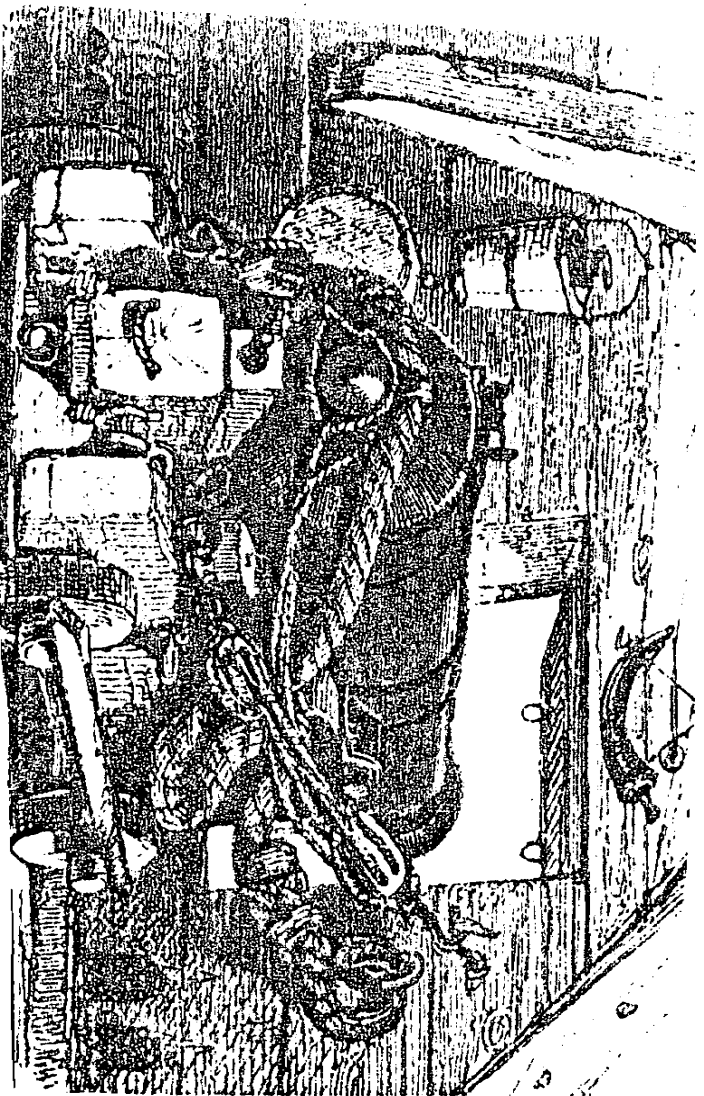
1 Ed. note: After consulting ancient maps in my collection for that period, I found one on the Intendencia of Lima, drawn by Andrés de Baleato in 1792. It shows that the Province of Huarochiri was located east of Lima, beginning before Matucana and ending at La Oroya, and not extending as far as Tarma. The tiny locality of Huarochiri was located near Quinti, NW of present-day Huancayo, Province of Jauja.



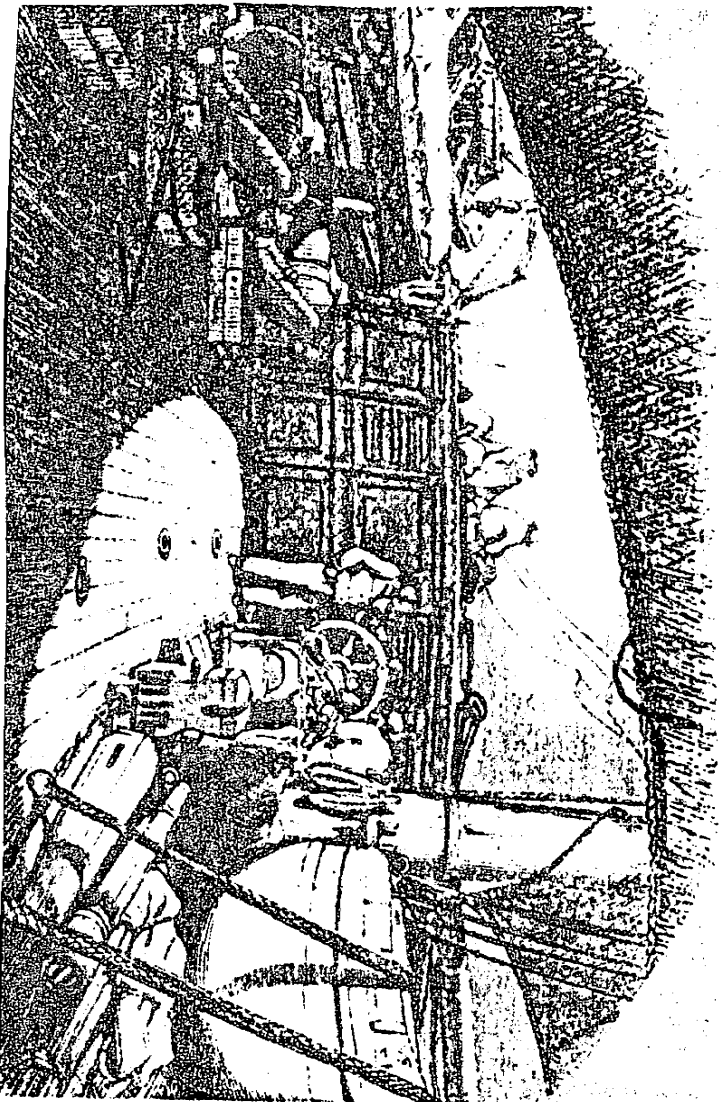
Seamen reefing a sail.



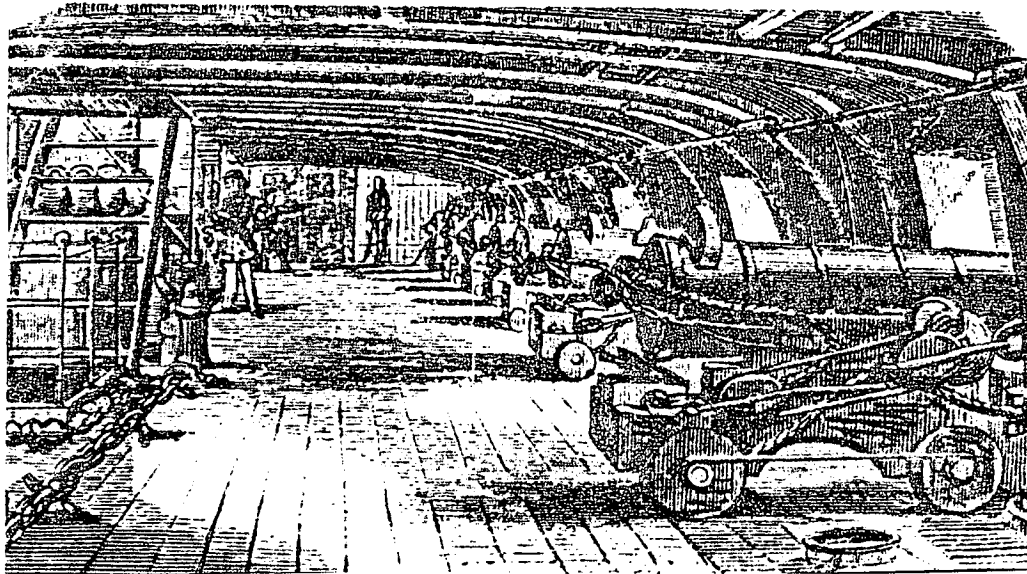
Seamen furling a topsail.



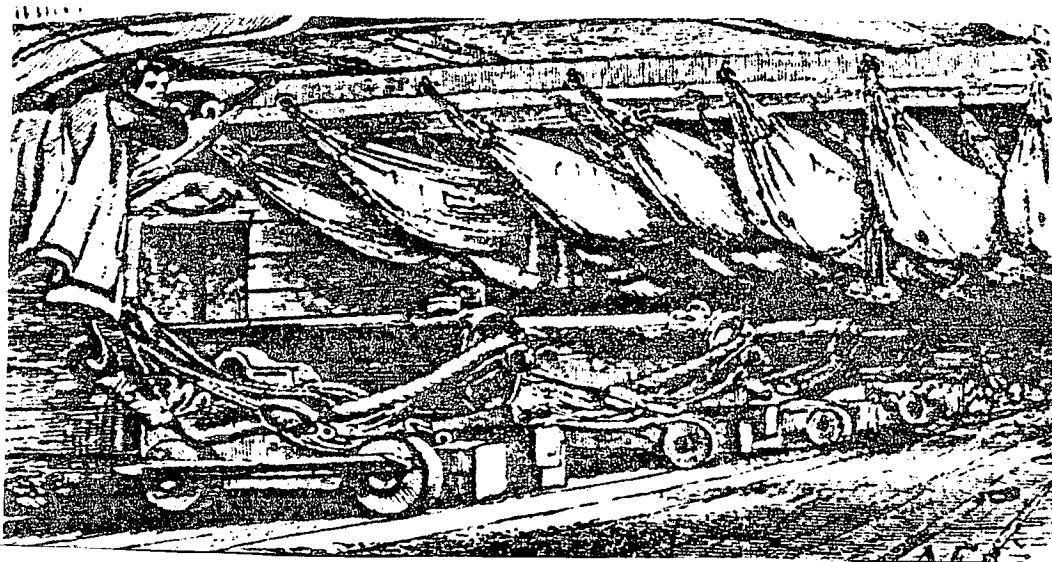
Battery gun in harbor position.



View of the after-deck on board a war brig.



Upper gun deck. Guns in harbor position.



Lower gun deck. Seamen sleeping in their hammocks.

Index

A

Abaiang Atoll
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:344
Abemama Atoll 21:669
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:340
Acosta, Rita de
 despoiled by Gov. Ganga 21:318
 friend of John Johnson 21:316
 mistress of Gov. Medinilla 21:307, 312, 315
 took in Captain Bunker 21:321
Activo, brig 21:139
Agaña, town of
 street plan made by Mr. Bérard 21:71
Agrigan Island
 Carolinians brought there from Guam 21:314
 possible site of Robertson treasure 21:261-262
 sighted by ship Caroline in 1825 21:581
Agujan Island
 described by Freycinet 21:90
Alamagan Island
 sighted by ship China 21:328
Alerta, brig 21:281, 318
Allen, Captain John
 commanded whaler Daniel 21:299
Allen, Captain Joseph
 commanded whaler Maro 21:143
Allen, Peter
 kept log aboard ship General Hamilton 21:242
Anderson, John
 official interpreter 21:304
 pilot of Guam-based schooner 21:292
Ann, whaler 21:297, 307, 312-313
Apra, port of 21:80
 ship arrivals in 1826 21:631
Aquiles, brig 21:623
Arab, ship
 2 of her seamen drowned at Guam 21:231
Arago, François 21:73
Aranuka Atoll 21:387
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:340
Arceo, Francisco
 named Mayor of Rota 21:284
Archaeology
 early archaeologist at Tinian 21:189
Argentina, ship
 insurgent ship flying Dutch flag 21:132
Arismendi, José 21:209
Arno Atoll
 visited by USS Dolphin 21:528, 617
Arriola, Tiburcio
 carpenter aboard Señor San José 21:292
Asia, ship 21:623
Atlantic, ship 21:665
Augustinian Recollects
 three posted to Guam 21:226

Aur Atoll
 visited by USS Dolphin 21:529, 619

B

Barney, Captain Samuel
 commanded whaler Wildman 21:300
Bartlett, Captain J. H.
 commanded brig Leonidas 21:582
Battle
 off Tinian in March 1823 21:272
Beaver, ship
 owned by J. J. Astor & Sons 21:550
Beechey, Captain F. W.
 commanded HMS Blossom in 1826-27 21:651
Beetle, William
 first mate of the whaler Globe 21:559
Belle, ship 21:487
Bérard & Lottin, Lieutenants
 surveyed coast of Kosrae 21:445
Beristáin, Captain José
 commanded brig Concepción in 1824-5 21:300, 576
Bigali Island
 See Pikelot I.
Billard, Captain
 commanded warship Diligente 21:249-250
Blaney Island
 See Nonouti Atoll
Bliss, Captain Andrew 21:639
Blosseville, Mr. de
 despoiled at Kosrae 21:416, 474
 surveyed the coast of Kosrae 21:443
Bordelaise Island
 See Oroluk Atoll
Boston, whaler 21:388
 met Duperrey near Kosrae 21:442
Bowles, Captain William 21:41
Bridges, whaler 21:299
Briton, ship 21:623
Brown, Captain Thomas
 commanded ship Paragon 21:266
Bunker, Captain John
 commanded whaler Castor 21:299, 312, 315, 321

C

Candaso, Teodoro
 Filipino convict 21:225
Canoes, Carolinian 21:433
 described by Jean Dubos 21:39
 those of Chuuk the same 21:482
Canoes, Gilbertese 21:384, 589
Canoes, Kosraean 21:417
 described by Lieut. Jacquinot 21:478
Canoes, Marshallese 21:615
Cape Bojeador 21:147

- Cape Packet**, ship 21:640
Caristo, frigate 21:623
Caroline Islands
 natives described 21:49, 68
 surveyed by the Duperrey Expedition 21:332, 348
 See also Lamotrek Atoll
 See also Reynard, whaler
Caroline, ship 21:581
Carolinian immigrants 21:159, 195, 684
 iron given them to buy large canoes 21:196
 number by 1821 21:197
Cary, William
 his account of the Manila brig 21:578
Caslin, Captain Thoman
 commanded whaler Ann Elizabeth 21:301
Cass, Dr. Eden
 surgeon aboard whaler Coquette 21:309
Castor, whaler 21:299, 321
 sketch of her 21:312
Castro, Lieut.
 in charge of coast guard of Guam 21:135
Catherine, whaler 21:271
Chambers, Dr. Frederick
 deserted at Guam 21:241
Chamorros
 boys sent to Manila for training 21:210
Chase, Captain Shubael
 commanded whaler Foster 21:552
 commanded whaler Japan 21:668
China, ship 21:328
Chuuk Islands
 2 English beachcombers there 21:439
 chart of them made by Mr. Deblois 21:482
 natives described by Lieut. Jacquinot 21:482
 visited by Duperrey 21:364, 432, 448, 482
Clark, Captain Benjamin
 commanded whaler Cape Packet 21:300
Clay, ship 21:577
Cleveland, Captain
 commanded ship Beaver 21:550
Coffin, Captain Frederick
 commanded whaler Syren 21:141, 267
Coffin, Captain John
 commanded whaler Transit 21:296, 308, 311, 315
Coffin, Rowland
 his mitten found at Mili 21:594
Coll, Captain Manuel 21:625
 commanded Santa Rita in 1821 21:199
Colleges of Guam
 San Juan de Letrán, 1821 21:212
Colt, Henry 21:666
Comstock, Samuel B.
 leader of the Globe mutiny 21:489, 495
 biography by his brother 21:547
 declared himself Captain of the Globe 21:566
 laws he made to govern the mutineers 21:506
 killed by other mutineers 21:509, 573
Concepción, brig 21:300
 3 of her men had stayed in Guam 21:309
 cut off at Fiji in 1825 21:576
Congreso, ship 21:249
Constante, brig 21:623
Convicts
 Filipino tradesmen sent to Guam 21:168
 most of them sent back to Manila 21:225
Cook, Captain John
 commanded whaler Royalist 21:301, 582
Copernicus, whaler 21:274, 311
 took some Carolinians Agrigan 21:310
Coquette, whaler 21:300
 her captain murdered in Guam 21:325
Coquille Harbor 21:390
Coquille, corvette 21:332, 336, 437, 441
 her track through Micronesia 21:333
 sketch of her 21:330-331
Cornell, Robert
 mate of whaler Transit 21:316
Count Chabrol
 Minister of the French Navy 21:336
Cretan, whaler 21:300
 mutiny aboard her 21:319
Cruz, José Joaquín de la
 promoted in 1820 21:167
Cuervo, Captain Fernando
 commanded brig Feliz in 1818 21:133
Customs, native
 Chamorro 21:42
 of Kosrae Island 21:358, 401, 411
 burial customs of Kosrae 21:420
 singing and dancing at Kosrae 21:420, 478
 tattooing at Kosrae 21:419
 dance and music at Mili Atoll 21:515
 dress of Mili Atoll 21:518
 Carolinian religion 21:41
 of the Marshall Islands 21:611, 614
- D**
- D'Urville**
 See Dumont d'Urville
D'Urville Island
 See Nama Atoll
Dale, Captain Charles 21:639
David, Captain Edward 21:623
 commanded whaler Mary 21:301, 309
Davis, Midshipman Charles Henry
 wrote a narrative of Globe search 21:585
Dayot, Felix
 first pilot of the ship Santa Rita 21:135
 part-owner of Santa Rita 21:146
Diligente, warship 21:249-250
 captured the Quintanilla 21:251
Dolores, brig 21:223, 225
 unserviceable weapons sent to Manila 21:227
 visited Guam in 1822 21:208
Dubos, Jean 21:32
Dumont d'Urville, Lieut. J.-S.-C.
 his portrait 21:440-441
 islands named after him 21:361
 took part in Duperrey Expedition 21:336
Dumont d'Urville, later Captain
 met survivors of the Manila brig incident 21:578
Duncan, Captain John 21:640
 commanded Sir Charles Price 21:297-298, 316, 321
Dunn, Captain James
 commanded whaler Saracen 21:299, 322
Duperrey Expedition
 medical report by R. P. Lesson 21:437

- narrative of Lieut. Jacquinet 21:454
- narratives of Captain Duperrey 21:331
- narratives of Lieut. Dumont d'Urville 21:441
- narratives of R. P. Lesson 21:380
- Duperrey Islands
 - See Mokil Atoll
- Duperrey, Lieut. Louis-Isidore
 - surveyed Guam in 1819 21:25-26, 29, 62, 74, 77
- Duperrey, later Captain 21:332
 - his portrait 21:329, 331
 - islands named after him 21:361
- Duperrey, later Admiral
 - his papers, or personal archives 21:671

E

- Eagleston, Captain
 - commanded ship Mermaid in 1838 21:578
- Eagleston, Captain John H.
 - commanded barque Peru in 1831 21:580
- Ebon Island
 - first named Boston I. 21:348
- Eddiston, Captain
 - commanded ship Belle 21:487
- Edward, ship 21:550
- Eliza, ship 21:578
- Elizabeth, ship 21:660
- Elizaga, Joaquín de
 - first pilot of ship Carmen 21:135
- Emily, whaler 21:298, 321
- Enterprise, whaler 21:561
- Espinosa, Ignacio
 - died in 1721 21:171
- Eustaquio, Cornelio 21:230, 308, 315, 317

F

- Fabré, Théodore 21:46
- Fanning's Island 21:562
- Fawn, ship 21:639
- Feliz, brig 21:132, 186
 - her manifest in 1821 21:187
- Fenton, Captain 21:635
- Fernandez de Cárdenas, Antonio
 - arrested for indecency 21:207
- Fidelidad, corvette 21:224
 - turned back to Manila 21:225
- Fiji Islands
 - Manila brig cut off there in 1825 21:576
- Filipino, galleon 21:369
- Flor de Mar, ship 21:625
- Folger, Captain
 - commanded whaler Melantho 21:301
- Ford, Captain Ebenezer 21:637
- Ford, Captain Edward
 - commanded whaler Timor 21:300, 321
- Forts of Guam
 - Fort N.S. de la Soledad 21:71
 - report of 1823 21:278
- Fox, Second-Lieut. Francisco 21:643, 646
- Freycinet Expedition
 - journal of gunner Larose 21:72
 - journal of Mr. Gagnes 21:51

- journal of Mr. Railliard 21:67
- journals by Gabert, etc. 21:70
- logbook kept by Lamarche 21:11
- narrative of Jean Dubos 21:32
- narrative of T. Fabré 21:46
- navigation and hydrography 21:73
- official logbook 21:15
- zoological collections 21:121

G

- Gabert, Mr. 21:70
- Gagnes, Mr. 21:51
- Gaimard, Dr. 21:121
- Ganga Herrero, Governor José 21:623
 - his proclamations 21:303, 320
 - his shipping report of 1824 21:298
 - murdered English whaling Captain Stavers 21:325
 - reported drunken English sailors 21:310
 - his conduct criticized in Manila 21:323
- Gani Islands 21:50
 - described by Freycinet 21:93
- Garbutt, Captain
 - commanded whaler Griffin 21:299
- García Camba, General Andrés 21:261, 623
- García Saenz, Juan
 - supercargo of brig San Ruperto 21:139
- Gardner, Captain George W.
 - commanded whaler Maria 21:557
 - formerly commanded whaler Globe 21:558
- Gardner, Captain John 21:665
- Gardoqui, Governor José de
 - his death reported 21:129
- Garrido, Lieut. José
 - commanded schooner Señor San José 21:286, 291
- Garrido, Manuel Tiburcio
 - promoted in 1821 21:171
- Gaztelu, Felix de
 - visited Guam in 1824 21:322
- General Hamilton, ship 21:242
- George and Susan, ship
 - boat crew massacred at Gilbert Islands 21:660
- George, whaler 21:551
- Gibson, Captain John
 - commanded whaler Indian 21:300
- Gilbert Islands
 - list of their various names 21:331
 - surveyed by Duperrey Expedition 21:332, 336
 - visited by Globe mutineers 21:504, 569
- Givry, Mr. 21:675
- Globe, whaler 21:489, 495
 - crew list 21:559
 - boarded by the Comstock brothers 21:557
 - visited Hawaii 21:560-561
 - crewmen shipped at Oahu 21:561
 - mutiny on board 21:487
 - visited the Gilbert Islands 21:569
 - most mutineers killed by natives 21:514
 - some mutineers sailed from Mili with her 21:510
 - arrived back at Nantucket 21:575
 - mutineers sought after by Dolphin 21:585
- Good Success, ship 21:654
- Gradon, Captain John
 - commanded whaler Reynard 21:241

Gray, Captain Andrew
 commanded whaler Ann 21:313
Greenwich, whaler 21:300
 Grey, Captain 21:642
Griffin, whaler 21:299
 Guam 21:49, 657, 660
 first named Wagal by Carolinians 21:382
 geographic description 21:77
 main square described 21:224
 Santa Rosa station closed in 1821 21:193
 schools in 1821 21:211
 military situation in 1823 21:276
 port fees in 1825 21:629
 Gulliver, Captain Henry R.
 commanded whaler Cretan 21:300, 319
 Gulliver, Captain Thomas
 commanded whaler Harleston 21:300
 Guruzeta, Col. Roque 21:623

H

Hall Islands
 See Murilo and Nomwin Atolls
 See also Maiana Atoll
 Hall, Captain John 21:654
 commanded ship Lady Barlow 21:366
 re-discovered the Hall Islands 21:484
 through the Carolines in 1824 21:653
Harleston, whaler 21:300
 Harmsen, Captain
 commanded Mentor, and Prinzess Louise 21:263
Harvest, ship 21:636
 Hawaiian Islands 21:560
 visited by a French ship in 1826 21:651
 Hill, Captain Samuel
 commanded ship Packet in 1820 21:140
HMS Blossom, corvette 21:651
 Hogoleu Group
 See Chuuk
 Hope Island
 See Kosrae Island
 Howland, Captain Josiah
 commanded whaler Stanton in 1826 21:656
 Huon de Kérillou, Louis
 French sailor who almost died at Kosrae 21:438
 Hurricanes
 that of 1821 21:191
 Hussey, Cyrus M.
 co-author of book on Globe mutiny 21:492, 495

I

Ibargoitia, Captain Juan
 commanded galleon Filipino 21:369
Independence II, ship 21:666
Indian, whaler 21:300
Indispensable, whaler 21:282, 635, 660
Infatigable, brig
 a Spanish prize in 1830 21:644-645
 Irastorza, Captain José Nicolás
 commanded ship Carmen in 1817-19 21:128

J

Jaluit Atoll
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:442
 surveyed by Duperrey Expedition 21:332, 346
 Japan Ground 21:302, 560
 whaling ground first visited in 1820 21:143
Japan, ship 21:668
John Palmer, ship 21:662
 Joy, Captain
 commanded whaler Lyra 21:562

K

King Ferdinand VII 21:30, 225
 King Louis XVIII 21:380
 King, Captain
 took over command of Globe at Valparaiso 21:510
 Kingsmill Group
 See Gilbert Islands
 Kosrae Island
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:443
 surveyed by Duperrey Expedition 21:332
 charts by Duperrey Expedition 21:348
 first full descriptions 21:354, 389
 described by Lieut. Jacquinet 21:468
 houses described 21:472
 natives described 21:401, 406, 475
 place names 21:332
 population estimated at 1,200 in 1824 21:413
 endemic diseases 21:400, 477
 inland trail 21:403-404, 452, 470, 474
 Lele Island 21:404, 413, 470
 local industry 21:416
 similarities with Palau 21:422
 small loom described 21:417
 social classes 21:411
 See also Canoes, Kosraean
 See also Customs, native
 See also Languages
 Kuria Atoll 21:387
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:340

L

Labayen, Captain
 commander of San Blas 21:129
Lady Barlow, ship 21:359, 366
Lady Blackwood, ship 21:653-654
 later became a whaler 21:486
 logbook kept by Captain Hall 21:484
 Lafond, Captain Gabriel 21:247
 first narrative, 1820 21:144
 short biography 21:145
 Lamarche, Lieut. 21:11
 Lamotrek Atoll
 source of immigrants to Marianas 21:159, 195
 Languages
 that of Kosrae 21:421
 vocabulary of the Kosraean language 21:424
 Lapog, village of Ilocos 21:151

- Latte stones**
 those of Tinian described 21:188
Latuano, Chief
 high chief of Mili Atoll—his story 21:612
Lay, William 21:593
 co-author of book on Globe mutiny 21:492, 495
 his own ordeal at Mili 21:516
Lele Harbor
 same as Pane Bay 21:389
Leonidas, brig 21:582
Lesson, R. P.
 his medical report 21:437
 his narratives regarding Kosrae Island 21:380
Lima, Mariano Benito de
 promoted in 1821 21:171
Lima, Peru 21:650
Lincoln Island
 See Onotoa Atoll
Lucas, Philippe 21:627
Ludjuan, native of Mili Atoll 21:517
 rewarded for having saved William Lay 21:525
Lugoma, Chief
 his description 21:602
Lyra, whaler
 met the Globe near Fanning's Island 21:489-490,
 497, 562
- M**
- MacAskill Islands**
 See Pingelap Atoll
MacAskill, Captain
 re-discovered Pingelap 21:359
Macy, Captain Richard 21:636
Macy, Josiah
 commanded ship Edward 21:550
Magnet, ship 21:200
Maiana Atoll
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:344
Manila brig 21:576
 See Concepción, brig
Manila trader, ca. 1820 21:181
Mar, Captain Domingo de la
 commanded brig Dolores in 1822 21:210, 223, 225
Marakei Atoll
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:344
Marcus, whaler 21:282
 re-discovered Marcus Island in 1824 21:283
Marfa, ship 21:173
 her manifest in 1821 21:177, 181
 visited Guam in March 1821 21:184
Mariana Island Garrison
 reduced subsidy by 1822 21:167
 1822 budget 21:169
 names of officers in 1823 21:277
Mariana Islands
 census for 1820 and 1821 21:202
 government reform in 1820s 21:647
 local officials in 1822 21:229
 officials named in 1823 21:303
Marie-Thérèse, warship 21:251
Maro, whaler
 first on Japan Ground 21:143
Marshall Islands
 description of natives 21:616
 native houses 21:615
 See also Customs, native
Mary, ship 21:623
Mary, of Boston 21:41
Mary, whaler 21:299, 301, 308-311
Matantaotao, Antonio Ramos
 mayor of Tinian and Saipan 21:291
Matelotes Islands
 See Ngulu Atoll
McGregor, Captain Charles
 commanded whaler Copernicus 21:274, 311
 took some Carolinians to Agrigan Island 21:314
Medinilla y Pineda, Governor José 21:71
 his second term of office 21:633
 his correspondence of 1822 21:207
 went after the Robertson treasure 21:261
 his 30-year service record 21:677
Melantho, whaler 21:301, 623
Mendez, Teresa
 a woman of Lima, Peru 21:252
Mendiola, young man from Guam
 rescued at Fifi by Captain d'Urville 21:578
Mentor, ship 21:263
Mermaid, ship 21:578
Mili Atoll
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:441
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:346
 surveyed by USS Dolphin 21:527
 natives described 21:591
 as described by Lieut. Paulding 21:609
 chosen by Globe mutineers 21:487, 489-490, 505
 arrival at Mili Atoll 21:570
 natives killed most of Globe mutineers 21:514
 dance that followed massacre of whites 21:515
 book about it by Lt. Paulding reviewed 21:493
Mokil Atoll
 discovered by Duperrey in 1824 21:431, 447, 481
 natives described 21:432
Montilla, Governor José
 arrived Guam August 1822 21:208
 his appointment letter and letter book 21:213
Mooers, Captain Prince B.
 commanded whaler Spartan in 1826 21:664
Morgado, Agustín
 had been Governor of Ilocos 21:147
Morgado, Captain Alonso
 commanded brig Alerta in 1823 21:281, 318
 commanded ship Marfa 21:173, 179
Mulgraves Islands
 See Mili Atoll
Murilo Atoll
 visited by Captain Hall in 1824 21:486
Musgrave, Captain
 discovered Pingelap 21:359
Mutinies
 aboard Eng. whaler Cretan 21:319
 aboard U.S. whaler Globe 21:564
 aboard English whaler Timor in 1827 21:637
 aboard ship Fawn in 1827 21:639
 of Spanish seamen at Guam in 1825 21:623

N

- N.S. del Carmen**, ship 21:128
 Nama Island
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:448
Narvaez, ship
 surveyed northern Marianas in 1860s 21:244
 Navarrete, Lieut. José
 commanded tender Sonora in 1819 21:135
 Newton, Captain
 commanded whaler Bridges 21:299
 Ngulu Atoll 21:583
 Nonouti Atoll
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:338
 description of natives 21:386
 Norie's chart
 amended in 1824 21:653
 Nukunau Atoll
 natives described 21:589
 violent encounter with USS Dolphin 21:585

O

- Oeno**, ship
 wrecked at Fiji in 1825 21:578
 Oliver, John 21:561-562, 568
 first meeting with Comstock 21:553
 Onotoa Atoll 21:668
Ontario, ship
 ships spoken by her 21:630
 Oroluk Atoll
 sighted by Captain Saliz in 1826 21:653
Osprey, brig
 visited Tinian in 1821 21:188
 Oustelet, Prof. 21:121

P

- Pacheco**, Captain
 supposedly captured pirate Robertson 21:258
Packet, ship 21:140
 Pagan Island
 treasure reported buried there 21:243
 Palau Islands
 attack on whaling ship 21:267
 similarities with Kosrae Island 21:422
Palladium, whaler 21:496
 visited Japan Ground 21:560
 Palmero, Andrés
 commanded ship Santa Rita 21:146
 Palomo, Antonio 21:308
 Palomo, Idefonso 21:309
 Palomo, Rita
 married Cornelio Eustaquio 21:308
 Palomo, Silvestre 21:307, 318, 641
Paragon, ship 21:266
 Pâris, Rear-Admiral Edmond 21:676
 Paulding, Lieut. Hiram
 author of book on Globe mutiny 21:492
 his account of Globe mutiny aftermath 21:585

- rescued William Lay at Mili 21:524
 Payne, Silas
 one of the Globe mutineers 21:561
Paz, ship 21:27-28, 61-62, 124
 returned to Phil. in distress 21:152
 Peña, Captain Felipe de la
 commanded ship Santa Rita in 1822 21:234
 Percival, Captain "Mad Jack"
 commanded USS Dolphin, 1825 21:495, 524, 585
Perseverance, ship 21:663
Peru, barque 21:580
Peruvian, brig
 English ship stolen by Robertson 21:254, 261
Péruvien, ship 21:361, 650
 Philippine Islands
 Ilocos Province visited by Lafond 21:146
 wedding customs, 1820 21:154
 Pikelot Island
 sighted by Duperrey Expedition 21:369, 435, 450
 Pingelap Atoll
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:446, 480
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:359
 natives described 21:430
 Plaskett, Captain William
 commanded whaler Independence II in 1826 21:666
Pocahontas, whaler 21:496
 visited Japan Ground 21:560
 Population statistics
 census for 1820 and 1821 21:202
 of Kosrae in 1824 21:413
Princess Mary, whaler 21:282
Prinzess Louise, ship 21:263
 Pulap Atoll 21:48, 74
 visited by Freycinet 21:23
 described by Freycinet 21:76
 visited by Duperrey 21:434, 449, 483
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:368
 Taviotan has since disappeared 21:69
 endemic diseases 21:439
 Pulusuk Atoll 21:48, 74
 visited by Freycinet 21:23
 described by Freycinet 21:75
 Puluwat Atoll 21:48, 74
 visited by Freycinet 21:23
 described by Freycinet 21:76
 sighted by Duperrey Expedition 21:483

Q

- Quatro Hermanas**, schooner
 renamed Quintanilla 21:248
 Quoy, Dr. 21:72, 121

R

- Railliard, Mr. 21:67
Rambler, whaler 21:282
Ramirez, Captain Cayetano 21:645-646
Ramirez, Captain José [or Pedro]
 commanded brig Feliz 21:177, 180, 186
Rebecca, brig 21:209, 299, 308
 brought Gov. Ganga to Guam 21:280
 Reed, Captain John

commanded whaler Mary 21:299
Reynard, whaler 21:642
 brought Carolinians to Guam 21:240
 Robertson treasure 21:144
 said to be buried on Pagan 21:243
 said to be buried on Agrigan 21:261-262
 story told by Captain Lafond 21:247
 story told by Captain Sanchez 21:243
 Robertson, pirate captain 21:238
 commanded the new ship Congreso 21:251
 commandeered ship Peruvian 21:254, 261
 Rocha, Captain Antonio
 commanded ship Paz in 1819 21:124
 Rodbertus, Captain
 commanded Prinzess Louise in 1837-39 21:263
 Rosamel, Captain
 commanded warship Marie-Thérèse 21:251
 Roscoe, brig 21:576
 Rose, ship 21:655
 Rota Island
 described by Freycinet 21:89
 Royalist, whaler 21:301, 582
 Russell, Captain Laban [or P.]
 commanded whaler Emily in 1824 21:298, 321
 Rutledge, Dr. George
 off whaler Timor 21:638

S

Saipan Island 21:50
 described by Freycinet 21:92
 Carolinian settlement 21:39, 160-161, 190
 visited by Robertson, the pirate 21:258
 Saliz, Captain P. 21:650
 re-discovered Oroluk Atoll 21:361
 Salomague, port of 21:148
 San Bartolomé Island
 See also Pulusuk atoll
 San Blas, port of 21:182, 186, 650
 ship movements in 1821 21:198
 San José del Cabo, California 21:663
San Juan, schooner 21:165
San Ruperto, brig 21:139
 visited upper California in 1818 21:136, 138
 Sanchez y Zayas, Captain
 commanded ship Narvaez in 1860s 21:243
 Sandwich Islands
 See Hawaiian Islands
 Sanford, Samuel C.
 log kept by him 21:282
Santa Rita, ship 21:138, 144-145, 199
 delayed return to Manila 21:132
 described by Lafond 21:146
 visited Guam in 1822 21:233
Saracen, whaler 21:299, 322
Sarah, whaler 21:299
 Satawal Atoll
 visited by Duperrey Expedition 21:369, 435, 450
 Scotts & O'Brien
 beachcombers left at Chuuk 21:448
Señor San José, schooner
 full description 21:291
 nearly lost in 1821 21:192
 trip to Tinian, etc. 21:284

Serpiente de Mar, schooner 21:641
 Sinclair, Captain
 commanded whaler Arab in 1822 21:231
Sir Charles Price, whaler 21:297-298, 301, 307
Sir George Osborne, whaler 21:236
Sisters, ship 21:669
 Smith, Captain Gilbert
 boat-steerer who took over command of Globe
 21:509
 Sola, Pablo Vicente
 Governor of Monterey, Calif. 21:137, 139
Sonora, tender 21:134
Stanton, ship 21:656
 Stavers, Captain John
 commanded whaler Coquette 21:300
 commanded whaler Sir George Osborne 21:236
 murdered by Gov. Ganga 21:325
Sugar Cane, ship 21:359
Supply, ship 21:623
Supply, whaler 21:299, 309, 322
Syren, whaler
 visited Guam in 1820 21:141
 attacked at Angaur, Palau 21:267
 first on Japan Ground 21:143
 formerly a yacht 21:268

T

Tabiteuea Atoll 21:668
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:338
 visited by USS Dolphin 21:589
 Taitano, Juan
 died in 1820 21:167
 Tarawa Atoll
 chart by Duperrey Expedition 21:344
 visited by Globe mutineers 21:569
 Tardy de Montravel, Captain 21:675
 Tarofoto, port of 21:85
Thames, ship 21:654
Thomas, ship 21:658
 Thompson, Captain Robert P.
 commanded whaler Greenwich 21:300
 Thompson, Captain Stephen
 commanded whaler Supply 21:322
Timor, whaler 21:300, 321
 mutiny on board her 21:637
 Tinian Island 21:656, 660, 667
 battle between 2 ships in 1823 21:272
 described by Freycinet 21:91
 latte stones described 21:188
 English sailors arrested and sent there 21:311
 typhoon of November 1823 21:296
 visit of brig Osprey in 1821 21:188
 visited by Robertson, the pirate 21:258
 Tompson, Captain Stephen
 commanded whaler Supply 21:299
 Torres, Major Luís de
 toured the Central Carolines in 1804 21:41
 Tower, William S. 21:162
Transit, whaler 21:307-308, 310-311, 623
 hit by storm while at Tinian 21:296
Triton, ship 21:627
Tuscan, ship 21:660

Typhoons
that of November 1823 21:296

U

Ualan Island
See Kosrae Island
Upham, Captain John
commanded French whaler Triton in 1820s 21:627
Uracas Island
sighted by Packet in 1820 21:140
USS Dolphin 21:524
sent after the Globe mutineers 21:491
her surgeon buried on Mili Atoll 21:595

V

Valparaiso
visited by ship Globe after mutiny 21:574
Vanderford, Captain 21:576
commanded brig Roscoe in 1822 21:576
commanded ship Clay in 1827 21:577
Varela, Captain Francisco
commanded brig San Ruperto 21:135-138
Victoria, ship 21:138
Vocabulary
See Languages

W

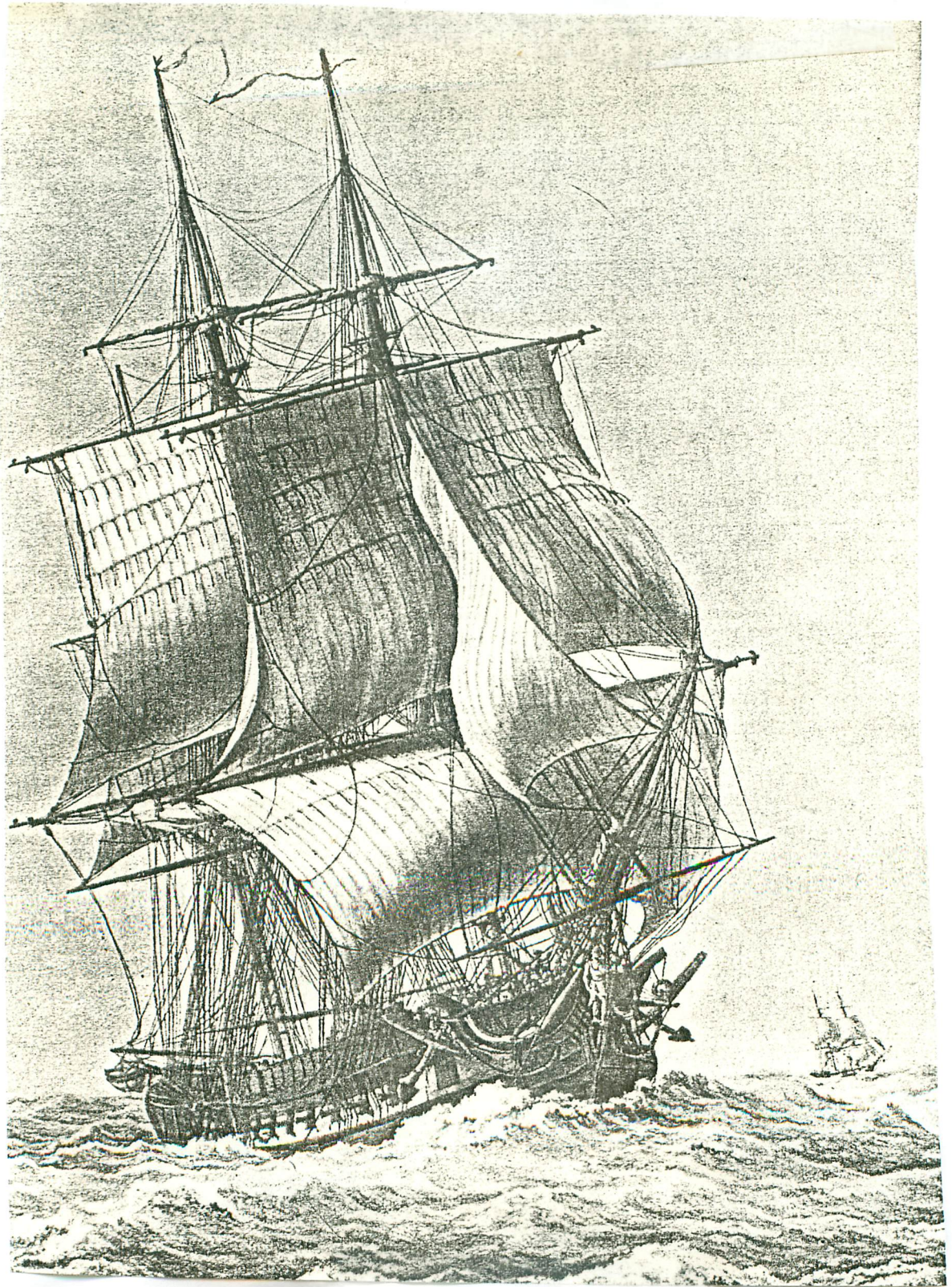
Wagal Island
See Guam
Wendt, Captain
commanded Prinzess Louise in 1831-33 21:263
Whaling in the Pacific 21:162
Japan Ground 21:143, 302, 322, 496
Wildman, whaler 21:300
Wilkinson, Captain
residing in Oahu in 1826 21:651
Winn, Captain
commanded ship Eliza in 1834 21:578
Worth, Captain Benjamin
commanded whaler Phoenix 21:282
Worth, Captain Thomas
formerly chief mate of the Globe 21:558
killed by mutineers aboard Globe 21:487, 498
Worth, Captain William
commanded whaler Rambler 21:282

Y

Yequitip
king of Lamotrek Atoll in 1819 21:160
Yerro, José María del
would-be governor of Marianas 21:215
Younger, Captain Thomas
commanded whaler Catherine 21:271

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A frigate under sail.